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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

FEBRUARY, 1923

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

FEBRUARY 1923

LAST DAY OF THE YEAR

(Extract from "Withered Leaves.")

Eckermann relates that it was an invariable practice of Goethe to spend the last day of the year in silent meditation. We can well understand this. Most people make the last day of the year an occasion for extravagant joy, culminating in what they call seeing the old year out and the new year in. This attitude, too, we can understand. It is of a piece with the mentality which, discarding the setting, offers its worship to the rising, sun. The old year will soon expire and merge into the past—boundless, irreclaimable, beyond recall. It has made its gifts. Perhaps it has done its worst. Let it then—so people seem to argue—vanish into limbo; but let us give a welcoming hand to its successor, with its infinite possibilities of pleasure and pain. Some such unconscious train of thought, passing through the mind of man, expresses itself, I suppose, in the tumultuous joy that accompanies the death of the old and the birth of the new year. In his exuberant enthusiasm he forgets the joys which the departing year has brought, as also the chastening, educative influence of its sorrows.

Man, 'tis said, is a thinking animal. This is fondly assumed as his distinctive attribute. But the most casual observation convinces us that the thinking man is an exception rather than the rule. The process of thinking is a painful process, involving strain, effort, weariness; and all such processes are unrelished by man. "Prejudice which he pretends to hate is his lawgiver. Mere use and wont lead him by the nose." He accepts things as they are, follows them, adopts them with unquestioning acquiescence, without a thought, heedless of their significance or implications. Virgil would not have sung with lyrical rapture "*Felix qui potuit rerum causas cognoscere*," if knowledge, circumspection, thinking, were the normal characteristics of man. And it is as well that it is not so. Else would the world have been robbed of its charm, and man of his sweetest pleasures. It is as well that we think little, and allow ourselves still less to be worried by the vexing, entangling, fruitless problems of life and fate. Well that we do as the world doth; think as the world thinketh; go as the world goeth, along its old, old, well-trodden ways. This rejoicing over the dying of the old year is perhaps a relic of ancient days, when life and property were insecure and precarious; when warfare was the order of the day; when chaos was rarely and fitfully relieved by gleams of peace and good-will. Yes! perhaps. For then—as might be expected—humanity would look forward with straining eyes to the New year to effect a happy change, or, perchance, to usher in the millennium—that mirage-like Golden Age which man has ever devoutly looked for, and—disappointments, nay despair notwithstanding—will ever continue to look for, till the end of time. Such a possibility—such a dream—such a hope—how it would stir the human heart! What passionate longing would it not inspire! What a vision of a land of plenty would it not evoke—a land where no fears would shadow happiness; where no sound of human sorrow would mar the beatific calm. It was presumably

the hope of such a prospect that led man to give a tumultuously emotional welcome to the New year. Intermingled in that celebration were hope, feelings of relief, desires for peace. But though conditions have changed, man has not. He cannot rid himself of his ancient heritage. Does not the savage peer through the thin veil of civilised man? And this undoubtedly is one of the many survivals of primeval man.

But to some—to the rare group of thinking men and women—neither the end of the old year nor the beginning of the new is a day of mere joyous feasting.

New year! new foes and old to face or fly;
Old friends, a lessening band, to grapple fast;
The end more near; another milestone past;
The shagreen of desires shrunk wofully.

It is a day of stock-taking of the year's promise and its fulfilment. Ah! what a gulf lies betwixt the two. Reality never conforms—not even approximately—to the dreams which ambition weaves in the silent chambers of the heart. We see that our resolutions—good and pious resolutions, seriously made, deliberately willed—have been broken, strangled, killed under the stress of circumstances—adverse or uncontrollable. We find that the task—set in all solemnity and undertaken with all fervour—is far, far from completion. We perceive ruins, wreckage, a wild, weary, barren scene, where we had hoped to behold bud, blossom and bloom. We sorrowfully realize that one more mile-stone of life has been passed, and the day of reckoning is drawing closer and closer to hand. The thought presses upon us, what account are we to render of our stewardship to the Author of the universe? Such is the strain which serious thought takes on that most solemn of days. Dissatisfaction sets in. Dissatisfaction with our achievements. Dissatisfaction with ourselves. Who, then, could really be in

light-hearted mood on a day such as the last day of the old year or the beginning of the new ? The two attitudes are perfectly understandable—the thinking and the unthinking attitude. We do not want pleasure banished, joy banned ; but we do wish to see the reign of serious thought and serious living proclaimed, established, in all its solemn splendour and undying force.

We would not have a race of mere philosophers, but to reasonably thinking men we say—

Do what thy manhood bids thee do ; from
none but self expect applause ;
He noblest lives and noblest dies who makes
and keeps his self-made laws.

All other life is living death, a world where
none but phantoms dwell—
A breath, a wind, a sound, a voice, a tinkling
of the camel-bell.

S. KHUDA BUKHSH

FOUR BRITISH THINKERS ON THE STATE—III

(4)

DR. BERNARD BOSANQUET

Dr. Bernard Bosanquet is one of the most eminent philosophers of modern times. As a logician, he has few equals. Although not a very lucid writer, he is deep and penetrating and never fails to be suggestive. His contribution to political philosophy is as notable as his contributions to logic, metaphysics and æsthetics. There are not many treatises on politics in the English language which equal his *Philosophical Theory of the State* in the insight with which the fundamental problems of social philosophy are handled. The theory presented in this book is, as he himself puts it, "to be found not merely in Plato and in Aristotle but in very many modern writers, more especially in Hegel, T. H. Green, Bradley and Wallace." The standpoint is much the same as that of Green in his *Principles of Political Obligation*, but he is more unhesitating than Green in insisting upon the value of the state to the ethical life of its citizens. The state, he teaches, is a much more real object than a plant or an animal and the study of it as it is and not the construction of an ideal society is the aim of social philosophy. "To depict what most people call "an ideal state" is no more the object of political philosophy than it is the object say of Carpenter's *Human Physiology* to depict an "ideal" man or an angel." Dr. Bosanquet makes the central idea of Greek political philosophy his own, the idea, namely, that "the human mind can only attain its full and proper life in a community of minds, or more strictly in a community pervaded by a single mind, uttering itself consistently though differently in the life and action of every member of the community." Such a conception was developed in ancient times in connection with life in

the Greek city states. It lost its supremacy with the increasing prevalence of an individualistic theory of life and has been revived again in modern times with the formation of nation states. The modern theory, however, differs from the ancient in this that it accords full recognition to the freedom of the individual and maintains that it is not by suppressing but by giving legitimate scope to it that the common social life can be realised.

Dr. Bosanquet begins by pointing out the contradiction involved in the conception of self-government and shows that on the basis of the ordinary dualism of self and others, the contradiction cannot be solved. The ground and justification of political obligation is self-government, but the question is, how the idea of self is to be reconciled with that of government. How can the authority which others must exercise over me, if there is to be government at all, be for me self-government? Law and government seem *primi facie* to be opposed to the individuality of man, and yet without them the free play of personality would not be possible. Bentham thinks that in order to acquire rights, man must sacrifice part of his liberty, by which he understands the power to do what one pleases. Antecedently to law and government, rights do not exist. They, therefore, are necessary evils to which we have got to submit. But it is impossible to think of law and government as antagonistic to the self, if they are the necessary conditions of the unfolding of its capacities. That by means of which liberty is actualised cannot be destructive to it. The root of the difficulty lies in supposing that between self and others there is a fundamental opposition, and in the consequent failure to perceive that "the one, so far from surrendering some of his capacity for life through his fellowship with others, acquires and extends that capacity wholly in and through such fellowship." Mill's theory that an individual is free in everything that concerns himself alone and is subject to government in so far as his action affects

others is open to the objection that it is impossible to draw a line of demarcation between self-regarding and other-regarding action. Every action done by me affects both myself and others. No fence can be put up round an individual so as to make him impervious to social forces, and no mistake is greater than to suppose that the more wayward and eccentric a man is the more he is free. We can get beyond law only by fulfilling it. It is a mistake to think that the difficulty inherent in the conception of self-government is removed if the government is democratic or, as the phrase is, government of the people for the people by the people. It is, on the contrary, increased. The people who rule are not the people who are ruled. The will of the majority is not the same thing as the will of the people, and the self-government of which one hears so much is not the government of each by himself but of each by others.

"On the basis of everyday reflection then," says Dr. Bosanquet, "we are brought to an absolute deadlock in the theory of political obligation." If this deadlock is to be removed, "we must take the two factors of the working idea of self-government in their full antagonism, and exhibit, through and because of this, the fundamental unity at their root, and the necessity and conditions of their coherence. We must show, in short, how man, the actual man of flesh and blood, demands to be governed, and how a government which puts real force upon him, is essential, as he is aware, to his becoming what he has it in him to be" (*Philosophical Theory of the State*, 3rd ed., p. 73).

The theories of writers like Bentham, Mill and Spencer, Dr. Bosanquet aptly calls "theories of the first look." They all assume that society and the individual really are as they immediately appear to be. No satisfactory explanation of self-government is possible on the assumption that human beings are naturally isolated from one another and are only artificially brought together in the state. All right is in

the state, says Bentham. All right is in the individual, says Spencer for whom "the state has become little more than a record office of his contracts and consents." Both fail to perceive that "if a right can only be recognised by a society, it can only be real in an individual. * * As long as the self and law are alien and hostile, it is hopeless to do more than choose at random in which of the two we are to locate the essence of right" (*ibid*, pp. 66-67).

The problem of self-government is more satisfactorily handled by Rousseau, because, on the whole, he manages to get beyond the individualistic standpoint. Dr. Bosanquet shows that the popular idea of Rousseau, based upon sentences like "man is born free and everywhere is in chains," is entirely mistaken. In spite of his continual relapse into individualistic ways of thinking and modes of expression, the essence of his message is that in the state the minds and wills of its members are fused into a single indivisible whole. "Each of us puts into the common stock his person and his entire powers under the supreme direction of the general will; and we further receive each individual as an indivisible member of the whole." The state is, therefore, a moral person through participation in whose life alone man ceases to be a stupid and narrow animal and becomes an intelligent being. We attain freedom not by setting ourselves in opposition to the state but by obedience to its laws in which the general will is embodied. With law one's everyday rebellious self may be at variance, but it is nevertheless the expression of one's deeper and more complete self. Conformity to it is, for this reason, the essential thing in self-government.

Rousseau is careful to distinguish the general will from the will of all. The object towards which the former is directed is the common good, whereas the latter is only a sum of particular wills. The will of all may be unanimous, because individuals, desiring not something general in its

nature but what is calculated to promote their various private interests, may nevertheless happen to agree in some particular point. The general will, on the other hand, aims at matters of common concern which may not be obvious to all. It is "that identity between my particular will and the wills of all my associates in the body politic which makes it possible to say that in all social co-operation, and in submitting even to forcible constraint, when imposed by society in the true common interest, I am obeying only myself and am actually attaining my freedom" (*ibid*, p. 100). What generalises the will is a common interest and not the number of votes recorded. The will of all is a mere aggregate but the general will is an organic unity. It is the universal principle that connects an individual with others and unites their particular wills into a coherent whole. "The unity of myself with others in a common good is the same in principle as the unity of myself with myself which I aim at in aiming at my own good." If the will of all were directed to the common good it would be transformed into the general will. The natural tendency of the great majority of men is to be guided by purely private interests but it requires some amount of effort to discern the common good and to make it the determining principle of conduct.

From the standpoint of the general will, the problem of self-government undergoes a transformation. The opposition between self and others and between self and government vanishes and sovereignty is seen to be the exercise of the general will, justifying the use of force to compel a recalcitrant individual to be truly free by being in harmony with the general will. In so far as laws and institutions are what they ought to be, they embody the general will.

Rousseau imagines that if free play is given to the particular wills, the general will is likely to emerge out of them through their conflict and the consequent cancellation of their differences. For this reason, he condemns representative

government and favours small republics in which the citizens can meet and discuss public questions. But this, Dr. Bosanquet thinks, is to appeal "from the organised life, institutions and selected capacity of a nation to that nation regarded as an aggregate of individuals," to enthrone, in short, the very will of all which he disparages. But in what Rousseau says about the function of the legislator, his judgment is sound. What people really want, they do not always know. If they got exactly what they clamour for, they would seldom be satisfied. "In order to obtain a full statement of what we will, what we want at any moment must at least be corrected and amended by what we want at all other moments; and this cannot be done without also correcting and amending it so as to harmonise it with what others want, which involves an application of the same process to them" (*ibid*, pp. 110-11). To do this work of criticism, to elicit the general will from the vague opinions and impulses of "a blind multitude, which often does not know what it wills, because it rarely knows what is good for it" is, in Rousseau's view, the task of the legislator.

The contradiction in self-government is due to the antithesis of self and others. It disappears as soon as we perceive that the average individual, absorbed in his private interests and pleasures, is not the real self. The social self extends beyond our private life, and we are genuine individuals only in so far as we identify ourselves with it. We become free not by dissociating ourselves from our fellow beings and doing what we like, but by acquiescing in a law and order in which our universal self is realised. If, in one sense, this law and order restrains our private wills, in another sense, it is the necessary means of our higher self-affirmation. The objective system of rights is the surest guarantee of our being able to become what it is possible for us to be. Self-government, rightly understood, means the subjection of our particular selves to an order which, to a large extent,

expresses the general will, and liberty is not mere absence of restraint but "being ourselves most completely." The man whose desires are not narrow and casual, so that in the satisfaction of them he "feels choked and oppressed like one lost in a blind alley which grows narrower and narrower," but whose volitions are connected elements of a total system of life is truly free. And institutions, without which the affirmation of such a will is not possible, are the embodiment of our liberty and, as such, have a claim on our allegiance.

The state is the incarnation, the concrete form of the general will. It is not the political organisation merely, but "includes the entire hierarchy of institutions by which life is determined, from the family to the trade, and from the trade to the Church and the University. It includes all of them, not as the mere collection of the growths of the country, but as the structure which gives life and meaning to the political whole, while receiving from it mutual adjustment, and therefore expansion and a more liberal air" (*ibid*, p. 139). The state nourishes and sustains the individual. It disciplines him, expands his ideas and "furnishes him with an outlet and a stable purpose capable of doing justice to his capacities—a satisfying object of life."

"Force," says Dr. Bosanquet, "is inherent in the state and no true ideal points in the direction of destroying it." It is not the basis of the state, but is implied in it as the whole that makes the mutual adjustment of laws and institutions possible. "We make a great mistake in thinking of the force exercised by the state as limited to the restraint of disorderly persons by the police and the punishment of intentional law-breakers. The state is the flywheel of our life. Its system is constantly reminding us of our duties, from sanitation to the incidents of trusteeship, which we have not the least desire to neglect, but which we are either too ignorant or too indolent to carry out apart from instruction and authoritative suggestion" (*ibid*, p. 141). The

stimulating effect of the social order on the minds of its members, in so far as these minds are inert, takes the form of force.

"Self-government," argues Dr. Bosanquet, "can only be explained if the centre of gravity of the self is thrown outside what we are continually tempted to reckon as our individuality, and, if we recognise as our real being, and therefore as imperative upon us, a self and a good which are but slightly represented in our explicit consciousness at its ordinary level." The error of thinkers like Herbert Spencer is to conceive of the state as a mere association of independent units whose nature is not affected by their membership of it. They do not see that it is an organisation in which the life of every member is determined not by his immediate and more or less accidental contact with others but by the plan and purpose of the whole. Their error is analogous to that of the associationist psychologists who regard the unity of mind as arising out of the arbitrary association of separate elements. But modern psychology tells us that the mind is a unified system of "apperceptive masses" in each of which a number of ideas are held together and organised under the control of a general scheme. It is not a single system but "rather a construction of such systems, which may be in all degrees of alliance, indifference and opposition to one another." But however great may be the opposition of these subordinate mental systems to one another, they must all be under the more or less explicit control of the whole, if the unity of mind is to be preserved. Now society also "is a vast tissue of systems of this type, each of them a relatively though not absolutely closed and self-complete organisation." Within each group, the plan and function of every member is determined by the nature of the group. And the same individual may belong to several such groups. Social life could not go on, if between these various groups a working harmony

were not maintained. It is the function of the state, as the most comprehensive organisation, to secure this harmony "by force if need be." The units of the state are not individuals but organised bodies of men.

Mind and the state are alike in "being organisations, each composed of a system of organisations." Further, "Minds and society are really the same fabric regarded from different points of view." What, outwardly, are social groups are, inwardly, mental systems. "Every individual mind is a system of such systems corresponding to the totality of social groups as seen from a particular position. The social whole is reflected in the mind of every member of it from his characteristic and unique point of view. It is a self-identical organisation aware of itself in a plurality of centres.

"The conception of society and the individual [being] correlative conceptions through and through," the question whether society is the means to the end of the individual or the individual the means to the end of society is entirely meaningless. There is no antagonism between the two. The universal and its differences are two aspects of one and the same thing. The end of the individual, therefore, is the same as that of society and the state, and this end is the realisation of the best life. It is not necessary for us to know in advance what in detail the best life is. Its nature is disclosed to us more and more as we make progress, because of our intolerance of contradictions, towards the attainment of a harmonious life of fully-developed capacities. The function of the state is to remove hindrances to and create conditions favourable for the realisation of the end. It is not in its power to promote the end directly. For this purpose, the spontaneous and intelligent action of self-conscious beings is necessary. It is such action alone that makes "the maximisation of our being," the widening of our self through its identification with the social whole, possible. Established and unchanging

customs, authoritative traditions, mere routine, unless these are helpful to self-conscious development by liberating energies available for the purpose, are obstacles to moral progress. It is their influence on life and not the encroachment of others on what I vainly try to make my exclusive sphere of action that destroys liberty. The menace to liberty comes from automatism and not from others. "As in the private so in the general life, every encroachment of automatism must be justified by opening new possibilities to self-conscious development, if it is not to mean degeneration and senility." In so far as automatism checks moral growth, the end of state action must be to remove it.

As the state is not alien to the life of the individual, the minimising of its power cannot be the true ideal. There is no limit to the authority of the state except that which arises from the nature of its own end. Without absolute power the state cannot effect a proper adjustment of the often conflicting claims of individuals and social groups.

In common with Green, Wallace and Ritchie, Dr. Bosanquet holds that the rights of an individual arise out of his position in the state. They are "claims recognised by the state, *i.e.*, by society acting as ultimate authority, to the maintenance of conditions favourable to the best life." They may be regarded from the point of view of the whole community and of the individuals who compose the community. From the standpoint of the community they are "the organic whole of the outward conditions necessary to the rational life." Rights do not belong to individuals in their isolation but depend upon the "state-maintained order in its connectedness as a single expression of a common good or will." Their end is the maintenance of external conditions essential to the full development of human personality. From the point of view of the individual, rights are powers secured to him by the state, in order that by the exercise of them he may make his unique contribution to the common good. Apart from the

position of the individual recognised by the state they have no existence. No position no rights. As rights are connected with social positions or vocations which "have their being in the medium of recognition," unrecognised rights do not exist. They cannot be based on my mere desire to do what it pleases me to do.

In the network of social relations, the rights which are claimed by one man are duties owed to him by others. My right to walk along the public road implies an obligation on the part of others not to obstruct me. Rights and duties are thus the correlatives of each other. But, in a higher sense, all rights are duties. They are powers belonging to me in virtue of my social position which I am bound to exercise in order to realise the moral end.

One of the distinctive features of Dr. Bosanquet's theory is that he conceives of the state as consisting of "facts as well as ideas and purposes as well as facts." The institutions of which the state is the organised unity are, of course, external facts in the natural world but they are also embodiments of ethical ideas. "An institution implies a purpose or sentiment of more minds than one, and a more or less permanent embodiment of it. 'Of more minds than one' because it is to fix the meeting points of minds that the external embodiment is necessary." Apart from the social mind, institutions are no more real than is the universe apart from the Absolute mind.

"The nation state is the widest organisation which has the common experience necessary to found a common life! For this reason, "it is recognised as absolute in power over the individual and as his representative and champion in the affairs of the world outside." The state exists in order to maintain the outward conditions of a desirable life. But it is impossible to determine these conditions without reference to the kind of life that is to be realised, and it is only within the limits of a nation state that there can be a distinctive type of life.

In answer to the question whether state action can be judged by the same standard as private action, the essence of what Dr. Bosanquet has to say is that a state can be judged only in respect of its act of will as a state and not by what its agents may do on their own account in the name of the state. If they commit any breach of morality, they are certainly censurable, but their acts are not imputable to the state unless they are done with the active support of public opinion, in which case "the guilty state is judged before the tribunal of humanity and history." The important thing to remember is that state actions "cannot be identified with the deeds of its agents, or morally judged as private volitions are judged. Its acts proper are always public acts, and it cannot, as a state, act within the relations of private life in which organised morality exists. It has no determinate function in a larger community, but is itself the supreme community; the guardian of a whole moral world, but not a factor within an organised moral world. Moral relations presuppose an organised life; but such a life is only within the state, not in relations between the state and other communities" (*ibid*, p. 302) What the state does in order to fulfil its mission is, of course, subject to criticism and cannot be morally indifferent, but it is mere confusion to pass moral judgments on its acts in the same sense as on the acts of private individuals. A public act "is the act of a supreme power which has ultimate responsibility for protecting the form of life of which it is the guardian, and which is not itself protected by any scheme of function or relations, such as prescribes a course for the reconciliation of rights and secures its effectiveness" (*ibid*, p. 304).

There is no such thing as Humanity as a single organised community. The great majority of men are living lives scarcely worth living. It is true that in virtue of their intelligence they have capacities which can be realised, but as yet they remain unrealised. That being so, all men cannot

be effective members of a common society. "It does not follow from this that there can be no general recognition of the rights arising from the capacities for good life which belong to man as man. Though insufficient, as variously and imperfectly realised, to be the basis of an effective community, they may, so far as realised, be a common element or tissue of connection running through the more concrete experience on which effective communities rest" (*ibid*, p. 307).

Beyond the multitude of states and the idea of Humanity there are "fuller utterances of the same universal self which the 'general will' reveals in more precarious forms." In passing into the spheres of art, religion and philosophy, "the human mind, consolidated and sustained by society, goes further on its path in removing contradictions and shaping its world as 'itself into unity.'"

JHIRALAL HALDAR

NOTE ON THE STATE OF TECHNICAL EDUCATION IN GREAT BRITAIN AND GERMANY

Provision for technical education is made—in Great Britain—in four classes of institutions—the Universities, Technical Institutes, Technical Schools and Polytechnics. In most of the older Universities, for a long time, the only technical subjects included in their curriculum were Electrical and Mechanical Engineering. Thus at Cambridge, the institution of a mechanical science tripos and establishment of the Chair of Electrical Engineering marked almost an epoch in the history of the university, about thirty years ago. An agricultural tripos and a diploma of forestry have since been added but no further advance has, as yet, been made. But in all the newer Universities, technical subjects find a prominent place. Thus, the University of Birmingham,¹ which probably includes the

¹ The following brief history of the University of Birmingham mostly taken from an excellent article which appeared in the "Engineering," some years ago, will be found to be of interest still.

The beginning of the higher technical education in the Midlands was marked by the opening of the Mason College at Birmingham by Huxley in 1880. This building is situated in the centre of the city and forms part of the Chamberlain Square, which contains the Town Hall, Free Library, Art Galleries, and Municipal Council House. It is evident that what Mason desired was that some practical method of education in Science should be provided for those in the Midlands.

In 1892 the Birmingham Medical School was absorbed by the Mason College, and thus the first step towards real University work was taken. The College was then called Mason University College and many of the students were prepared for the London University Examinations. This Science College did good work in its time, and the Chair of Engineering was founded in 1881, and was endowed by Sir James Chance in 1900, and a Mining Professor was appointed in 1883, so that it will be seen that *applied science was taught from the outset*. In 1907, there were five applied science professors, in Mechanical, Electrical and Civil Engineering, Mining and Metallurgy as well as lecturers on the same subjects, making altogether five professors, five lecturers, and three assistant lecturers in applied science.

It was in 1898 that Mr. Joseph Chamberlain publicly announced the idea of a Birmingham, or, as it might perhaps with advantage be called, a Midland University. The necessary

largest number of technical subjects, provides instruction in Mechanical, Civil, Electrical Engineering, Metallurgy, Mining, Chemistry of Fermentation, as well as in Commerce and Journalism. In fact, the ideal sought to be realised at Birmingham is a school of general culture which would practically assist

money having been subscribed, and the requisite formalities gone through, the Charter was granted in 1900. The study of humanities is included as at other Universities, but while at Birmingham, a broad catholic education—in fact a real university education—in any subject is obtainable, yet it will certainly specialise in applied science and commerce. At this time, Mr. Andrew Carnegie forwarded a munificent donation of £50,000, with the admirable advice, that before anything was done in Birmingham, the council should be well informed of what was taking place in America.

The deputation to America: Accordingly, a special deputation (consisting of Mr. George H. Kenrick, Professor Poynting and Professor Burstall) was sent to the United States, some four years before the Moseley Educational Commission was despatched on its famous tour of inspection over the same ground. The report dealt with and recommended the American system of engineering education, and that report was adopted by the Council of the University. While this committee were busy with the preparation of their great scheme, other faculties and departments of the University were developing rapidly. Accordingly, the next step was taken to erect new buildings on a site of 25 acres generously presented to the University by Lord Calthorpe at *Bourne Brook* about three miles from its old site. In June 1900, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, as Chancellor of the new University, addressed the first meeting of the Court of Governors. In that speech, he emphasised the importance of research. "They believed that those were the best teachers who were themselves constantly learning, and that, without adding continuously to the common stock of knowledge, they would not be fulfilling their duties." He went on to ask for further endowment of a quarter of a million sterling. (They had received already promises of £330,000.) Mr. Chamberlain emphasised the fact that it must "not only be school of general culture" but it would also "practically assist the prosperity and welfare of the district in which it was situated by the exceptional attention which it would give to the teaching of science in connection with its application to local industries and manufactures." He then went on to speak of the great Applied Science Universities in America which they hoped to imitate. "All that is wanted is money," he said, in 1900. In less than four years there was sanctioned a building contract for over a quarter of a million pounds for the huge laboratories for teaching applied science in a practical manner. It is clear that the Chamberlain ideal for the Midland University has always been a school of general culture, specialising in the facilities for training applied sciences. It is not a technical school; there was already a most excellent one in Birmingham before the University was erected. It is for training "Captains of Industry," not the rank-and-file or even the non-commissioned officers.

In the report of the Deputation to America, the authors state "that their object has been the establishment of a college, teaching science in its application to industry, and in the first place to the industries of the district, coupled with such technical instruction in handicrafts as will enable the students to complete their course in the University itself." They classify the industries of the district as follows: Mining, Metallurgy, Engineering and Chemical trades. They emphasised the need of creating Chairs in Applied Science which the University have since obtained; and one which will surely soon follow—a Chair

the prosperity and welfare of the district (the Midlands) by the exceptional attention which it would give to the teaching of science in connection with its application to local industries and manufactures. Similarly, the University of Leeds includes courses in Mechanical, Civil, Electrical, Mining and Gas Engineering, besides Fuel and Metallurgy, Agriculture, Dyeing and Applied Chemistry, including Dyeing and Chemistry of Leather.

The largest technical institution in Great Britain is, however, the Institute of Technology in Manchester which includes a very extensive range of technical subjects. Indeed, the school is a very big place, six stories high, in which the Technological Faculty of the University of Manchester prepares students for the Degree of Bachelor of Technology.

It is to be hoped that, in due course, we shall have in Calcutta a technical college of the type of Manchester School of Technology. The line of progress should be to add different departments to the existing college at Shibpur, rather than to establish isolated institutions dealing with different technical subjects. For, instruction in any technical subject involves instruction in subsidiary subjects and, therefore, the establishment of isolated institutions involves undue multiplication of courses of the same kind which, with limited resources, it would be best to avoid. Thus, at Charlottenberg (the Berlin

of Applied Chemistry. They estimated that the total cost of land, buildings, machinery, and fittings would be £155,000. When it is mentioned that the buildings alone have cost over £250,000, it will be seen that the most hopeful expectations of this Committee concerning funds, has been exceeded. This Committee estimated that the annual cost of maintenance (including staff) would be £10,450 per annum. Already the Applied Science Staff alone receive something like £5,000 a year. There is a paragraph in the report of this Committee which our own rich men might lay to heart: "Everywhere we found that the wealthier citizens realise the importance of university education and encourage the Universities by generous gifts."

Thus, the University has grown out of small beginnings by the incorporation of allied institutions and the addition of new faculties and it has been bodily removed to a locality where it could have sufficient room for needful expansion.

Technical High School), in the Department of Architecture, the following courses of lectures are recommended :—

First Year—Practical Geometry, Experimental Physics, Experimental Chemistry, Surveying, Building Construction, Drawing, including Figure and Landscape Drawing, History of Architecture, the Antique, Modelling figure and ornament.

Second Year—Mineralogy, Geology, Building Construction (Higher Course), Principles of Design, Railways, Roads, Waterworks, Strength of Materials, History of Greek and Roman Architecture, Furniture, Antique, Renaissance, 18th Century Drawing, Plane Figures, etc.; Estimates and Specifications.

Third Year—Sanitary Engineering, Iron Buildings, Design of Buildings in stone, brick and wood. Design of Public Buildings, Gothic Buildings, Architectural Perspective, Heating and Ventilation; Figure Design from Living Models, Modelling.

Fourth Year—Machine Construction, Colour Decoration, Lectures on the History of Greek, Roman, Renaissance, and Gothic Architecture, the Design of Buildings in various styles and in various materials.

Such a scheme cannot obviously be attempted in an isolated institution dealing with special subjects.

Besides the Universities and larger technical institutions, there are technical schools, which are to be found in almost every municipality, often in connection with secondary schools or Schools of Art. As an example, the Brighton Technical School (which is located in a gorgeous building), provides instruction in Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Natural Science, Engineering (Mechanical and Electrical) including Tool-making and Wiremen's work, Building Trades, Languages, Commercial Subjects, Photography, Typography, Manual Training and Domestic Economy (for girls). The Building Trades include Building Construction and Drawing, Architectural Design, Hand Railing, Carpentry, Cabinet-making, Pattern-making,

Moulding, Turning, Plumbing, Sanitary Science and Quantity Surveying. The school prepares students for the London Matriculation and Intermediate Examinations, City and Guilds Examinations, as well as examinations held by the Institute of Civil Engineers, Pharmaceutical Society, etc. One cannot help being impressed with the elaborate fittings of its workshops. The school seems in its technical branches to furnish an ideal to which the schools of the type of the Bihar School of Engineering should work up, in time.

Polytechnics are more advanced institutions than the Technical Schools. They prepare for London B. Sc. and similar examinations but the subjects taken up are similar to those in the Technical Schools. In all these Institutes (except in some of the Universities and the University Colleges) there are evening classes for those engaged in work during the day, in almost all the subjects. The fees charged in the evening classes are much less than in the day classes, a further reduction being allowed in the case of those actually engaged in the trades for which a particular course is specially designed.

But no scheme of technical education will be completed which does not make suitable provision for a course of training in the actual works. All authorities are agreed on this point. As has been well remarked by a former professor of the University of Leeds, "The college laboratory can do what cannot be done in the works and the works can do what cannot be done in a laboratory; both are indispensable, but each should do that which it is able to do thoroughly and not spoil both by attempting to combine them in one and the same place."

Taking the case of Mechanical and Electrical Engineering the following is often regarded as a suitable, though a somewhat elaborate, course of training. After receiving a good education, a youth should be sent to some small general engineering works, where he is more likely to gain useful experience than in a larger establishment, for about twelve or eighteen months;

he should, then, take either a two or a three years' course of instruction in a college; he should, next, go into some larger engineering works, where he can specialise in some particular branch for a period of not less than two years: finally, he should go into the drawing office for at least one year. Such a course of training will thus take from six to seven years, which in some instances may be more time than many parents can afford to give their sons. In such cases, the expense of the college course may be materially reduced by scholarships; but this, of course, entirely depends upon the ability and diligence of the student. Then, again, if youths do well, they will nearly always receive some remuneration during the third and fourth stages mentioned above.

Generally speaking, the importance of practical training after a college course, in all technical subjects, cannot be overestimated. In dealing with these, therefore, we are confronted with special difficulties. I have in a recent article¹ adverted to the difficulty in securing admission into works in England and elsewhere in the case of Indian students. It will be obvious, therefore, that in India, the difficulty of providing practical training in technical subjects will be very great,—in new subjects, almost insurmountable. In subjects, like Mining, Mechanical Engineering and Weaving, suitable provision can be made with greater ease in India than in England for practical training of students in actual works. There are others (Electrical Engineering and Metallurgy) for which and also, while some provision can be made in this respect (in certain departments), in respect of industries which have either not made a beginning or are in an embryonic stage, the plan to be followed is the one to which I referred in a recent article. In all cases, it is necessary to bear in mind the absolute necessity of providing for practical training, in every scheme of technical education that is at all worthy of consideration.

¹ *Vide, Colcutta Review, July 1922, Technological Studies.*

Finally, a reference should be made to a special type of schools, maintained by the London County Council, namely the Schools of Arts and Crafts. The Central School of Arts and Crafts was established (to quote from the prospectus) to provide instruction in those branches of design and manipulation which directly bear on the more artistic trades. The special object is to encourage the industrial application of decorative design and it is intended that every opportunity should be given to students to study this in relation to their own particular craft. It is the intention that the school should supplement and not supersede apprenticeship by affording to trade students opportunities for studying design and for practice in those branches of their craft, which owing to subdivisions of processes of production, they are unable to obtain in the workshop.

The instruction is adapted to the needs of those engaged in the different departments of building work (architects, builders, modellers, wood, stone and marble carvers, gilders, painters, decorators, cabinet-makers, metal-workers, etc., designers of wall papers, textiles and furniture and workers in stained glass, tapestry, embroidery, bronze, lead, etc.); also in work in the precious metals (enamellers, jewellers, goldsmiths, silversmiths, chasers, engravers, and die-sinkers); and in general book-production (book binders, compositors, black and white designers, book illustrators, illuminators and lithographers). New classes have been arranged in Typography, Building Construction, Dress-making, Lace-making, Tempera Painting, China-painting, Technical Carpet-designing, and Designing for Monumental Masonry. Other departments are being opened in response to reasonable demands.

According to the Principal of the Central School of Arts and Crafts, one of the objects of the school is to keep up and develop the artistic talent connected with handicrafts

* My inquiry had led me to the conclusion that the difficulties are nearly as great in Germany and the United States.

against the inroads of the modern machine. In view of the decaying arts in this country, as in silver, gold, muslin, etc., a school of this kind—say, in connection with the School of Art, should prove a highly useful institution.

I must defer a detailed account of the German Technical Institutions to a future occasion. At present, I shall confine myself to a brief description of *Hoch Schule* (the High School) at Charlottenburg, perhaps the greatest Technical School in the world, which I have lately had the pleasure of visiting. I have already incidentally referred to the comprehensive nature of the courses of studies provided there. As a further illustration, we may take the course of studies recommended for Engineering.

First Year—Experimental Physics, Higher Mathematics, Mechanical and Descriptive Geometry, Mechanical Technology I, Introduction to Machine Construction, Experimental Chemistry.

Second Year—Mechanics and Mechanism, Thermodynamics, Strength of Materials, Graphic Statics, Cranes and Lifting Machinery, Practical Work in the Engine Laboratory, Mechanical Technology II, Commercial Subjects.

Third Year—Electricity, Crane Design, Steam Engine Construction, Hydraulic Machine, Practical Work in the Engine Laboratory, Machinery Construction, Pumping, Compressing and Blowing Machinery, Steam Boilers, Statics of Bridge Construction, Finance and Banking.

Fourth Year—Students at this stage specialise in either (a) (b) or (c).

(a) General Mechanical Engineering, Design of Hydraulic Machines, Setting out Factories for various purposes, Machine Construction, Hydraulics, Design of Boilers, Practical Work in the Engine Laboratory, Ice-making and Refrigerating Machines, Practical Work in the Electrical Engineering Laboratory, Construction of Dynamos and Transformers.

(b) Railway Engineering, Locomotive, Carriage and Waggon Construction, Permanent Way, Railway Working, Setting out Factories, etc., Iron Construction, Electric Telegraph, Practical Work in the Engine Laboratory.

(c) Practical Work in the Electrical Engineering Laboratory, Transport of Goods, Construction of Dynamos and Transformers, Electrotechnics in relation to the Electric Telegraph, Electric Measurements, Electric Lighting, Alternating Currents, Electric Transmission, Electric Railways, the Physical Basis of Electrotechnics, Electro-chemistry, Introduction to the Potential Theory, Potential Theory and its employment in the study of Electricity, Electric Waves.

A student is not, however, compelled to take the whole of the course laid down. He has perfect freedom to select any course of study he thinks fit, made up of lectures from any of the (six) departments of the School.

A feature in the organisation of the teaching staff is worthy of note: Each professor is expert in his particular branch (who is associated with the Rector¹ on a footing of perfect equality and, in general, *engaged in the full practice of his profession*. In this way, theory and practice are brought into close union.

The cost of maintaining the Berlin Technical High School is considerable. In 1899 the income of the school was nearly £70,000, of which nearly 50% was provided by the state. And it is not without interest to note that the cost of a complete course in the High School was then only from £10 to £17 per annum. 1, 018

The following quotation from the Consular Report issued by the Foreign Office on German Technical Education, which closes an article which appeared some years ago in a paper, called the *Technic* is of special interest even now.

“His Majesty the Emperor William has always manifested a deep appreciation of the vital importance of technical education, and of the progress of science and chemical and technical

¹ Each Professor becomes Rector, by rotation.

industries. He has displayed this in many ways, by participation in scholastic conferences, the admission of the Directors of Prussian Technical High Schools to the Prussian upper house and latterly, by honouring the Prussian Technical High Schools with the right to confer the new degree of *Doctor of Engineering* on the occasion of the centenary of the Berlin Technical High School. This is a most important historical event in the annals of the development of scientific education in Prussia, as it indicates that the technical high schools have been raised to the academic level of the older Universities. This honour, great in itself, was further enhanced through the Emperor by the bestowal of the title of "His Magnificency" upon the Professor elected each year to the office of Director of the Berlin Technical High School, and by the additional right of conferring the degree of Doctor, *Honoris Causa*, upon distinguished scientists, scholars and public men."

"The importance of the step that was taken by the German Emperor cannot be too highly estimated. It practically meant a recognition and acknowledgment of equality given by the old universities with their honourable historical records of many centuries, to their younger colleagues, the technical high schools of the nineteenth century."

"Since the elevation of the technical high schools to the same rank as the four faculties of the old universities, German educationalism has attained a certain measure of perfection in the last of the three great historical periods—the appearance of the universities as a living protest against the dreary and fruitless scholasticism of the middle ages: the foundation of academics with the principle of experimental research as the basis of natural sciences; and, finally, the creation of technical high schools with the principle of the systematic application of scientific methods to the service of mankind."

THE FUNCTION OF PUBLIC CRITICISM

Newspapers first came into existence to record events as they happened from day to day. They supplied a want which was widely felt, and they were appreciated by a daily widening circle of readers. They have now become indispensable at the early morning breakfast table, in moments of leisure and during travel. The telegraph has helped to make the newspaper a source of daily communion throughout the world. The rustle of its myriad leaves is heard in every household in every part of the civilised world, and the morning does not properly begin unless we have a glance at the daily morning newspaper. News travels with the speed of lightning, distance and time have alike been annihilated, and events happening thousands of miles away are known the next morning in every part of the world through the medium of the ubiquitous newspaper. One wonders how the world got on in former times without newspapers. The story is told of our Yankee friends of how a preacher failed to excite interest by depicting the horrors of hell. After denouncing sin and sinners he waxed eloquent over the awful punishment of sinners in hell. With all the eloquence and earnestness he could command he spoke of the tortures of hell and the fearful lot of sinners; in vivid language he described the burning sulphur and brimstone of hell and of the fire that is not quenched. But all his efforts to inspire terror remained ineffective, and his glowing periods passed over his hearers as harmlessly as water glides off the back of a duck. Feeling baffled and desperate the preacher tried another octave of solemn exhortation. "My brothers," cried he in his deepest and most sepulchral tones, "there are no newspapers in hell!" Then the congregation was suddenly aroused out of its apathy and listlessness, and there was manifest consternation in the faces of the listeners. They were all deeply stirred. If hell without

a newspaper is inconceivable and the notion is repugnant even to people without any imagination how can the world do even for a day without its multiplicity of newspapers?

The daily criticism of public affairs, of public men and public measures is of later growth. The day's news were presented as a bunch of twinkling glowworms; followed the powerful searchlight of criticism turning every way, shooting shafts of light in every direction, exposing the dark and tortuous ways of intrigue and piercing the heart of the most intricate problems in public affairs. The fierce light no longer beats upon the throne alone, but upon everything that pertains to the affairs of the country and the nation. The humble chronicler of news evolved into the publicist and took a definite part in shaping public opinion which has ruled the world from the ancient days when Rama ruled the kingdom of Ayodhyā. The power of public criticism like all other powers has been abused at times, since men are not always fit to wield the power they possess. Moreover, the State and the Press have come into frequent conflict. Men connected with newspapers are usually ill paid, despised and very often oppressed. Many of them have found life bitter and its environments depressing. Several of them have mistaken their calling, others are ill equipped for the vocation they have chosen. In spite of all this, however, newspapers are now a recognised factor in affairs, and the very fact that they are sometimes ill-treated proves that their power is felt.

Between the newspaper and the periodical, the monthly magazine and the review there is a clear line of demarcation. Their different functions are clearly, if tacitly, defined, and there should be no overlapping between them. The *Edinburgh Review* in the days of Macaulay and the *Bangadarsana* guided by the genius of Bankim Chandra Chatterji represent the high water-mark of periodical literature, while the *London Times*, apart from its views on political subjects and the struggles of nations to win liberty, has maintained the highest

traditions of journalism. The monthly periodical should have some literary value, and some of the finest modern literature has appeared in magazines in monthly instalments. It is more abstract and less concrete. From the nature of its publication, seeing that a month intervenes between two numbers, the monthly magazine should not and cannot encroach upon the province of the daily newspaper. The monthly magazine is more or less an individual publication. Each article is signed and bears the authority of the writer. There is an atmosphere of detachment, an evidence of leisurely thought. The mysterious plurality of the editorial 'we,' the driving force and the hustling energy of the daily newspaper are absent. It is within the province of the writer of a signed article in a monthly magazine to consider and criticise any particular measure of the Government, or any public body or corporation. It is *not* within his province, specially if he is an anonymous writer, to make running or ill-natured commentaries month after month on any particular institution or to criticise any particular individual. That is the function of the daily newspaper and the monthly periodical ought not to encroach upon it. *1C1S*

Literary controversy such as illumined the pages of the *Nineteenth Century* in the time of such giants as William Ewart Gladstone and Thomas Huxley, or the keen rapier play and the delicate banter of Matthew Arnold is an intellectual treat and an abiding pleasure. Writers and critics of their calibre are not to be found every day anywhere, but every high class periodical with any claim to dignity can follow the lead of these great men so far as the choice of subjects fit for controversy is concerned. Putting the matter broadly and roughly it is competent to a monthly magazine to permit a number of known writers, whose motives are unassailable, to consider the Irish question from various points of view. An article in a monthly periodical may well deal with any particular measure introduced in the Indian

Legislature. A writer in such a periodical may closely examine the administration of a Viceroy or a provincial ruler. He can pass under review the affairs of a Municipal Corporation or a University, or lay down his reasons for or against a particular civic or educational policy. But if month after month he criticises or reviles a particular institution or a particular individual associated with that institution he usurps the function of the daily newspaper, and also raises doubts as to the purity of his motive.

On this particular question of motive there can be no distinction between writers in the public Press, daily or monthly, because it is a question of public morality and admits of no deviation of standard. Several years ago, an Indian commercial magnate interested himself, on public grounds, in the establishment of a railway in a certain remote part of India. He happened to be in England on his own business and was asked to approach the Editor of the London *Times* to enlist the sympathy and support of the great London paper. At that time it was owned by the Walters. The Editor, after hearing his visitor, asked him if he had any personal or financial interest in the project. On receiving a reply in the negative he asked the Indian gentleman to give him such an assurance in writing, and it was only then that he agreed to make independent inquiries and to support the scheme if so advised. That was the tradition of the *Times*. The reader may remember how the same paper rebuked Sir Michael O'Dwyer some time ago and said it suffered no dictation from any one. All newspapers and periodicals, great and small, must be above the ascription of any motive in the discussion of any individual or institution.

The line of conduct is very simple and there should be no difficulty in following it so long as one is guided by rectitude of motive. If in criticising a public institution or a public individual there is the faintest suspicion of a personal grievance the hand of the critic should be automatically

stayed. If public criticism is in any way inspired or influenced by private prejudice or a sense of personal wrong it is a clear debasement and prostitution of a valued right. The more real the grievance the greater the measure of offending. If any monthly periodical oversteps the limits of its legitimate functions, and month after month assails any individual or institution with undisguised virulence and hostility, and if there is the remotest justification for the suggestion that at the back of such hostility there is a feeling of a personal injury or a personal disappointment then the critic stands self-condemned as unworthy and unfit to perform the part of a dignified and impartial critic. Each one of us, however humble our calling and sphere of influence, is ever in the great Taskmaster's eye, and for every one of us are intended the weighty words of warning, Judge not, that ye be not judged.

NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

THE ROSE OF INDIA

(ACT IV; SCENE III)

[*Scene.* A street in Mailepur. Several passing along in one direction.]

An old woman—

Is this the way to Sitaraman's house
Where the great Sadhu dwells ?

A girl—

Ay, little mother,
Straight on, and then the turning to the right.

Old woman—

Vishnu be praised ! My journey's end is near.
I'm nigh worn out with walking.

Palanquin-bearers—

Way —make way !
Way for the princess ! Backward there ! Give room.

(*The people fall back. Enter, borne on palanquin, Magudani and Sinthice.*)

Sinthice—

How the folk press around us ! are they all
Bound for this Sadhu's lodging ?

Magudani—

One and all
They tend in one direction. Many are sick,
Others would hear his message. All have need.

A bearer—

Your presence, the crowd thickens. It were well
Here a brief while to rest the palanquin.

Magudani—

Well, rest a little. Do I see aright,
Or is that boy Vizayan ? It is he.

Prince Vizayan—

'Tis Magudani ! What a game is this !

Magudani—

What dost thou here, Vizayan, unattended ?
Where are thy tutors ?

Vizayan—

They are round the corner,
At their wits end, what hath become of me !
I dodged them finely.

Sinthice—

O thou wicked boy !
If thou wert kidnapped, 'twere thy just desert.

Vizayan—

Desert ? I wish the day no better end !
So while the sun shines, I will pluck the fruit.

Magudani—

But now, Vizayan, whither goest thou ?

Vizayan—

Whither thou goest, Rose of India !
'To see this wondrous Sadhu. I have heard
How a great block of timber that withstood
An elephant with coolies half a score
He drew up from the river easily ;
How water drops he threw into the air
Remained suspended, till they turned to flowers
That fell in showering fragrance at his feet.

Magudani—

These are but tales, Vizayan ; thou shalt see
No conjuror, but a healer of the sick,
And hear a great Apostle of the World.

Vizayan—

That will content me, if I go with thee,
O heartless breaker of a thousand hearts !
But yesternight, my sister Draupadi
Her hair for envy of thy beauty tore.

Magudani—

Thy tongue, Vizayan, runs away with thee,
And where it goes thou know'st not. Hold thy peace.

Sinthice—

How long are we to linger ? Girl, these fellows
Will rest till night, unless thou hurry them.

Magudani—

Ah, the press slackens. Bearers, up and on ! [*Exeunt.*]

(*Enter Ram Chandra, covered with ashes and with beads about his neck.*)

Ram Chandra—

How soon the people follow him ! Already
The leaven in the meal begins to spread.
Not unobserved hath Magudani gone
Yonder with Krishna's sister and the prince.
I'll sit me here upon the roadside—so
And wrapt in holy contemplation, watch
The passers-by, if haply there should flit
Some-fly as greenly coloured to the web.

(Various people pass by Ram Chandra who seems absolutely absorbed and indifferent. Some throw coins to which he pays no regard.)
(Enter Draupadi, heavily veiled with a female attendant.)

Draupadi—

It cannot, Lachmi, be much further now.

Ram Chandra (aside)—

Now where have I those silvery accents heard,
That haughty carriage seen, that stately tread ?
Ah, now I have it !

Draupadi—

See that poor Fakir !
Give him a piece of silver. Ah, his soul
Is raised to heights above such worthless pelf.

Ram Chandra—

Yet on the greatest lady in the land
Saving the Maharani, I might deign
Thence to bestow a glance compassionate.

Draupadi (starting)—

Thou knowest me ?

Ram Chandra—

Ay, Princess Draupadi,
I know thee and the tempest in thy soul,
Whither thou speedest thy misguided steps,
And what the future has in store for thee.

Draupadi—

I go but whither all are wending now,
To hear the new Mahatma, and to see
His mighty wonders.

Ram Chandra—

Not for him thou goest,
Nor yet his wonders, but to gaze upon
The face of one who hath despised thee,
Thee, a king's daughter, for some lowlier choice.

Draupadi—

Swami, thou read'st the secret of my soul !
He passed me over for another's sake.
Chit ! I could slay her for his sake and mine.

Ram Chandra—

By simpler means thou mayst secure his love.

Draupadi—

How meanest thou ? I gain him ? In what way ?

Ram Chandra—

See here a cruse of crystal ! When thou payest
On thy fair cousin a call of courtesy,
Watch an occasion when she's unaware,
And her cosmetics with its content mix.

Draupadi—

Is it some spell upon her, holy seer ?

Ram Chandra—

'Twill mar her beauty in her lover's eyes
Till by her side a Rakshasi were fair.

Draupadi—

Nay, nay, that were a sin, an evil thing !

Ram Chandra—

Evil is oft the pathway to a throne.

Draupadi—

Nay, nay I dare not—yet thou temptest me !
I will not use it, but will purchase it,
And have it by me. What a power it gives !
The way to what a crown of happiness !

Ram Chandra (giving her the cruse)—

Take it, and have it by thee ! 'Tis the same.
(*aside*) Who plays with evil soon is Evil's sport.

(*Draupadi takes the cruse, and throws Ram Chandra a gold coin. Exeunt Draupadi and her attendant.*)

Ram Chandra resumes his attitude of deep contemplation. Beggar children passing snatch at the coins lying round about him on the ground. He takes no notice. A low rumble of thunder is heard.

Curtain.

(SCENE IV)

[*Scene.* A room in Sitaraman's house. Present Sitaraman, his wife, daughter, Magudani, Sinthice, Vizayan and Tulsi. In the back-ground a balcony on which is seen through open doors St. Thomas addressing a crowd that murmurs and exclaims as if deeply stirred.]

Sitaraman—

Ah, how he sways the people ! Now he brings,
Like some great vessel slowing into port,
His grand oration to its close.

¹ Female demon.

St. Thomas—

And now,
Now He hath called you, what is your reply ?
Will ye return to the old sin-hardened ways
And grope in darkness, when He lights the world ?
And though He rose, be still content to lie
In tombs and sepulchres as men long dead,
When ye may rise by virtue of His life,
And walk with Him in newness, clad in white,
That in white garments cleansed of every stain
Ye may be raised to meet Him in that Day ?
O risen Lord, who in Thy sepulchre
Didst place an angel where thy body had lain
Making henceforth each grave a resting-place
Fragrant with promise of more glorious life,
Do thou thy angel sent to every grave
Where lies a soul imprisoned, dead in sin,
To touch it with the touch that sets it free,
That as an angel in Thy grave was found
So those in graves may stand where angels are !

*(St. Thomas ceases—a silence, then cries of "Jesu Masih" "Thoma Rasul"
"Save us and heal us !" "Alleluia," etc. The saint comes into the room
from the balcony ; Sitaraman falls at his feet and embraces them.)*

Sitaraman—

Great Swami, sainted messenger of Christ,
Whose advent here was like a rose of dawn
On dark and troubled waters, and a calm
Settling immediate on a Restless sea !
What blessing thou hast shed on me and mine,
My wife, my daughter, both of late possess
Of evil spirits, but by thy healing hands
Delivered and restored, are witnesses.
Wherefore I come, who can no more contain
The fount of gratitude that in me springs,

With my poor thanks in homage to thy feet,
Humbly imploring yet a higher boon,
E'en grace of Baptism, that we may become
Servants of Christ and members of His flock.

St. Thomas—

Give Him the glory, not His messenger.
He who dispenses blessing, by the act
Becomes of it partaker, and for this
To render God the thanks, befits him too.
'Tis mine own longing to supply your need.

(Beholding Sinthice)—

Who is this lady?

Magudani—

She of whom I spake.
My poor blind aunt, Sinthice, Holiness.

St. Thomas (to Sinthice)—

Lady who hast been kept so long a while
Held in a state of darkness, that on thee
The works of God may now be manifest—
What is the foremost longing of thy heart?

Sinthice—

Light! once again to look upon the light.

St. Thomas—

Light of the world! send from the realms of light
Thy ray upon the darkness of these eyes,
Upon this soul the radiance of the morn,
And bid from both the shadows flee away!

All—

Amen. Amen.

St. Thomas—

Who is the boy ?

Magudani—

He is the Prince, Swami,
Vizayan, son of great Mahadevan,
And heir to all his Kingdom.

St. Thomas—

Gentle Prince,
God gives to thee a great inheritance,
'Tis a great trust. Discharge thy duty well
And to His honour dedicate thy gift,
That of a still sublimer heritage
Thou fail not when the earthly crown shall fade.

Vizayan—

I shall remember this, Apostle blest ;
(It hath more sense than what our Sadhus teach)
And when I sit upon my father's throne
Not Gurprashad shall be High Priest—but thou !

Attendant --

His Highness the Prince Gad presents salaam.

Silaraman—

Bid him be welcome.

Sinthice—

Ah, the light, the light
It dawneth on my darkness. I can see
Dim shapes about me.

St. Thomas—

Soon it shall be day.

(Enter Gad—Magudani veils herself.)

Sitaraman (salaaming low)—

Thy graciousness o'erpowers me, noble Prince.

Gad—

I crave thy pardon, worthy Sitaraman,
For breaking in upon this gathering
But I have need in mine imergency,
And pray thy leave to supplicate thy guest
For counsel in my straitness.

Sinthice (to Sitaraman)—

Now, Bahadur,
High time 'tis on thy hospitality
We ceased to trespass. Much I own to thee
That underneath thy roof hath fallen on me
So rich a blessing. Magudani, come.

Gad—

'Tis Magudani !

Magudani—

Yes, beloved, I.

Gad—

Life of my life—alas, it goes amiss.
Mahadevan, save under one condition,
Will not approve our marriage.

Magudani—

Yea, I know it.

Gad—

And our reply to this ?

Magudani—

We have no choice.
We must refuse it.

Gad—

Then we cannot wed.
Think, Magudani ; shall our lives be wrecked
• For a few grains of incense ?

Magudani—

Ask the saint,
He can and will return but one reply,
Else should be to our very souls be false.

Gad—

Shall we be true, then, by surrend' ring all
To man's cold sentence that divides our souls ?
Queen of my heart, wilt thou thy heart deny ?

Magudani—

E'en that were better than deny our Lord.

Gad—

Sweet maiden, thou art my remembrancer.

Sinthice (interrupting)—

Child, tarry not, the hour is growing late,
And Krishna will be angered.

Magudani—

Love, farewell.

Sinthice—

Besides, we have Vizayan.

Gad—

Ah, thy rose
Was not without its thorn, and I am pierced

Magudani—

God can do all, we little ; O be strong !

(Disengages herself gently. Remains all save St Thomas and Gad, who gaze after Magudani.)

St. Thomas (to Gad)—

My son, I know thy anguish ; yet awhile
Be patient ! God will help thee to thine own.

Gad—

Who gave me Magudani's love but He ?
'Twere but to mock me, if He dash away
His nectar ere I drink it. Now I am
As is a chariot of its wheels bereft,
Or like a silent lute without its string,
Whose use and sweetness are of yesterday.

St. Thomas—

Not thus were loves regained nor battles won ;
Not thus did Rama in your legend win
Back to his arms his Sita. Though the gate
Be made of iron 'twixt thyself and her,
Yet thou, breast-forward marching on to it,
Mayst find it open of his own accord,
As half those hindrances men fear to face,
When boldly fronted, for their feet make way.

Gad—

Not all the walls and portals in the world
Shall keep me from her, nor Mahadevan
Himself have power to part us ! Doubt me not.
If I go single back to Narankot,
'Tis to return in vengeance mightily
To thunder at the gates of Mailepur,
And level her proud turrets with the dust.

St. Thomas—

And thinkest thou to gain thy happiness
By plunging half the homes of Hindustan

In mourning for the nation's flower cut down,
And on their ruins build thyself a house?
There wouldst thou hear, I tell thee, all thy days
The voice of Rachael weeping for her sons,
The widow's lamentation for her lord,
The crying of the fatherless for bread—
All blent in curses on thy selfishness.

Gad—

Then what is left but life-long loneliness?

St. Thomas—

Patience and constancy, and selfless love,
What if the tender fires of Love divine
Should melt the iron in Mahadevan
As erst they softened Gondophares' heart?
Then as a mist thy sorrows were dispersed
For sunshine of a bliss without alloy.

Gad—

Hard, O my father, though thy counsel be,
It is my star of guidance. Yet I fear
The current sweep me on in spite of it.

St. Thomas—

Thy safety lies in clinging to the Cross
As to a rock in eddies firmly set.

Gad—

Once in sore danger have I heard the same.
Ah, now I mind me—thus the angel spake
Ere back to earth thy summons wafted me.

St. Thomas—

Then peril not thy soul's security,
By rash, ungoverned action. God preserve
And keep thee steadfast till we meet again.

Gad—

I feel thy prayers around me like a fence
To ward off evil. Holy saint, farewell !

(Kisses St. Thomas' hand. Exit. Enter Tulsi with a lamp. St. Thomas sinks on to a couch.)

Tulsi—

Master is pale. All day he hath not eaten.

St. Thomas—

By prayer and fasting ! 'twas my Master's way.

Tulsi (after a pause)—

The rice is ready. May I bring it thee ?

St. Thomas—

Nay, little brother, leave me for a while ;
I am a trifle weary. Thou shalt bring
The rice on my awaking. Quench the light.

(Tulsi extinguishes the lamp.)

Into Thy hands—till I awake, O Lord !

(He falls asleep, a soft moonlight pervades the room. Enter after a pause, Ram Chandra stealthily.)

Ram Chandra (soliloquising)—

It almost were a shame to interrupt
So calm a slumber. How at peace he looks !
And now his smile is like a little child's
That in his dreamland sees some vision sweet.
A little child ! I must have been that once—
With all my life before me. Could I choose
My path again, it might be different—
Though it might be the same, for aught I know.
Yet I could envy him his holiness,
That seems so high above this warring world,

As to have overcome it and to reign
Beyond its power to harass or disturb.
Ah, yes, I envy and I hate him too.
Ram, how I hate him ! Till his pale face shone
With light unearthly in our throngèd streets,
At the right hand of Kings I held my place
And turned the rod of Empire where I would ;
Now I am outcast and a beggarman.
Forget it not, Ram Chandra, in this hour,
Nor suffer any freak of sentiment
To turn thee from thy purpose ! He must die.

(A figure in shining raiment appears standing at the head of St. Thomas. Ram Chandra shrinks back.)

Who standeth there, with stern and awful eyes ?

(The apparition vanishes)

Ye gods, I must be dreaming. Nerve thyself
Unto the sacrifice in Kali's name.
And wax not faint, Ram Chandra ! It should be
An easy thing to smite a sleeping foe.

(Draws a dagger. Tulsi creeps nearer him from behind.)

Yet my arm fails me. Then the other way !

(Caste aside dagger, and draws from his leathern wallet a cobra. Tulsi unseen secures the dagger.)

Here Kali hath a servant that is sure
And will not falter in her deadly stroke.
She and not I shall smite him. *(To the snake)* Little sister,
I'll place thee on the pillow of the Saint,
Thou know'st thy duty ! When I set thee free
Of my enchantment, up, and deal him death !

(Draws nearer couch.)

O Thomas, e'er so ready to forgive,
Pardon this brief disturbance of thy dreams.
But a few moments shalt thou toss awake,
While I shall watch and chant thy lullaby
Into that sleep that knows no wakening.

(He lifts the cobra to place it on the Saint's pillow, Tulsi springs on him and stabs him in the back. He falls to the ground with the cobra, which turns on him and strikes him three times on the forehead.)

Ram Chandra—

O powers of evil—ye have led me on,
And at the last betrayed me! Woe is me!

Tulsi—

Look on my face, Ram Chandra, ere thou die,
I am that mute thou spurnèdst with thy foot,
And mad'st accomplice to thy villainy.

Ram Chandra—

Ye gods! I scarce can breathe, my limbs grow numb.
'Tis a dark valley, and 'tis icy cold.
I feel me sinking downward, ever down.
Ah no! not that! From that low reptile state,
If Thou hast died for Man, O save me, Christ! (*dies*)

Tulsi (bending over St. Thomas)—

My master still is sleeping. Therefore I
Will slay my *second* cobra noiselessly,
And watch for his awaking. Then, may be,
I shall have leave to go and fetch his rice.

Curtain; end of Act IV.

To be continued.

FRANCIS A. JUDD

VENGEANCE IS MINE

BOOK II; CHAPTER XIII

POLITICAL.

Let us leave Tanman unconscious in front of the wedding altar and go back to Raghubhai. Six or seven years had passed since we last met him. In a quite unobtrusive manner he had won over the clerks, the servants and the British Residency at the Prince's court. Often he felt tempted to play his trumps but he lacked courage. Suppose his card were beaten! And Anantanand was often in his way.

That wonderful man went about all over the state and through the power of his gigantic intellect and his arresting personality he had captured many a heart. He never came again to ask for the restoration of the annual grant to Varat which had been reduced. Three years later Revashankar stopped completely the grant to the monastery. Raghubhai had hoped at that time at least to see the Swami again. But he was then busy with something else. It was also reported that after the death of his *guru* Karunanand, this Anantanand had become the head of that order. Raghubhai, who could understand everything else, found the Swami's game incomprehensible. His ignorance of this particular matter led him to fear the man and hence he hesitated to take any step.

Revashankar was not satisfied with stopping the grant. He had heard it mentioned that the Varat estates, unproductive so long, had begun to yield a good income. So his avaricious heart was longing to levy the land-tax on them. A couple of years later an order was sent demanding the tax. A long controversy arose out of this. Some parts of the estate were shown to have been directly under the

Revenue Department and a feeling began to grow that gradually the Varat lands would be confiscated. Revashankar was a tenacious person and he had got Varat now in his bull-dog grip.

Jasubha had remained just what he had always been. Champa was still living with Ranubha and entertained the prince. But imperceptibly a change had come over her. She had grown more serious and more sedated in her beauty. Even the Queen Devalba felt no longer jealous of her.

Suddenly Jasubha had a fit of activity, he wanted to make a grand tour of his domains. Revashankar dropped his spectacles out of sheer amazement. He understood that the strings were being pulled from elsewhere. But this Divan of more than twenty years of experience cared little for such negligible influences. He arranged for the tour and Jasubha started.

CHAPTER XIV

TWO DIPLOMATS.

Raghubhai was at that moment sitting in the rest-house at Kevalpur. Six years had wrought but slight change in Raghubhai. There was just a little more of the seriousness of old age observable in his face. The rest-house had been converted into a temporary office, because Jasubha had started out on tour and the Naib Divan had the management of it. A little distance from the rest-house was the camp of Jasubha.

"Raghubhai! Times are indeed getting critical," said a gentleman sitting opposite.

He was an elderly, old-fashioned Parsi, whose eyes sparkling behind a pair of spectacles spoke of half-a-century's experience in the world's ways. He was the Head Assistant

in the Residency at Ratnagadh. The Resident being a freshly arrived military swell, all the affairs were managed by Pestonji. He spoke the full, racy Parsi dialect.

"Critical is scarcely the word. We have to play our last card now. The game of the last ten years is drawing to a close and everything is now, my dear sir, in your hands."

"Never say die, my boy," cried Pestonji, "I will do my best. But why the devil are you in such a terror from this Bawa?"

Pestonji and Raghubhai were as father and son. If one wanted something done by Raghubhai or by Pestonji, one had merely to send a present to the other;—such at least was the popular belief.

"Sir, the Bawa is indeed a terror. I have to obey his merest wish. Do you think the Maharaj Saheb would otherwise have come out on this tour? It was done at the instance of Ranubha and Champa, and I am sure the Bawa is at the bottom of it all."

"Don't you think Champa and the Prince are on the same friendly terms as before?"

"Not at all. This woman is deep. She is a friend of the Prince and of Anantanand and the wife of Ranubha! And such a past! She was an abandoned dancing girl when she first came and now she has the airs of a saintly matron. She wishes to control entirely the state policy."

"Oh, don't you fear. She scarce seems that sort."

"Please do not make a mistake. Slowly but surely she is interfering in all His Highness' doings. Only Revashankar is too clever for her."

"But why did the Bawa bring His Highness out on tour. I do not understand what he has up his sleeve."

"You see, it is like this," explained Raghubhai, rubbing his hands, "the Bawa wishes to take His Highness to Varat. He is reported to be all powerful there, so none can foresee what might happen there. Five years have passed and yet the

Bawa has done nothing, nor has he made a sign. We cannot quite see his game."

"But what can be done as long as Revashankar sticks on?"

"Yes, but we can arrange this matter. It rests with the Bawa and with another—"

"Who is he?" exclaimed Mr. Pestonji, his neck outstretched eagerly.

"Your humble servant. But I cannot just yet play my trump card. My dear sir, through your kindness the Residency is on my side. But I am only waiting till the fruit is quite ripe."

"Then why the deuce did you call me now?"

"To be at hand in case the moment arrived. Jasubha might have need of your protection, I might need—"

"But when is this moment arriving?"

"Patience, dear sir. I am resolved not to allow the Prince to get to Varat. Once there I become a mere child before this Bawa. Once out of his influence I can show my full power."

"But what does all that mean? Do speak in plainer words."

"My dear sir, pardon me. You shall see for yourself the full blaze of my power only when it comes. At present I must not whisper it even to my shadow. I have already dropped a hint or two at the Residency and at Bombay. But till my game is finished everything is a profound secret."

"Very well, I have—"

Just then there was a knock at the door. Raghubhai got up and half opened it.

"Who is that?—Well, did I not tell you not to disturb us?"

"Yes, your honour, but here is the Swamiji himself."

"Who? Anantanand?" asked Raghubhai in a frightened voice.

"Yes, sir."

He held the door with his left hand and with his right signed to Pestonji to go inside an inner closet. Pestonji went in and bolted the inner door and then only Raghubhai opened the outer door fully.

"Ranchhod, ask him to step in."

"Yes, sir."

A few moments later Anantanand came in. The intervening six years had made no change in him. He cast his sharp glance all round the room. Raghubhai looked with some alarm at the inner door.

"Well, your holiness, and what are your commands?"

"My one desire; when is Jasubha coming to Varat?"

"His Highness seems disinclined to go there."

"Then you try and bring him round."

"How can I do so?"

"What will you do when you become Divan? What did I tell you! You *must* bring him to Varat; there is no help. Then alone will he understand the untold harm done to his domain by the oppressive and miserly rule of Revashankar. At first he only wanted money; but now he is bent upon ruining our Varat institution. So one of us must go."

Revashankar had also experienced the ever increasing influence of Anantanand; so he was trying to get rid of the monastery of Varat by any means. And as a last resort the Swami had arranged for this royal tour. There was room for only one of them in the state—either Anantanand or Revashankar. Such was the present position. The Swami, however, had not yet succeeded in ridding the state of his rival, because the man was high in favour with all the three superior powers—the Resident, the Bombay Government and Jasubha.

"Your holiness, your merest wish is a command to me, but—

"Raghubhai, I do not care for your 'buts,' so you had better keep them for yourself. To-morrow morning

Jasubha *must* come to Varat. Everything only has been arranged to make him welcome, now we are waiting for you to bring him along."

"But if he does not listen to me? He is exceedingly obstinate in such matters."

"Raghubhai, I do not want your excusing. Jasubha shall come to Varat and you shall agree to it." The words from the Swami and his tones seemed to cut away the very ground from under Raghubhai's feet. His voice sounded like the decree of Fate.

"Well, I will do what I can."

"Very well, do this much. I know that you have been called to-day at half-past five to arrange the programme. You fix it up there and as you come out tell Chhotu Jemadar and I shall get the information. I will then do what is needful;" saying this Anantanandji cast another glance at the door of the inner room and walked away.

Raghubhai fell back on the cushions and Pestonji after first peeping out carefully came out.

"Is this your Bawa? I could not yet observe him properly."

Raghubhai wiped his forehead and regained some of his usual composure. "We must *act* now. We have been quiet too long. Well now, Mr. Pestonji, you kindly stay at Talod with your man. Varat is near from there. I will send a man when I need you, otherwise I will drop in myself."

Pestonji got up and put on his overcoat. Raghubhai also got up and slipped a bundle of notes into his hand. It went unobserved into Pestonji's pocket. Muffling up his face he slipped out quietly by the back door.

Raghubhai leaned back on the cushions. His state was unenviable at this moment. Revashankar regarded him as an enemy and accepted him as a nuisance to be endured. The wondrous powers of Anantanand had spread a magic net far and wide in which he himself had been caught in spite of all

his care. He had not yet been able to make out the real motives of Anantanand. He had, however, to dance to the Bawa's tune. And the Bawa too had to be kept well in hand, because Ranubha (and Champa too) were his creatures. So Raghubhai had, after deep consideration, thought out a way of freeing himself from these toils and of re-asserting his own greatness. The most profitable use of the secret he had discovered could only be made if the state policy remained unchanged and if the Divan was--himself. To hold a constant menace over the prince and thus to keep him always submissive and meek was indeed a less dazzling position than that of a king-maker, but it brought more wealth and greater peace of mind and security. Raghubhai's cogitation had at last led him to this conclusion that if Jasubha could be subdued by the strength of the secret he possessed, then Revashankar would have to retire and Anantanand would have to leave the country or else be powerless--and himself would be the master of the Residency as well as of the state.

He was looking out for a chance to subdue Jasubha, but owing to the incomprehensibility of Anantanand's plans he was never able to tell which chance would turn out to be the best for him. He was awaiting the right moment and the very atmosphere around him seemed to proclaim that it was not far off.

, (*To be continued*)

KANAIYALAL M. MUNSHI

MITES FROM MANY

V

I.—On the Ganges.

The moon aspires to be at full,
The lapping waters sing
A song, unheard of outer ear,
To heart the joy of spring.
The stars in music bloom round moon,
They dance on Ganges' breast ;
The world betwixt the brown and blue,
See, smiles refulgent rest.
The stillness of the land is clothed
In bright forgetfulness ;
The air pulsates a sacred tune
Day's labours to redress.
The mind at work finds endless rest,
Though wake, the senses sleep,
The world around is world no more ;
Beyond, a strange Love's peep.
Now do I think and do I live,
Have I a form and name ?
Or, is not this confusion sweet
For love of God to claim ?—*Modern.*

II.—Supplication.

(1)

Let me confess my sins, O God,
 Let all men me a sinner brand,
 The greatest of my sins the thought,
 The greatest sin can Thee withstand.—*Modern.*

(2)

O God, Thy might's beyond my hurt,
 As mountain is to breeze of spring.
 To hurt the least Thy love gives life,
 Is hurt to Thee—thus love to wring.—*Modern.*

(3)

Were I not the worst of sinners,
 Assailing fears not mine,
 Of senses not the slave, then why
 In supplication Thine?—*Bhatta Sumandana.*¹

(4)

O close not mercy's gate on me
 For my malicious sin.
 Whose heart is clean, who knows no fear
 Perchance may n't enter in.

¹ Ballavadeva's *Subhāṣitāvalī* (Ed. by W. Peterson), No. 3505.

But I the meanest of the mean,
 To righteousness unknown,
 Have I not the greater right
 To loving compassion?—*Pandita Jagaddhara.*¹

(5)

I have but asked as nature bid,
 Save me from my prayer,
 From Thee what comes is ever best,
 May all my joy be there !
 My prayer's but the child's love-call,
 'Tis folly that has asked.
 May Thy trying gifts to me
 Be loving mercy-masked ! —*Modera.*

(6)

As we look on life fades away ;
 Youth decays as day follows day ;
 The days that go ne'er come again,
 And time devours the universe.
 Fortune flies as ripples break upon the sea.
 We flash through life as lightning on the sky.
 Now, save, O save, this seeker for refuge
 In Thee, O Sanctuary for us all ! —*Sankarāchārya.*

¹ *Op. cit.*, No. 3524.

(7)

Hail World-formed, hail Unspeakable One,
Hail All-peace, Being, Sentience, Joy !
Hail Divine Physician, cure thy slave
Of cruel fever, called world-life !
Hail Mother mine, of all my sins
The patient, silent bearer Thou !
Hail Father mine, 'gainst dangers all
My virgin fortress-refuge, Thou !
Hail Master mine of saving truth !
Salute I humbly the holy feet
Of Him who guides my feeble steps,
Upon the path that Peace-ward leads.
Salute I humbly all true men,
Or now or in the days of eld
Or in the days that e'er will dawn,
God-gifted with true loving faith
In Him who rules the hearts of all
And zealous in His creatures' good.
Goes forth my supplication true :—
Dispel the darkness of my heart,
O make me clean, within and out,
No evil can Thy presence bear.—*From Sanskrit.*

III.—Meditation.

(1)

Wise in words, unwise in truth,
All such as are there,
Out they stay, O friends of heart,
Words are not my care.
Outer door is closed, unclosed
Inner, heart-gate mine,
Enter soundless, friends, and pass
Gloom to pure sunshine.—*Chandidās.*

(2)

Childhood's days are lost in play,
Youthful strength, devoured by love,
Age is sunk in vainest thoughts,
Yet his heart none lifts above.—*Sankarāchārya.*

(3)

To fear Him makes all terrors fall,
To love Him makes belov'd of all,
A life-less speck before wert thou,
He has given thee sentience now,
Has called the senses to thy aid.
Now, think thy choice, if wisely made,
To Him unmind, when truth is said.

—*Ram Mohun Boy.*

(4)

Be I in my native land,
 Be I on the strangest strand,
 Where'er I be,
 I see but Thee
 Amid Thy wondrous world !
 In various times,
 In various climes,
 Thy varied works, uncurl'd.
 Moments all Thy glory show,
 I call on Thee,
 None ne'er can be,
 Present Thou where'er I go.—*Ram Mohun Roy.*

(Composed on a voyage to
 England in 1830-31.)

(5)

Sin, shame and sorrow, unlov'd brood,
 Were priceless friends on road I trod,
 Who else my heart had God-ward turned
 And drown'd me in this joy of God?—*Modern.*

(6)

I and Thou are one—'tis true,
 And yet am I Thy slave,
 The wave and Ocean are but one
 And Ocean's yet the wave.—*Sankarāchārya.*¹

MOHINIMOHAN CHATTERJI

¹ *Op. cit.*, No. 3520.

FIFTY EIGHT YEARS' FIGHT WITH MALARIA

V

Besides those mentioned in my last article, the only other important anti-malaria measures which have been adopted by Government in Bengal are spasmodic jungle-cutting and the sale or free distribution of quinine (including cinchona). There is no doubt, that thick jungle, especially of undergrowth, is insanitary. Captains Proctor and Stewart found, that villages surrounded by such jungle which is favoured by a high level of subsoil water, had a spleen rate of 71·7, but the rate in villages with little or no jungle was as low as 44·5.¹ It has unquestionably aggravated the effects of malignant malaria after it had been started. But, if it could have originated it, it would have done so long before 1860. The futility of jungle-cutting as an effective anti-malaria measure was early perceived even by high European officers of Government. Mr. Dampier, Commissioner of the Presidency Division, wrote in a letter in 1864 :

“It has been said that as their own neglect of sanitary precautions is the cause of the sickness under which they suffer, the villagers have no claim to assistance from without ; but I do not believe that the inhabitants of the tracts which have suffered have been greater delinquents in this respect than those of other parts of Bengal, or of this division (the Presidency Division) who have hitherto escaped. I have seen jungle as thick, and habitations as unclean, in the suburbs behind Alipore as I have met with in the worst of the fever-stricken villages which I have visited ; and it is by no means clearly established, that the neglect of precautions which were within the means of the villagers is the primary cause of the epidemic, although doubtless that neglect has intensified the visitation.”

The Government of Bengal wrote in a letter to the Government of India (January, 1868) :

“It must be borne in mind that under the conditions of Lower Bengal any clearance of spontaneous vegetation, however thorough, is of the most

¹ Report of the Drainage-committee (1007).

transient effect only. To cut down the jungle and underwood is worse than useless ; to root it up is extremely laborious and costly ; and even when uprooted it is replaced by a no less luxuriant vegetation, in the course of one or two rainy seasons, so that the question is not one of thoroughly clearing the villages once for all. To be effectual, active and organised measures must be continuous."

Such measures, however, are beyond the financial capacity of Government and most Municipalities, and besides, might lead to unnecessary hardships without removing the primary cause of fulminant malaria. As was observed by Raja Digambar Mitra in a speech in the Bengal Council in 1870, despite the sensible protests just referred to, the crusade against the vegetable kingdom "was vigorously continued in obedience, as he supposed, to professional opinion, and thousands of bamboo and mango topes were ruthlessly destroyed, and many a fever-stricken sufferer, whilst yet prostrated by sickness, was dragged from his sick-bed to assist in this work of demolition of perhaps his only means of support. Such was the kind of measures which in the name of humanity had hitherto been tried for the removal of the epidemic—with what success the experience of a decade has amply testified."

The number of state agencies (post offices, primary schools, dispensaries, police stations, etc.) for the sale or free distribution of quinine has enormously increased since 1860, as also that of physicians for administering it. In 1885, there were three medical colleges in the whole of India with 553 pupils and 17 vernacular medical schools attended by 1403 scholars. In 1910, there were four medical colleges with 1569 students and 27 medical schools attended by 3,624 pupils. These are the latest figures I have got with me, and they relate only to Government institutions. Since 1910, the number of medical students must have increased enormously, especially as there have sprung up lately a number of private medical schools and colleges. The enhancement in the consumption of quinine has been quite as conspicuous. It was

some 186,000 lbs. in 1911-12, as compared with 65,000 lbs. in 1901-02.¹ Assuming a similar rate of increase during the last decade (not an unreasonable assumption), the present consumption would probably not fall very far short of 500,000 lbs.²

But malaria is as bad as, if not worse than ever. The ratio of deaths due to fevers in each thousand of population in British India during the decade 1910—1919 was :—

1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919
19·17	17·63	16·50	16·71	17·16	16·73	17·13	19·10	46·69	22·93. ³

The following table shows the increase of malaria in Bengal during the last fifty years :—

	Fever Indices		
	1868	1912	1920
Western Bengal	21·9	40·9	51·7
Central Bengal	17·3	32·3	44·9
Northern Bengal	22·3	23·7	33·5
Eastern Bengal	9·3	7·5	14·9 ⁴

There are two factors concerned in the propagation of malaria—the Anopheline mosquito, and the malarial parasite (*Plasmodium malaria*). Quinine has, of course, no action upon the former, and it does not appear to have perceptibly reduced the activities of the latter. The reasons are not far to seek. The parasite which causes malarial fever belongs to the lowest order of the Animal Kingdom, the Protozoa. It has the rather unusual capacity of existing in asexual as well as sexual forms. Quinine kills the former, but has hardly any action upon the latter. These, called gametes (or from their

¹ "Statement exhibiting the Moral and Material Progress of India," 1911-12, p. 129.

² In four decades between 1881 and 1911, the population of India increased about 24 per cent., but the value of the imports of drugs increased from about twenty lakhs to about a crore of rupees, that is about five hundred per cent. Quinine must have had a good share of the increase.

³ Statistics of British India, Vol. III. Public Health (1921), p. 27.

⁴ "Some Economic Aspects of Bengal Malaria" by C. A. Bentley, Indian Medical Gazette, September, 1922, p. 323.

shape, crescents) forcibly sheltering themselves within the protecting envelopes of our red blood corpuscles (and for that reason called endoglobular) are practically invulnerable to quinine. With the bite of the Anopheline they are transferred to its stomach, and ultimately fixing themselves to its outer surface give birth, under favourable circumstances, to a large number of Plasmodium spores which find their way into its salivary glands. When the insect bites next these malarial germs are injected into human blood, and fever ensues when a sufficiently large number of them are formed by fission (asexually). Then, again, there are some authorities who hold that the female crescents can develop parthenogenetically (that is independently of the male element) in the human blood without being transferred to the stomach of the Anopheline and thus cause relapses though there may not be fresh infection by mosquito bite. It will thus be seen how very dangerous the endoglobular gametids are, and how very important is the part played by them in the life history of plasmodium and the propagation of malaria. It is true, that Quinine by killing the myriads of asexual extraglobular parasites (sporids) cures malarial fever. But it does so only temporarily, as being inoperative against the sexual, endoglobular forms,¹ it leaves the primary cause of infection and of relapses practically untouched. Not only so. Major S. P. James, M.D., I.M.S., stated at the Malaria

¹ "According to Golgi, Ziemannse, the young extraglobular parasites are most susceptible to the action of quinine. On the other hand, the crescents are quite uninfluenced by the drug." ("The Diseases of warm countries" by Dr. B Scheube, p. 162).

"Nearly all observers have agreed that quinine exerts much less influence on the gametids especially the crescents, than upon the sporids [asexual parasites] though Ziemann thinks the male gametids are more easily affected. Many of the younger writers ascribe relapses to parthenogenesis in gametids which survive all quinine treatment in this manner." (Ross, "Prevention of Malaria," p. 137).

The temporary character of the cure effected by quinine was noticed by the Malaria Commission of 1884. They observe that "notwithstanding the steady use of it for days fresh attacks of fever occur at intervals of ten to fifteen days attended with further congestion, and enlargement of the liver or spleen, or both, till at last the system is worn out and dropsy, diarrhoea, dysentery, or some of the other sequelae terminate an existence of protracted misery."

Conference of 1909, that "it is the experience of nearly all observers that quinine given when the blood contains only endoglobular parasites, often prolongs the paroxysms of fever, and may convert a simple definitely intermittent fever into one that is almost continuous. Also it is now nearly twenty years since Marchiasava and Bignami pointed out that if large doses are given when the blood contains only pigmented parasites in process of development, the result may be the appearance of numerous sexual forms of the parasite instead of the usual asexual forms. This phenomenon of the abundant formation of gametes after large doses of quinine has been again observed and written about in Italy, and I think it quite possible that in this country the common observation of numerous crescents in the blood of European soldiers who are being treated with large doses of quinine is also an example of it. In Mian Mir last year crescents were exceedingly numerous in the blood of European soldiers who were receiving considerable amounts of quinine once or twice a week, and in this respect the examination of their blood yielded results which were very different from those obtained in the examination of the blood of untreated natives. In the blood of the latter it was rare to find crescents. Relapses of fever which almost certainly were brought about by the development of the female crescents parthenogenetically were also exceedingly frequent among the European troops, and it appeared doubtful whether the large doses of quinine at intervals of a week had any effect in preventing these relapses. It is possible, therefore, that by administering large doses of quinine more or less in a haphazard manner we may not only be placing the patient in such a condition that he is very liable to relapses, but may be increasing enormously the sources from which anopheles mosquitoes become infected."

¹ "Proceedings of the Imperial Malaria Conference", 1909, pp. 69-70. Col. Lukis observed at the same Conference "that there were many cases of malarial origin in which quinine did more harm than good, and the stoppage of the quinine led to a disappearance of the fever." (p. 75).

The dangers of quinine do not end here. Fever, called quinine fever, may be caused and maintained by the continuous use of quinine under certain circumstances. "This is probably the case with many patients in whom fever persists, notwithstanding the administration of large doses of quinine. F. Plehn is of opinion that quinine sets up a disintegration of the blood corpuscles, especially in persons whose blood cells are abnormal, more especially from malaria; in the mildest cases this is hardly perceptible, but in serious cases it may cause hæmoglobinuria (Blackwater fever). In quinine fevers no parasites are found in the blood, and signs of quinine intoxication are present." The outbreak of blackwater fever has been observed by various investigators "to immediately follow the use of quinine, even in quite small doses. Of 43 cases of blackwater fever which came under F. Plehn's observation in Cameroon, 24 positively broke out a few hours after the administration of quinine; and of 55 cases treated by A. Plehn in the same place 48 of the attacks were directly caused by quinine. Most of the attacks set in two to four hours after the administration of quinine; in rarer cases, probably in consequence of retarded absorption, the attack commences later, even as much as ten hours after. For this reason Koch has made the assertion that blackwater fever, as a *rule*, is solely *quinine poisoning* without malaria taking any part in the condition. Baccelli made the same assertion in regard to malaria—hæmoglobinuria in Italy."

Then, again, quinine in large doses—and small doses are now considered by many authorities to be useless—often, produces ringing in the ears, dyspepsia, deafness, headache, giddiness, convulsions, &c.¹ These symptoms show how very adversely the constitution is affected by quinine, and from

¹ Scheube, op. cit., pp. 163, 137.

² Sir Ronald Ross cites a case in the tropical clinic of the Royal Southern Hospital at Liverpool who could not endure even 0.03 grams." (less than $\frac{1}{4}$ grain). "Prevention of Malaria," p. 136.

what has been said above, it will be apparent, that in many *cases, the benefit it confers is problematical, but the injury is sure, and that the constitution is damaged, and its capacity for resisting and overcoming disease diminished.

Further, the conclusions in regard to the efficacy of quinine have been arrived at chiefly by experiments upon Europeans. Now, the Indian constitution is markedly different from the European, and what suits the one may not suit the other. From a number of experiments carried on by Dr. McCay upon Europeans and Bengalis, he found that the former have in their blood twenty per cent. more of hæmoglobin than the latter.¹ This deficiency of hæmoglobin in the red blood corpuscles of the Bengalis, "renders their oxygen carrying power less than that of the red blood corpuscles of Europeans and that large doses of quinine may be deleterious, as Binz has shown, by binding the oxygen more firmly to the hæmoglobin, and thus inhibiting the oxygenating power of the blood."² This is a serious handicap to health in general, and to recovery from malaria in particular in the case of the Bengalis, and most probably of other Indians, as their constitution would not be markedly different, their staple diet and climatic conditions being very much alike.

The only scientific experiments on a fairly large scale the writer is aware of in regard to the effect of quinine upon Indians have been carried on in the Federated Malay States (the climate of which is hot and moist like that of Bengal and Madras) by Malcolm Watson, M.D., D.P.H. As results of his experiments which were conducted upon Tamil coolies in plantations he found that "quinine has little effect on the gametids [the sexual forms of the Malarial parasite]; that patients die even after 40 grains of quinine daily;" and that

¹ Dr. Indumadhab Mallik, "Food and Cooking", p. 14.

² "Proceedings of the Imperial Malaria Conference," (1909), p. 69. "It has been also said, that the administration of certain salts of quinine tends to lessen the power which the red blood corpuscle have of resisting hæmolsis [breaking up of the red blood corpuscles]."

"if, as has been shown, the immunity from Malaria produced by quinine leaves the patient infective while he is acquiring the immunity, then it will be impossible, in the presence of many Anophelines, and in the presence of many new arrivals (such as newly born children) ever to eradicate Malaria by quinine." Dr. Watson states that his Malayan experiences should also be applicable to India and observers: "The logical conclusion therefore seems to me that quinine can never do more than give temporary relief to India, and that the factor to be dealt with is the Anopheles, and that measures must be aimed at it—not only in towns, but also in rural districts."¹

Malaria was endemic in India, especially Bengal, for good many centuries before 1860, but was kept down very low in areas, such as the districts of Burdwan, Hooghly, Nadiya and Twenty-Four Parganas, where the endemicity has been very high since that date. Quinine, however, was unknown before the forties, and but little known before the sixties of the last century. The indigenous febrifuges then used were:² *Nata Guilandina* (*Cæsalpinia*) *Bonduc*, *Nim* *Melia azadirachta* (*Azadirachta Indica*), *Shefalika* *Nyctanthes Arbortristis*, *Chirata* *Agathotes Chirata*, *Nishinda* *Titer Negundo*, *Charai-gorwa* *Vitex Peduncularis*, *Gulantha* *Tinospora Cordifolia*. *Paltá* (Leaves of *Trichosanthes dioica*), &c. In regard to *Nata*, Watt in his "Economic Products of India" (1883) says, 'The seeds are said to possess well-marked anti-periodic properties and are largely used by the natives instead of

¹ Ross, "Prevention of Malaria", pp. 561-562.

² The following verses are quoted from an old number of the *Sambád Pravarak* (a Bengali newspaper) in *Ayurveda* (Ashár, 1325):

“*খিরালা, নাটার ভগা, পল্লা, খনিয়া ।*

শেলাপিরা, মিলহাল, মুলাখ খানিয়া ॥

প্রদেব জিহব লবে মরি পরিমাধি ।

তিনমীর জলি সিদ্ধ-বিহিত বিধানি ॥

ছটাকারীনাথ-দিনে দুইবার খাবি ।

দেহে বহুত জ্বর খব্দার খাবি ॥”

quinine. For this purpose they are pounded with black pepper, from 5 to 30 grains being regarded as the proper dose. Ainslie seems first to have drawn the attention of Europeans to this powder, but even up to the present date it has not apparently taken the position which it deserves as a tonic and febrifuge.'

Voigt in his "*Hortus Subarbanus Calcuttensis*," 1845, observes: 'One of the seeds of this plant [*Nata*] pounded into paste with three or four peppercorns, and taken from three to four times a day in a decoction of *Chirata* is an excellent febrifuge. The seeds are intensely bitter and powerfully tonic, and should not be neglected, at least, as an adjuvant, where *bark* and *quinine* disagree with the constitution.'

Writing about *Nim* in 1858, Drury in his "*Useful Plants of India*" observes: 'The bark which has a remarkably bitter taste, has been much employed of late years as a fair substitute for cinchona. The natives consider it a most useful tonic in intermittent fever and chronic rheumatism, administering it either in decoction or powder.' Voigt speaks of the bark of this tree as a 'good substitute for the Peruvian bark.' Drury speaks of *Chirata* as 'one of the most esteemed of Indian medicinal plants, being especially valuable as a tonic and febrifuge.....Its febrifugal properties are in high estimation with European practitioners in India who use it instead of *Cinchona* when the latter is not to be procured.'

An experienced allopathic physician, L.M.S. of the Calcutta University, wrote in the monthly journal *Ayurveda* (Ashar, 1325), that he had found the powder of *Nata* seed to be much more efficacious than quinine, and that it does not produce any deleterious after effects like quinine. Watt, as we have seen above, complained in 1883, that it had not taken the position which it deserved as a tonic and febrifuge. It has not only not taken the position which it deserves, but has lost the position which it occupied even at the time of Watt. The other indigenous febrifuges have shared the same

fate; to such an extent, indeed, that they are almost unknown in New India. But for the despised "quacks" and the illiterate elderly people of old India all knowledge about them, the result of thousands of years of experiments, would, for all practical purposes, have been lost altogether. Even Kabirajas, I am informed in cities like Calcutta, smuggle in quinine among their febrifuges.

This undoubtedly shows that quinine is much more powerful than the indigenous simples, and usually stops acute fever much more quickly. But it does so only temporarily, and as we have seen above, by impairing the constitution, especially the Indian constitution, permanently. The remedy, we are afraid, is worse than the poison. Of all its evil sequelæ, dyspepsia is probably the worst. For it reduces vitality and disease-resisting capacity, and even if repeated doses of quinine should ultimately make one immune to malaria, he often becomes a physical wreck and survives as a miserable hypochondriac or valetudinarian only to succumb to the attacks of some other disease.

The facts, that for good many centuries when quinine was unknown, malaria endemicity was kept down, and that the endemicity has of late been increasing with the enhanced consumption of quinine raise strong suspicions about its efficacy as an anti-malaria measure. We are strongly inclined to think, that so long as the primary cause of the fulminant type of malaria which began to rage about 1860 is not removed, so long medicines would be of little avail, except as mere temporary palliatives. But even as such, the indigenous febrifuges have enormous advantages over quinine which out-weigh their inferiority in respect of potency. Some one or other of them is available everywhere in practically inexhaustible quantity. They cost little or nothing, and age-long experience has fixed their doses and mode of administration, and they are of such a nature and so well known to the mass of the people that no trained physician is needed to determine them. They are

not followed by deleterious sequelæ and do not prejudice the constitution. In fact, several of them, like Nim and Palta, form agreeable ingredients of Indian dietetics. On the other hand, quinine is very expensive, and its price has trebled during the last two decades. Besides, the quantity available for such a large population as that of India is extremely limited.¹ Then again, there is considerable conflict of opinion among medical authorities about the dosage, and the time and mode of administration of the drug. A perusal of the medical literature on these subjects leads a layman into a bewildering maze of perplexities and uncertainties. There are some who favour daily small doses; others recommend larger, but less frequent doses. Some would withhold the drug until there is intermission, or at least until the fever has fallen, which course is held to be an error by others. Further, there is dispute about the most effective mode of administration—whether it should be taken by the mouth or injected, and in the latter case, whether the injection should be intravenous, intramuscular or rectal. Thus, the administration of quinine cannot be efficacious, or even safe except under the advice of a well qualified medical man. This, in a penurious community like ours, would mean in many, if not most cases, that money which should go towards wholesome nourishing food that would be sure to promote health and the disease-resisting capacity of the constitution would have to be spent upon physicians and physic, the effect of which is at least highly problematical.

¹ It came out during the discussion at the Malaria Conference held at Simla in 1909, that if given proper facilities, the Government factories in Bengal and Madras could manufacture 100,000 lbs of quinine. I do not know if that limit has been reached as yet. The world's entire output had been stationary at a million pounds for some years previous to 1909. Taking 250 grains as the amount required for each person during a malarial season of 3 months, 100,000 lbs. all that the Indian factories are capable of turning out, would be consumed by about three million people. Captain Gage pointed out at the Conference, that "if quinine was required for thirty million people, there would be difficulties, and it would be necessary to go into the open market; that would send up the price considerably."

Nature has provided excellent means for the defence of the fortress of life. But for such provision, man would have fallen an easy prey to the myriads of disease-germs to whose attacks he is exposed. Numbers of white blood corpuscles (leucocytes) act as sentinels. They resist the attacks of enemy germs killing and devouring them and are hence called phagocytes. Then, again, in the case of bacterial microbes, there is another method of defence consisting in the formation of antitoxins by the blood and tissue cells which neutralise toxins (poisons). In regard to malarial parasites, there are some authorities who doubt that they are killed solely by the phagocytes, and who hold that they are also "destroyed by their own toxins or by some germicidal substance produced by the host."¹ However that may be, the fact is indubitable, that large numbers of people recover from malaria and other infectious diseases without any medical aid whatever, or with the aid only of indigenous simples. As was observed by Charaka good many centuries ago, many are "restored to health though unfurnished with drugs, unattended by nurses, unendued with intelligence, and untreated by skilful physicians." It is impossible to determine the ratio of the percentage of recoveries in the world, or even in a single district of a single country like India, without medical aid, to that of recoveries with such aid.

Prof. Francois Magendie, M.D., a distinguished French physician, is reported to have said addressing his class :

"Gentlemen, you have done me the honour to come here to attend my lectures, and I must tell you frankly now in the beginning that I know nothing in the world about medicine, and I don't know anybody who does know anything about it.....Oh you tell me, doctors cure people. I grant you people are cured. But how are they cured? Gentlemen, Nature does a great deal; imagination a great deal; doctors devilish little when they don't do any harm. Let me tell you, gentlemen, what I did when I was physician at the Hotel Dieu. Some three or four thousand patients passed

¹ Ross, "Malaria Prevention," p. 101.

through my hands every year. I divided the patients into three classes; with one I followed the dispensary, and gave the usual medicines, without having the least idea why or wherefore; to the others I gave bread pills and coloured water, without, of course, letting them know anything about it; and, occasionally, gentlemen, I would create a third division to whom I would give nothing whatever. These last would feel that they were neglected, but nature invariably came to the rescue, and all the third class got well. There was but little mortality among those who received the bread pills and coloured water, but the mortality was greatest among those who were carefully drugged according to the dispensary."¹

Nearly four decades of my life were spent in jungles in India and Burma which are notoriously malarious. In the earlier years of my jungle life I used to keep with me a stock of allopathic medicines, including of course, quinine. I found that, in cases of fever, there were some in my camp who, as I then thought, had inveterate "prejudice" against that drug and would not take it. I do not remember whether they fared better than those who took it, but I do remember that they did not fare any worse. I gradually became so sceptical about the utility of quinine, in fact of manufactured medicines generally, that during the last fourteen years I have not taken any² whether allopathic, homoeopathic or Kabiraji, and I have kept better health than during any previous period of the same duration though my periodic visits to dense malarious jungles continued until 1920.

No doubt, one sometimes hears of wonderful cures effected by allopathy. But no less wonderful are some cures which are effected by Homoeopathy, Kabiraji or the Unani system of medicine. The publications of the Christian Scientists contain well authenticated records of various diseases including tuberculosis, cancer, diabetes, rheumatism, paralysis, appendicitis, kidney disease, some of them diagnosed as

¹ The opinions of some other eminent physicians and of distinguished laymen like Herbert Spencer, Napoleon, etc., about the inefficiency of medicines are quoted in the writer's work on "Survival of Hindu Civilization," part II. pp. 41-46, 79-85, 173-176.

² Except three or four aspirin tablets experimentally.

incurable by competent allopaths, healed completely without the help of any drugs whatever. In my younger days I used to hear of sick people in the villages healed simply by drinking water sanctified by *mantras*. Charms of various kinds enjoy a reputation for healing in all parts of the world and I have known even some educated persons using them. Pilgrims to Tárakeshwar, Lourdes, etc., testify to cures of a marvellous character without any medical help whatever. Cures by hypnotic or mesmeric suggestion are well attested facts of history. In Europe, Greatrakes, Gasner and Prince Hohenlohe did wonders in this way. An American practitioner is reported to have successfully treated his patients by silent suggestion which resembles Christian Science treatment at a distance. A Frenchman, M. Coue, has quite recently been setting Britain afire with his healing formula of Auto-suggestion—"Every day, and in every way, I get better and better."

These healing methods without drugs carry us to forces and agencies within and around us which are taken but little notice of by medical science and suggest the reflection that "there are more things in heaven and earth than are dreamt of in our philosophy." It is possible that they in some way not understood now, help the phagocytes to kill microbes (phagocytosis). The same remark would probably apply to the comparatively mild indigenous febrifuges mentioned above. Quinine, on the other hand, apparently usurps the function of the phagocytes. Nature, however, is a good ally, but a dangerous enemy, and cannot be defied or ignored long with impunity. We have already seen that dyspepsia is one of the diverse deleterious sequelæ of quinine treatment; and dyspepsia is the root cause of good many ailments which flesh is heir to, not only directly, but also indirectly as it is apt to make one pessimistic, morose or hypochondriac. But a cheerful optimistic, fearless state of mind is as essential for vitality and disease-resisting capacity as wholesome food in

sufficient quantity, fresh air, good drinking water and free drainage.

From what we have said above, the futility, if not the fatuity of quinine as a measure of malaria prevention for the immense population of India would, we trust, be apparent to the reader.¹ That a Western Government, dominated by the most influential section of Western physicians, should adopt quinine as an anti-malaria measure in India is not surprising. But that many of my intelligent and well-intentioned countrymen should advocate it is incomprehensible to me except on the supposition of a strong pro-Western bias which, as I have shown elsewhere,² now prevails in New India, and which, I am firmly persuaded, is the root cause of many, if not most of our present-day troubles and tribulations.

(To be continued)

PRAMATHANATH BOSE

¹ We have already quoted the opinion of Dr. M. Watson to the same effect. There are also European physicians of Indian experience who though they believe in quinine are of the same opinion. For instance, Lieut. Col. W. C. Ross says in the last Annual Public Health Report (1921) for Bihar and Orissa, that in his opinion, "it is not practicable to prevent malaria, or to reduce it permanently, or on any large scale by the use of quinine. The quantity of quinine required does not exist, and even if it did, the people would not swallow it." "Complete reduction of malaria by treatment," observes Sir Ronald Ross, "must always be difficult unless the authorities have such power that they can actually force the drug (quinine) down the throats of people." ("Malaria Prevention," p. 304.) Major Wilkinson stated at the Malaria Conference of 1909, that even in Italy, "the prophylactic operations conducted by the Italian Government had been exceedingly disappointing. They could not get people to take quinine in the belief that they would thereby protect themselves."

² "The illusions of New India," "Survival of Hindu Civilization", Parts I & II, etc.

MEASUREMENT OF CHANGES IN THE COST OF LIVING IN BENGAL

The question of the cost of living is one of considerable practical importance.

But the term 'cost of living' is a vague one. More indefinite is the phrase 'the changes in the cost of living.' Their meanings become clear only when they refer to the variations in the budget and expenditure and in the cost of maintaining a 'defined family of a defined standard,' at different times or at different places. Thus in order to arrive at any proper conclusion regarding the changes in the cost of living in a country, we have got to consider, carefully, four things, *viz.*, (1) change in the constitution of the family, (2) change in the standard of living, (3) changes in wholesale and retail prices, and (4) changes in money-wages, for different periods of time or at different places as the case may require.

When we want to measure the changes in the cost of living in Bengal, we will have, in the very first place, to classify the people into several well-defined groups, namely,

- | | |
|---------------|--|
| | (a) The rich or those above comfort. |
| | (b) The middle class or those below comfort. |
| I. Urban, or | (c) The poor or those above indigence, and |
| mainly non- | (d) The indigent, or those who must look to |
| agricultural. | charity or outside help even for the bare |
| | necessaries of life. |
| II. Rural or | (a) The rich. (b) The middle-class, (c) The |
| mainly agri- | poor, and (d) The indigent, as above. |
| cultural. | |

Next we will have to determine certain standard *families* of standard constitution belonging to each of these groups. This may be done, either by fixing, on experience, a standard size with average number of males, females, children and servants, after a careful examination of representative number of instances in each group, or by reducing to calories the

consuming, capacities of average families based on 'equivalent men' in each group, measured with the help of physiological studies into the calorie values of articles of consumption and dietary in our country. The first method is of course much easier to follow, although it is more subject to defective estimates, while the second method, apart from the adequacy of scientific basis, affords a means of adding and comparing dissimilar foods without reference to their prices.

The second step in the measurement of changes in the cost of living is to ascertain the changes in the standards of living of each group during the period of enquiry. The easiest way to do this is to determine standard family budgets of each group—Hindu as well as Mahomedan—during different periods of time, and to ascertain from them certain weights which should be computed with ordinary prices and wages index-numbers in order to obtain the corrected measurement.

Suppose for example in 1914 and 1921, a standard family of a standard class with a determinate income consumed articles which bore the following ratios to the total consumption which is here indicated by 100:

Commodities	1914	1921
Rice	... 20	22
Pulses	... 10	7
Fish and meat	... 8	9
Ghee and oil	... 7	5
Vegetables	... 5	3
Sugar and sweets	... 5	5
Milk and its products	... 5	3
Clothing	... 20	25
House rent and repairs	... 10	8
Medicines	... 3	5
Education	... 2	3
Taxes and subscriptions	... 2	4
Festivals, etc.	... 3	1
	<hr/> 100	<hr/> 100

Now, in order to eliminate the effects of changes in the standard of living of this family on its cost of living, we must multiply and then divide each item of expenditure with and by the figures for the two periods as shown forth against each item; or in other words, we shall have to take recourse to the system of weighted index-numbers with the weights different for different periods.

Other methods have also been suggested for the same purpose, for example, the one based on "standard deviation"; but they being rather too complicated for employment in practice in this country I leave them unmentioned.

The third and the most important step in the measurement of changes in the cost of living consists in obtaining the index-numbers of prices and wages, in absolute and percentage figures. First of all we shall have to compile records of the quantities of various commodities bought and the prices paid for them at two different dates or places, by representatives of different social groups. The record will show something like the following:—

Commodity.	Place or time x.			Place or time y.		
	Quantity.	Price.	Expenditure.	Quantity.	Price.	Expenditure.
No. 1	Q_1	P_1	E_1	q_1	p_1	e_1
" 2	Q_2	P_2	E_2	q_2	p_2	e_2
" 3	Q_3	P_3	E_3	q_3	p_3	e_3
...
No. n	Q_n	P_n	E_n	q_n	p_n	e_n

Average change in $E = x$, percentage change in $E = y$, etc.

Great care should be taken in the selection of the commodities. Each social class will have a different set of articles corresponding to it, according to its respective family budget. This shows that, in comparing dissimilar classes or people with widely different habits of life, we can at best give merely

accurate descriptions and no numerical measure of the changes.

Coming to Bengal, we shall have to inquire into the index-numbers of commodities, more or less according to the following table :—

For group A, the Rural or Agricultural people, Hindu and Mahomedan :

Class I, the rich :—(1) Rice and wheat, (2) Pulses, (3) Ghee and oil, (4) Potato and vegetables, (5) milk, etc., (6) Salt and spices, (7) Sugar and molasses, (8) Other articles of food and drink, (9) Clothing, furniture and servants, (10) House rent and repairs, etc., (11) Medicines, (12) Education, (13) taxes and rents, (14) Cattle and live-stock, (15) Domestic festivals, marriages, sradhs, etc.

Class II, the rural middle class :—Same as above less medicines and education expenses.

Class III, the poor :—(1) Rice, (2) Pulses, (3) Oil, (4) Salt, (5) Vegetables, (6) Molasses, (7) Tobacco, (8) Clothing, (9) Housing, (10) Social expenses, etc., (11) taxes and rents, (12) Interest on loans.

Class IV, the indigent :—Same as class III, less items No. (11) and (12).

For group B : the urban or non-agricultural people :

Class I, the rich :—(1) rice and wheat, (2) pulses, (3) ghee and oil, (4) potato and vegetables, (5) milk and its product, (6) salt and spices, (7) sugar and sweets, (8) tea and such beverages, (9) other articles of food and drink, (10) clothing, (11) furniture and servants, (12) House rent and repairs, etc., (13) medicines, (14) educational expenses, (15) luxurious enjoyments, (16) taxes and rents, etc., (17) festivals—religious and social, etc.

Class II, the urban middle-class :—Same as above less luxurious enjoyments, and plus interest on loans, etc.

Class III, the urban poor :—(1) rice, (2) pulses, (3) oil, (4) vegetables, (5) salt, (6) molasses, (7) clothing, (8) housing, (9) medicines, (10) education, (11) taxes, (12) social expenses.

Class IV, the urban indigent :—Same as above less items Nos. (9), (10), (11) and (12).

The importance of each commodity will evidently vary from class to class and group to group.

At the next stage in our inquiry we will require two more tables or records, namely, that which traces the changes in the price-level of commodities or in the general purchasing power of money, and that which shows changes in the money-wages of different classes of the population.

In obtaining the former, we shall have again to select certain standard commodities, different from those chosen for household budgets, as well as a basic year or period, with respect to which changes can conveniently be traced.

In obtaining the latter we shall have simply to record the money-wages for different kinds of labour, for different periods of time, or for different places as the case may require.

Lastly, we should represent in suitable graphs the result obtained by the above investigations, after making certain corrections in our estimates, with due regard to the 'probable errors' in the statistics.

In Bengal, we mainly depend upon government for the supply of many of the statistics. These, however, as we all know, are far from absolutely trustworthy. The methods of compilation through ignorant village chowkidars and dafadars, under instructions from an equally ignorant and more irresponsible set of sub-inspectors of police and such other petty officers, leave the facts compiled much open to objections. Personal experience, therefore, should, as far as practicable, always be employed as a careful check to all such statistics. We must as well guard ourselves against

possible mis-calculations in our own estimates and conclusions. Statistics are very treacherous at times, and they easily lead people to pitfalls and dangers.

It is only when we are thus equipped in every respect, and when we have gone through all the investigations as mentioned above, that we can hazard any opinion as to the nature and incidence of changes in the cost of living in our country. The Government of Bombay has in this respect made a clear advance on Bengal. The Bombay Labour Gazette, published monthly by the Labour department there, throws a very instructive light and gives us important ideas as to the procedure and the conclusions regarding the changes in the cost of living etc., of Bombay Labour. From the haphazard opinions and estimates of our councillors and newspaper-correspondents, we beg to draw the attention of our readers to scientific investigations and estimates as mentioned above.

NALINAKSHA SANYAL

CARPET WEAVING IN THE JHĀLĀWĀN COUNTRY, BALUCHISTAN

Foreword

[While travelling on duty on the Ethnographic Survey, I collected in 1902 these notes on the spot and showed them to Mr. Hughes Buller, C.I.E., I.C.S., the Provincial Superintendent of Ethnography. This note shows the movement of population from Persia to India through Baluchistan and the introduction of Persian carpet-weaving in this country.]

Weaving in the dari-stitch at Khuzdār.

In a small hamlet Nāmjo near Khuzdār there lives an old woman who has been brought from Wād and employed by a shepherd who from his appearance looks like a descendant of an African Sidhi mixed with local blood. She is a Brāhui and says that she learnt the art from her mother. Beyond this, she cannot trace the history of the introduction of the

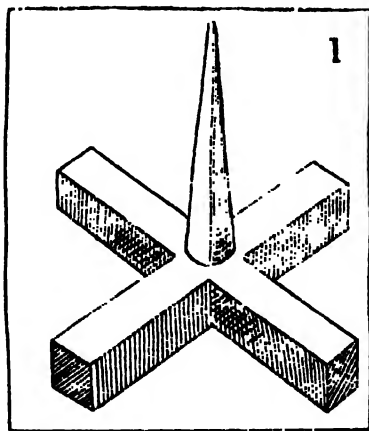


Fig. 1.

industry into the country, but the very style and process betrays Persian origin. The wool is supplied by her employer. It is spun by a Brāhui family in another village. The spinners are women, and the only implement they use is *Jhallak*. It is a spindle of the most primitive type (*vide* illustration No. 1) made of a pair of pieces of wood crossing each other at

right angles with an upright handle fixed at the joint. This has a notch in it. Thread is called *Dask*. A bundle of thread is called *Girik*. The loom is equally primitive although the work she turns out is very clever. It consists of four pegs fixed in the form of an oblong, the breadth is about 3 feet and the length 9 feet (See illustration No. 2). Between the

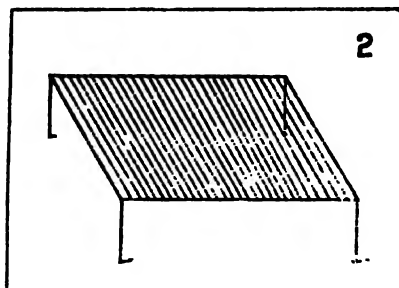


Fig. 2.

first two pegs called *Mekh* is tied the beam named *pukhtu*. Another beam is similarly tied to the pegs at the other end. About three feet from the first beam stands a tripod of sticks arranged in a triangle. She calls it *trikal* (No. 3). Two of the

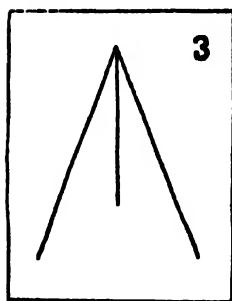


Fig. 3.

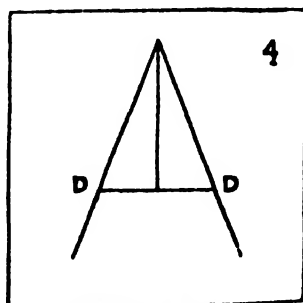


Fig. 4.

sticks of this *trikal* are fixed on either side of the oblong, and with them is tied a cross beam called *drang-dār* D—D. (No. 4) Between the *drang-dār* and the third leg of the tripod which is at the back, lies the toothed cross-beam which resembles a saw

but is much thicker, called *Makri* (No. 5). This "*makri*" regulates the action of the heddles. To this *Makri* are tied four heddles through which the warp passes. The strings connecting the heddles (*Gul*) to the across beam, (*makri*) are called *makri-band*. As she goes on weaving the carpet, she has to tie the outer ends for borders to another stick, known technically as the *stretcher*, she calls it *pannat-kash*. She has to use a large needle for stretching the completed portion of the carpet. It is known as *Sila*. The stretcher is moved forward as necessity requires. The comb with which she drives the weft "home" is called *dukh*. Thus armed, the weaver proceeds by passing each thread of the warp through the heddles in the way she has been carefully trained to do in order to regulate the designs. She has no plan before her, she cannot recount or "sing" the numbers as pile-carpet weavers do. Hers, is not a pile-carpet. She can produce but

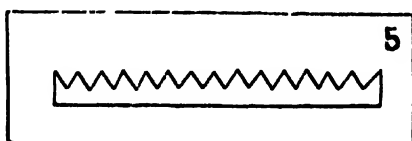


Fig. 5.

a few geometrical designs and knows her business well enough. The warp is called *goftah*, when arranged. The weft when laid is called *khol*, and each of the warp-threads is called *rothk*. It will thus be seen that she has a distinct name for each of the materials she uses. Even the weft *thread* before it is passed through the warp or "laid", is distinguished by a separate name *pot*. The fabric is called *taki*. These fabrics are made into bags for good dresses, etc. and hung in front of the bedding. One end of each of the threads of the warp is tied to the first beam and the other to that at the farthest end. The needles are next tied with the *makri-bands*, to the toothed cross beam. No size is used. In cotton weaving, and even in woollen blanket weaving all over India, sizing is the first

process, but in carpet weaving it is not necessary, as the outer ends of the "hair" or wool have to be left loose to cover the interstices. The weft-thread is carried through the warp thread by the weaver with her fingers without the use of a shuttle and passed in and out in accordance with the design she carries in her head. It is then pushed home or 'laid'

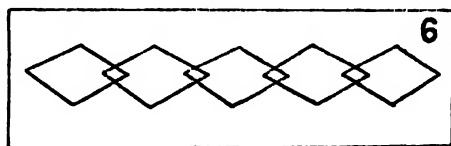


Fig. 6.

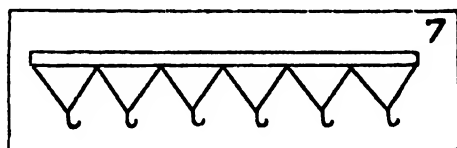


Fig 7.

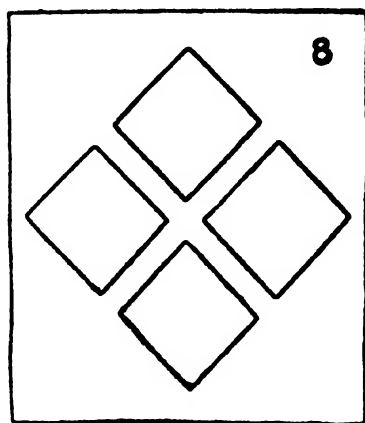


Fig. 8.

with the comb. So tedious is the process that she takes 4 to 5 months to complete one piece 3' x 9' or so. The saw-toothed design is called *lashia*, a saw. A triangle is named *harir*. A row of diamonds interlaced is called *Ajab* (No. 6). Hooked triangles are called *jeliks* (No 7). The *Khan* (No 8) is represented

by four triangles meeting in one point, leaving intervening bands of separate coloured squares, or diamonds joined by a set of straight lines called *rabad* (No. 9). And a group of squares or diamonds arranged round a central one is known as *panjali* (No. 10). As the work proceeds the stretcher is moved forward and the weaver has to sit on the fabric. When ready, she cuts the ends of the warp with a knife—*Kattār*. The cut-ends have each to be secured with a knot cleverly tied. The side, or border threads are first secured. They are called *raki*.

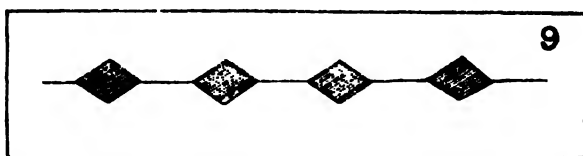


Fig. 9.

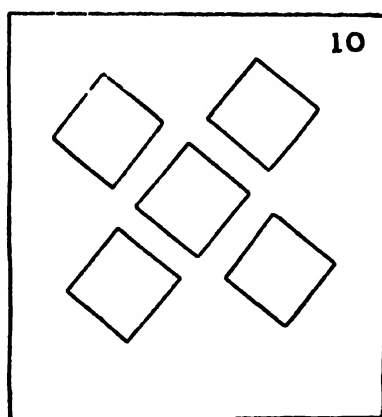


Fig. 10.

The dyeing process is performed by the wife of the shepherd under the supervision of this old woman. The thread is never bleached. It is called *punjun* as it comes from the spinner. The leaves of a plant called *guanik* is boiled into a strong decoction and the thread steeped into it

while yet hot. It is then dried without being rinsed out. The next step consists of steeping it in a decoction of the pomegranate rind and dried. *Phitki* or alum is the mordant used at this stage ; the colour of the thread is yellow. Red colour is produced by steeping the yellow thread in a decoction of the *rodang* root, *Rubia mangista*, and finally in that of the twigs of *gait* or willow. Maroon is similarly produced by the substitution of lac dye for the *rubia mangista* ; and the addition of another bath in a solution of *khār* (crude carbonate of soda). Blue is of course the indigo dye *bod*, in which alum and *gwānik* decoction act as mordants. Green results from steeping the yellow thread into a solution of "*zagh*" (sulphate of iron) the first bath of *gwānik* supplying the tannic acid required.

B. A. GUPTA

ANCIENT SOUTH INDIAN DRAVIDIAN CIVILIZATION.

From prehistoric ages South India has been inhabited by a race of people who (it is now difficult to determine), may have been the aborigines of the land or on the other hand they may have been a band of immigrants who supplanted the natives of the soil and made a home for themselves. Modern researches have conclusively established the fact that the Tamilian race is the oldest of the Dravidian races that settled in South India and the modern Telugus are themselves an offshoot of this race who, at one time, were inferior to no other nation in the world in point of civilization or martial glory. India, South of the Krishna, seems to have been an isolated country cut off from the northern regions by the dense forest of Dandaka and the very use of the word *Jana-sthana* in the great epic implies the existence of a large tract of uninhabited land further north. The whole of this part of the peninsula was occupied by a people now known as the Tamilians, who developed a civilization of their own, which materially differed from that of their Aryan neighbours to whose superior intellectual force they eventually succumbed. Unfortunately even the oldest Tamil literature extant does not point to a time earlier than the migration of Aryan thoughts into the South and so it is difficult to conceive of the Tamilians as a non-Aryan race, who had a local habitation and a name of their own. But at the same time the fact that they were in enjoyment of a civilization which materially differed from that of their Aryan conquerors in several respects points to the conclusion that, if they were not the aborigines themselves, they were at least an older stock of people who had settled in South India long before the Aryans found a home on the plains of Hindustan. Ethnological observations too justify

the theory that the Tamilians are not of Aryan descent, however much they might have been influenced by the Aryan intruders later on. It is an inevitable law of human nature that when two nations of different civilizations come into contact with one another each learns something from the other and both learn to adapt themselves to their altered environments. Yet the genius of each race continues to assert its individuality for ages to come, even though by the influence of the universal law of accommodation both the races have been fused together as one nation for all practical purposes. These facts of historical generalisation have been well illustrated in the case of the Tamilians of South India and it is the purpose of the present writer to place before the reader certain aspects of their civilization, which are essentially peculiar to themselves and cannot be traced to a foreign origin with any degree of certainty. Unfortunately the only material available regarding the civilization of the ancient Tamilians lies mostly in their literature. In spite of the scantiness of the information found therein, we are yet able to cull some facts which will be of great interest to an antiquarian.

The first thing that appeals to our imagination is the high order of development, especially in metre and versification, which the Tamil language had attained even in ancient days. Tamil had its three-fold classification of prose, poetry and drama even in those days and dramatic literature seems to have been so old as to have died out of existence, since not even a single specimen is now available. The development of the quatrain, feet and measure seems to have been of later origin, but the running verse seems to have been composed in great abundance and to have been an essential characteristic of Tamil prosody in ancient times. To a highly developed imaginative race romanticism must have made a greater appeal than classicism and so it is no wonder that Tamil poetry was worked by the principles of a free lance rather than slavishly following a set of rules hampering the flow of the

melody of a genius. Tamil prosody has developed certain kinds of metrification, which are peculiar its own and not found in any other language, old or modern. That the tastes of the ancient Tamils were refined and their imagination powerful is fully borne out by the existence of an unusual number of figures of speech enough to stagger the understanding of any rhetorician. Besides the ordinary figures of metaphor, simile and hyperbole, found everywhere, Tamil prosody has a number of figures of speech, grand, simple, and natural, which must command the admiration of all learned men, though some of them appeal too much to the sensual instincts in man. Little of Tamil poetry can be appreciated by one who has not waded through the intricacies of Tamil prosody and yet the general tenor is so simple and natural as to please every body. All kinds of highly developed poetry—such as, the epic, the pastoral, the ballad, the lyric and the martial—are all found in the Tamil language, and Sanskrit perhaps is the only other language which can boast of such varied poetic literature. The pious lyrics of the Tamilian saints, Vaisnava and Saivite, the pastoral songs of a few Sangam poets of old and the martial song of the Chola conquest of Kalinga are so sweet, sensuous and sublime that they cannot fail to enrapture the soul and please the understanding of a cultured intellect. The great poet Kampan is said to have been unable to complete the couplet begun by a peasant engaged in baling out water. As in the case of other nations of ancient times, prose played a less conspicuous part in literature and the introduction of the Aryan faiths from the north must have created a large quantity of dialectics which, the eventual domination of the Brahmanic faith drove out of existence. The whole race seems to have been imbued with the poetic sense as specimens of songs of great poetic merit sung by dancers, artisans, labourers, peasants and acrobats are found in old Tamil literature. Even girls sang extempore verse when they were engaged

in playing with their dolls, toys and balls. The habit of bewailing the loss of the husband or a child in extempore poetry is found among women in rural parts even in these days. No country, old or modern, can boast of so many women poets as the Tamil country of the Madura Sangam days. The immortal verse of that grand old lady—Avaiyar enraptures the soul of even a modern reader. There are a few relics of the Jain and Buddhist controversy still extant but even they are found mostly in the form of poetry. The dramatic literature has completely died out of existence and what might have been a beautiful source of elucidating the customs and manners of the ancient Tamilian race has become a sealed book which the gaze of a modern critic will never be able to pry into. We learn a great deal about the greatness of a nation from its literature and even the scanty material of old Tamil literature available is enough to enable us to assert that the Tamilians of old had developed a civilization of their own, second to none in those days, when the other nations of the world were groping in darkness and living the lives of savages.

In the field of politics, though we do not hear of as high a system of administration as there was among the Aryans of Northern India, yet we have enough material to gather that the Tamilian race was essentially a martial race having a trained army composed of archers, horse-men, charioteers and warriors who fought on the backs of elephants trained in war. There was the King at the head of the government who, for all practical purposes, was a benevolent despot within his own kingdom and a scourge to neighbours and aliens. He was above all law, and moreover it was thought right that his individual liberty should not be fettered even in matters of religion, and so it was no wonder, that we sometimes find the son of a Buddhist King being an ardent advocate of Jainism or a devout worshipper of Siva or Vishnu. This accounts for the spirit of perfect toleration which prevailed among the

ancient Tamilians till it received a rude shock at the hands of a few Saivite zealots later on. The broad minded sympathy which these ancient kings showed to the various faiths that sought a home in their dominions, accounts for the contemporaneous prevalence of the three faiths—Brahmanism, Buddhism and Jainism, each of which seems to have made only a peaceful penetration into this land of milk and honey.

The entire absence of all reliable information about the religion of the early Tamilian race before the advent of the Aryan faiths precludes all possibility of making even guesses approaching truth. Attempts are made in various quarters to rank these early peoples with savages in matters of religion and assume that they were demon worshippers. It is not probable that a nation so highly civilized in every other respect should have been backward in religious matters alone. On the other hand, recent researches made in the Tinnevely district and the fact that the Tamilians of ancient times were in commercial contact with the Egyptians on the west and the Chinese on the east make it possible to surmise that they may have been a race of hero or ancestor worshippers. The literature of those times reveals the fact that the Tamilians worshipped the Sun, the Moon and the elements. They classified the soil as of five kinds each of which had its titular deity. Vishnu, familiarly known as Mal, Muruga the Tamil name for Skanda, the Commander-in-Chief of the Deva hosts, Varuna the sea-god, Durga the goddess of the desert and Indra, the lord of all arable land, have all been worshipped by the Tamilians, though all these deities are of Aryan origin. The worship of Muruga was so popular that one is tempted to put him down as a god of Dravidian origin. Women attached great importance to the worship of Kumari at Cape Comorin and Tamil literature makes much of the worship of the sea-god which was made by the Pandya King at Comorin. An annual Mela is said to have been held by the old Pandya Kings, to which people from all parts of his

kingdom flocked together. The bone of a shark was planted on the beach, the sea-god was invoked into it and worship was offered him with great fervour. Like all nations of old the Tamilians had faith in omens and auguries. In an old pastoral song mention is made of the curious ceremony with which women consulted an augury placing a measure full of paddy or flowers in front of the deity in a Vishnu shrine. Monotheism seems to have been of much later origin—perhaps after the advent of the philosophies of the north, and care was taken to avoid all elaborate description of the supreme God and His attributes.

But we are on firmer ground when we think of their political or social institutions. It has now been definitely ascertained that the Tamils were a brave war-like nation who had at one time extended their sway even beyond the Vindhya. The history of Ceylon is full of accounts of Tamilian enterprise, conquest and domination. The Cholas seem to have extended their power over Burma, Siam, Malaya and Java. They had at their command a large navy consisting of Marava seamen, who are even now found divided into three classes: the sea-rovers, the sea-faring and the river navigators. In times of peace the navy was utilised for commercial purposes. The importance which South Indian kings attached to the sea is evidenced by the fact that each king had a naval headquarter in addition to his well fortified metropolis. The Cholas had Woraiyur for their interior capital and Kaviripuratnam as their sea capital at the mouth of the Kaveri. The Pandyas had Madura and Korkai as their two capitals and the Cheras, Karur, the ancient Vanchi, and Caranganore on the West coast. It may also be noted that they had a fair knowledge of strategic warfare in as much as the main capital of each king was situated on the frontiers of his kingdom. Hence Conjeevaram became a later capital of the Cholas. Though these three kings were constantly at war with one another, yet there are also instances recorded of their

combining against a common enemy. The metallic armour in which the Tamilian warriors were clad when they marched to battle, the weapons of war they used, the use of horses, chariots and elephants in their warfare and a host of other details found scattered throughout their literature, show the greatness of their military strength, not necessarily based on their skill in imitating or borrowing from the Aryans. On the other hand, the arrangement of their military camps on the field of battle, the arrow house built for the use of the king in the centre and the host of women attendants that served the king in his camp, the victors' garlands made of particular kinds of flowers (all these minutely described in their pastoral songs) speak of a kind of civilization essentially their own.

The punishments meted out to traitors and criminals were of a horrible nature. In this respect the Tamilians behaved like the other nations of the ancient world. Punishment was based solely on the principle of revenge or retribution. Prisoners of war were made captives and sent home to work as slaves. Defeated kings, captured on the field of battle, had their heads cut off or were crushed under the feet of elephants. Punishment by mutilation was not uncommon and sometimes the victims were tied to the tails of horses and dragged along the road. The most horrible kinds of punishment were reserved for traitors. A more cruel form of torturing a victim to death than what was known as "Indras status" cannot be conceived. The victim was stripped of his clothes and a thousand lighted torches were thrust into his body from all sides. Another barbarous method of killing a traitor was what was known as "giving the breast to mother earth" by which the victim was made to lie on his breast on the ground, a heavy stone was placed on his back and he was dragged by his legs along the streets till he died. Another ingenious method of torturing a victim was to thrust him into a spiked cask and roll the cask along the streets till his body becomes a mass of mangled flesh.

It was the immense dread which kings of those days had of losing their throne and their lives at the hands of rebels that made them have recourse to such barbarous methods of punishing traitors.

The social condition of the early Tamils seems to have been of an enviable type. They had no caste distinction among themselves. Wealth and learning were their chief distinguishing marks and the virile races commanded great respect. They were a brave enterprising people having commercial relations with the remotest countries of the then known world. Egypt, Rome and Carthage were not unknown to them and the rich produce of the spice islands found a ready market on Tamilian soil. A Chera king is said to have first introduced the cultivation of the sugarcane from the island of Java. They worked in metals and a few books written in colloquial Tamil show that the Tamils knew more of the secrets of metallurgy than their neighbours elsewhere. A nation that had raised fighting to the dignity of an art could be easily believed to have also developed the art of healing wounds and curing diseases. In the field of the 'fine arts' they were second to none in those days. South Indian sculpture enjoys a worldwide reputation and the artistic sculptural beauties of many South Indian temples bear witness to the high order of civilization they had developed in those times. In Music they had such keen appreciation that even the illiterate could sing well and compose extempore songs. The greatness of their literature has been already dwelt upon. The art of painting was not unknown to them though we have no means of determining the exact degree of excellence which that art attained in ancient days. Mention has been made of domes, halls, yards, seven storied edifices, towers and turrets and so in the field of architecture the early Tamils seem to have occupied a high place.

A few customs peculiar to the Tamilian race will be of great interest: They seem to have specially encouraged the

Gandharva form of marriage, whereby the pair enter into the ties of wedlock by mutual consent alone. A maid of marriageable age was generally sent to keep guard over a millet garden and her very food was carried thither. She remained there till she had the fortune of being loved and solicited by a youth who was even sometimes allowed the privilege of having his wish consummated on the spot—a procedure not looked upon as illicit or illegal, as this form of marriage was recognised as not improper. The writer has the authority of a great Tamil scholar in making the statement that this was the chief form of matrimony among the Tamilians in olden times and so the race, as a whole, might be said to be the progeny of the Gandharvas, whoever these might have been. At any rate this custom gives us an idea of the freedom enjoyed by the women of those days and the absence of all modern conceptions of social disparity.

In the republic of letters merit was the only distinguishing factor and every king was bound to keep open his court at all times for all religious or literary controversies and to give impartial judgment in favour of the successful disputant. Wagers were often laid and both parties had to respect the sanctity of the contract made. There was a funny way in which a newcomer used to court a literary or religious challenge. The stranger would take a branch of the Jambu (*βηδς*) tree and plant it at the entrance into the city. Thereupon all egress or ingress into the city even of cattle was forbidden. The King hears of this, sends for the literary knight errant and arranges to hold a Durbar where the guest challenges every learned man to a wordy combat. If the challenge is accepted by anybody present, the terms of the wager are settled, arbitrators are appointed and the controversy begins. If no body feels competent to take up the gauntlet thrown, all including the king are bound in honour to accept the creed of the victor.

Thus it will be seen that even in those days of absolute autocracy priests, philosophers and poets enjoyed a considerable

amount of freedom and kings were bound to patronise them as a point of honour. There are instances on record where kings parted with large slices of their kingdom in favour of poets and scholars who had distinguished themselves in such controversies at their courts.

Kings were looked upon as fountains not only of law and authority but also of mercy and grace. Even the lowest of their subjects had a right to approach them directly with complaints of wrongs inflicted or with other grievances to be redressed by ringing a bell hanging in front of the palace. In a standard work of Tamil literature a curious story is narrated which gives an idea of the high sense of duty which the kings of old had in the matter of administering justice. A Chola king, finding to his great dis-satisfaction that there was often miscarriage of justice in his kingdom, made penance to the God Indra and secured a divine Bhutam (spirit) who took his stand in the market place of the city. This Bhutam had the divine gift of detecting all crimes committed in the city and himself meted out punishment to the criminals according to the gravity of the crimes committed. The grateful Chola is said to have, therefore, held a festival in honour of the God Indra for 28 days continuously every year at the commencement of spring.

The loyalty of the people to their kings is best illustrated by the fact that it was customary for a man to abstain from all work or enjoyment if anybody drags him to the presence of the king or a court of justice by simply crying out, "I charge thee in the name of the king." He felt it his duty to have his character first cleared before he thought of anything else. It was a common virtue of all Indian kings to attach the greatest importance to the administration of justice and whatever might be their drawbacks in other respects they certainly deserved all praise in the discharge of their kingly duties in this respect. In the pathetic story of Kovalan and Kannaki the tragic end of the Pandya king

who fell down dead from his throne, the moment he came to understand that there was a miscarriage of justice at his hands—speaks of his glory as a conscientious judge. No student of Tamil literature can ever forget the last words that came out of his mouth :

“It is I the thief, it is I the thief, that listened to the goldsmith’s words. Even now let my dear life depart (in expiation of this heinous crime).” The neighbouring Chera king who heard of the tragic end of the Pandya King is said to have exclaimed with approbation that the Pandya’s sceptre which had bent down by an act of injustice had been set right again by the atonement of his death.

Here is a story which will speak for itself :

Once a husband happened to go on a pilgrimage, leaving his young wife behind him. When she complained to her departing lord of her lonely life and unprotected condition he told her that she was perfectly safe under the just rule of the Pandya king and that she need not be afraid of any mishap. Just then the Pandya king in disguise happened to pass by the house in the course of his nightly perambulations. He heard the man’s words and felt the awful responsibility of guarding a young wife in a crowded city in the absence of her husband. So every night he stole out of his palace and mounted guard with a drawn sword in front of this house. One night he heard the sound of somebody whispering within and thought that some paramour might have got in. He hastily knocked at the door and from the response found out that the absent husband had returned. Now the king grew alarmed that the husband might mistake him for his wife’s paramour and accuse her of infidelity. So he ran out and repeated the knock at the doors of several houses, so that people might take him for a thief. Even at the risk of being branded as a thief, he wished to save the honour of the young wife. Next morning several people came to him and complained that some thief had attempted to break into

their houses. The king calmly listened to them and asked what was the punishment for a would-be thief. They said that his right hand should be cut off. The king then drew his sword, cut off his right hand and owned that he himself was the suspected individual. He then disclosed his secret and spent the remaining part of his life with the substitute of a gold hand. But the story says that his mutilated hand was miraculously restored. He is known in history as the 'Pandya of the golden hand.'

Sometimes the sense of justice was carried even to an extravagant extent. A man in love, if repulsed by the damsel loved, had the right of making known the fervour of his love by self immolation. He would make an artificial horse with the prickly stems of the palmyra leaves, mount upon it and cause it to be dragged along the streets. While his body is bleeding profusely he goes on singing the praise of his love and bewailing the calamity of his repulse. Then the king of the place makes it his duty to satisfy the disappointed lover by enabling him to secure the hand of his love at any cost. This custom has been named Madaluruthal and it is highly doubtful if anybody had the impudence to practise it actually. But literature contains numerous songs to have been sung by such romantic lovers.

Women seem to have taken an active part in all public amusements, as mention has been constantly made of women dancers and acrobats. On one occasion a woman acrobat is said to have committed suicide, because the Pandya king before whom she played, had his attention otherwise directed. Unlike the kings of a later degenerate age the ancient kings were strictly forbidden from taking their ladies along with them when they went to war and the anxieties of a queen fearing for her lord's return has been the favourite topic of many a lyrical poet. Some poems of that sort indeed, are so full of pathos as to move the feelings of even a casual reader.

At the time of the harvest the Marava part of the Tamilian population used to hold a festival in honour of their popular deity Muruga, their war-god. A shed made of sugarcane sticks and paddy sheaves was put up on the village common and decorated with leaves and flowers. The oldest matron of the village was made to impersonate the god and she was decorated with jewellery and flowers and placed within the shed on a dais prepared for the purpose. Then the women began to dance and sing songs in praise of their deity in the midst of music and wild clamour. By and by the woman within grew excited and was filled with supernatural inspiration. Then with all the divinity of an oracle she would foretell the fortunes of her devotees and dole out her predictions with conspicuous perspicuity causing a thrill in the hearts of many a blushing maid. This festival was known as *Kuravaikkuthu* and this was probably the precursor of the modern *Pongal* festival.

RANGASWAMI AYYANGAR

PROFESSOR T. W. RHYS DAVIDS, LL.D., Ph.D., D.Sc.

[Born Colchester, May 12, 1843; son of Rev. T. W. Davids; Fellow of Wadham College, Oxford, late Vicar Wadhurst, Sussex; educated at Breslau University; entered Ceylon Civil Service, 1866; Bar-at-law, Middle Temple, 1877; married 1894; children—two daughters and one son; Professor of Pali and Buddhist Literature, University College, London, 1882-1912; Professor of Comparative Religion, Manchester, 1904-15; President of the Pali Text Society; President, India Society and Manchester Oriental Society; President of the Buddhist Society of Great Britain and Ireland; Fellow of the British Academy; Secretary and Librarian of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1885-1904; took part in founding the British Academy, 1902; founded the Pali Text Society, 1882; the Oriental Translations Fund, 1895; and the Indian Text Series, 1900; died January, 1923.]

By the death of Professor Rhys Davids the world is deprived of the service of the foremost and most distinguished Orientalist who had devoted his life solely to the advancement of Buddhistic learning and researches, and it will take yet a long time to fill the gap that has been created. He has died full of glory, leaving behind him a brilliant record of work which posterity will ever look back upon for guidance and inspiration. The unique success that attended his labours was but a fitting recompense for the worries and troubles that followed upon the resignation of his appointment in the Ceylon Civil Service. He resigned from the service because of a disagreement with his official superiors over a question involving the rights of tenants as against the interest of Government. Single-handed did he uphold the cause of the tenants and he will be ever remembered by the people of Ceylon with gratitude and veneration for the honesty of purpose and courage of conviction he evinced in the circumstances so critical and trying, for he preferred resignation to defeat, though he had nothing to fall back upon. But what endeared him more to the people of Ceylon was his resolution to bring

to the notice of the world the treasures of the Dhamma that lay in obscurity in the monasteries of Ceylon. He took up the study of Pali in Ceylon under the late Siri Sumangala at a time when a considerable interest in the subject had been aroused by the pioneer work of George Turnour and Childers, two other members of the Ceylon Civil Service, and that of Col. Olcott, the great Theosophist leader, to whom the new awakening was largely due.

The spirit displayed in resigning his appointment was, as one may say, quite in keeping with the trend of thought running through Buddha's utterances such as "Better far to die in battle than live vanquished through life," and his death in his 80th year is another point of coincidence that lends colour to our fancy that the tenor of his life was a true response to the spirit of Buddha. His writings are permeated with the same spirit: the same non-committal way of deciding questions and weighing arguments, of avoiding yet reconciling extremes, of carrying his own conviction, yet leaving the question open. In forming a correct estimate of things which apparently concerned others, individuals or peoples, he took a standpoint conformable to every way of thinking, individual or universal, European or non-European, commonplace or transcendental. On his return from Ceylon he began to study law and was called to the Bar. It must be admitted that he studied the law well, for he was an LL.D. He had to give up practice as there was none to back him. But the benefit of his law studies was not lost upon him. And his knowledge of the Law of Evidence in which he had specialized was conducive to that sound reasoning which he so admirably brought to bear upon his arguments in his literary work. One of the reasons why he got to love and make known to the world Pali and other allied texts is that he was charmed, as he had expressed to an Indian pupil of his, to find in them an ancient mode of thinking embodying such developed reasoning as was consonant with the one he could acquire with so much toil. His

literary contributions¹ are too well known to need any comment. The Pali Text Society, the Oriental Translations Fund and the Indian Text Series, of which he was the founder, and the British Academy in the inauguration of which he took a part, will ever remain landmarks in the annals of oriental institutions in the West.

But all this was accomplished by a man whose annual income never rose above £500 a year, even in his best days, when he was fortunate to occupy the Chair of Comparative Religion at Manchester. To understand the man behind this stupendous fabric it is worth while to remember some of his sayings, fraught with significance, though delivered off-hand. Now and then he would say, "I am old, but never too old to learn." Again, "It was an advantage that I studied the Law of Evidence," and again, "We, the students of research, are called upon not so much to solve the problem as to deepen its significance."

These sayings of Prof. Rhys Davids display the eagerness to learn, the consciousness of insufficiency of the knowledge of facts, the bold recognition of the fallibility of man, the open-mindedness, the unerring power of detecting errors and courage of confessing when he was in the wrong, the habit of always checking his own views by testing them with reference to the evidence from the opposite side. These are some of the most prominent qualities of a true student, a true learner, a true teacher, a true seeker of truth, not satisfied with being a mere passive spectator of the order of things around him but fully conscious of the power of changing it and changing it for the better—of the power, more than that of the statesman, the mere lawyer or party politician and the demagogue,

¹ *Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon*, 1877; *Buddhist Birth Stories*, 1880; *Buddhist Suttas* (S.B.E.), 1881; *Questions of King Milinda* (S.B.E.), 1890-94; *The Sects and Schools of Buddhism* (J.B.A.S.), 1891-92; *Hibbert and American Lectures on Buddhism*, 1881, 1890; *Vinaya Texts* (S.B.E.), 1881-85; *Edition of Dīgha Nikāya and Sammaññala Vāṇinī*, 1886, 1890, 1902; *Dialogues of the Buddha*, 1890, 1910, 1922; *Buddhist India*, 1902; *Early Buddhism*, 1908; *Buddhism* (Non-Christian Religious System Series); *Pali Dictionary* (two fasc. only), 1922-23.

of doing good to mankind as a whole by holding before them a true picture of things, by creating a new atmosphere of thought, by enlarging their ideas and broadening their outlook.

Now, if it be asked why it is that he was interested in Indian history and in a particular chapter of it; why he was anxious to carry on researches in Indian religions; why he edited the Pali and Prakrit texts in preference to the Sanskrit; and why he was not satisfied with merely writing dissertations but took an immense trouble to publish the texts and translations, the answer is not far to seek. He tried to bring home to the European, to whom Western civilisation was the only and best civilisation, the fact that there were other civilisations as good, as old and as effective; to the Christian theologian, to whom the Holy Bible was the only Book of God, that there were other Books embodying messages as noble, inspiring and original, if not more than his own; to the Indologist, to whom the Brahmanical was the only standpoint and Sanskrit was the only language and source of correct information about Indian peoples, that there were, beside the Brahmanical or priestly, other standpoints—the Buddhist and the Jaina, for instance—that beside Sanskrit there were other languages and literatures, Pali, Ardha-Māgadhī and the rest; to those who were in the habit of taking things on trust, that they should form their own opinion on the basis of texts and translations. Those who are accustomed to think that the European life is above all cares and anxieties will certainly fail to realize the immensity of the task that lay before him.

He once visited India and always held that it is for Indians to write upon their own history and culture which outsiders cannot, for obvious reasons, properly evaluate. He had always the impression that if modern India could boast of an Indian who understood aright the value of education and research, it was Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, who more than any one contributed towards the growth of indigenous research in that country.

Even this obituary notice will be glaringly incomplete without a mention of his wife, Mrs. Caroline Rhys Davids, D.Litt., M.A., who stood by him as a partner and a helpmate, as a friend and a pupil. She by her loving devotion and literary contributions helped forward the cause he espoused and supplemented his work. It is through her translations of Abhidhamma books and researches in Abhidhamana that the Rhys Davids family has been intimately connected with Burma, the only Buddhist country where Abhidhamma literature is studied with interest by both the Bhikkhus and the laity. He happened to be acquainted with this gifted lady while he was a Professor of Pali and Buddhist literature at the University College, London. And this loving connection continued to the last. It is for the seer to say whether death is daring enough to sever this connection. But it is a pity that he could not see in print the whole of the Pali Dictionary, his last literary venture, which but for the great war would have been completed years ago.

Since the retirement from his appointment at Manchester, he had to depend on an old-scholar pension, scarcely sufficient to meet his expenses, and on the proceeds of his books. He leaves his wife to continue his work in England and his children to commemorate him. But the offspring of his mind, much more perhaps than those of his body, are likely to perpetuate his memory, for his writings, unlike those of many an author, are not closed but are full of potentiality and fruitful suggestions, even where they are not conclusive. His name has become almost a household word in Buddhist families of all countries. The hill in Surrey overlooking the railway station at Chipstead—his last retreat—will long bear the remains of the grand old scholar whose death is no less enviable than his life.

B. M. BARUA

S. N. MITRA

THE RELATIONS OF EUROPEANS AND INDIANS FROM THE STANDPOINT OF A CHRISTIAN MISSIONARY¹

There are few subjects of more fascinating human interest than a study of the innumerable groups of mankind massed together or scattered according to the varying nature of the earth's surface, each group having its own variety of physical type, language, manners and customs. According to some, the differences of physical type between, say, a native Australian and a Lapp are sufficiently pronounced for each group to form a species. According to most scientists however, the differences are only racial varieties and from the standpoint of social relations the difference is important. Apart altogether from the primitive story of the garden of Eden and of our first parents, Adam and Eve, with all the poetical colouring that such a story must involve, the general scientific assumption is that the various races of men have a common origin and a common cradle-land from which the peopling of the Earth was brought about by migration, and are the outcome of their several environments. Thus, whatever we are racially now, whether European or Indian, Japanese or Patagonian, Negro or Eskimo, we are descended from one human pair or group, and we are what climate, soil, diet, pursuits and inherited characters have made us. For the proud European and the equally proud high-caste Indian this may be a humbling thought, but it ought to be of some help to us in dealing with the problems of our relations to one another, and to other races frankly to recognise that the President of the United States and the freed negro slave, the Maharajah of Darbhanga and the outcaste pariah grovelling on the outskirts of his palace, the Viceroy of India and the sweeper who looks after his bathroom, have all a common

¹ This paper was read at the Calcutta Missionary Conference, February, 1922.

human ancestry, and bear the impress of the same divine image. The extremely difficult problem of racial relationships may not appear so insoluble if we remember that throughout we are dealing with man made in the image of God.

In this connection too it may be well if we remind ourselves of the fact that racially Europe and India are not so radically distant from one another as we are sometimes apt in a superficial way to suppose. "That East is East and West is West and ne'er the twain shall meet," is a sentiment with very little meaning to a student of ethnology and the history of civilisation. The higher races and castes of modern India trace their descent in greater or less degree from the early Aryan invaders of India, and these Aryans themselves were close kinsmen of the great European races—Greek, Latins, Kelts, Teutons, Slavs. These white invaders, when they came from their northern settlements into the valleys of the Panjab, and advanced into the rich plains of India, sharply distinguished themselves as of fair complexion from the primitive tribes, the aborigines of the land, whom they speak of as black monsters and demons. The hymns of the Rigveda have many references to fierce wars and conflicts with the aborigines, many of whom no doubt were men of such coarse habits and degrading superstitions, that social intercourse with them was impossible to the cultured Aryans, and intermarriage unthinkable. It is also manifest that the Aryans came into touch not only with degraded tribes of filthy habits, but also with the more cultured Dravidian peoples, and yet the fair-skinned Aryans, ancestors of the higher-caste Indians of to-day, in their superior way, were apt to make no distinctions, but regarded all the dark-skinned natives of the land without discrimination as so many cursed niggers, black monsters and demons. Indeed the colour line became the basis of all social intercourse and class distinctions. The characteristic physical difference between Aryan and aboriginal was undoubtedly that of colour (the Sanskrit word for which is *varna*) and that this physical

difference formed an important though by no means the only basis of caste, is suggested by the fact that one of the modern names for caste is *varna*. Intermarriage on the part of the Aryan rank and file with the aborigines there undoubtedly was, but it was clearly discouraged by the Aryan and Brahman leaders and treated as irregular. Of course in every community, apart from racial distinctions, skilled occupations have a tendency to become hereditary in family groups, and it would appear that the Aryan conquerors utilised this tendency when they proceeded, inspired by an instinctive sense of self-preservation, in the direction of the formation of a rigid social system and caste organisation with divine sanctions. In their pride of race and colour as complete a social separation of black and white or dark and fair as was humanly possible, became the dominant policy of the Aryan conquerors, and high-caste Brahmins. In its essential elements this may be said to be the attitude to-day of most high-caste Indians to their low-caste brethren, the attitude of most Europeans to Indians and above all in a very thorough degree the attitude of whites to Negroes in the Southern half of the United States, and of white settlers to Natives and Indians alike in certain parts of Africa. It is an attitude that allows of the freest intercourse in all the ordinary affairs of industrial or professional life, but it is openly or silently opposed to all such social relations as may suggest the possibility of intermarriage. This is surely a noteworthy point of contact between the ancient Aryans, and their modern representatives, between high-caste Indians, in their own country and exclusive Europeans whether they live in India, Africa or the Southern States of America.

I have attempted to state impartially some of the basic facts of the situation from the standpoint of a student of ethnology and civilisation. I have now to attempt to define my attitude to the problem from the standpoint of a Christian Missionary. From this standpoint we cannot forget that this

question of the relations of Europeans and Indians is but a phase of a much wider and deeper problem affecting not merely India but the world, and not merely the twentieth century but all the ages, *viz.*, the union of man with God, and of men with one another in God. No one who knows anything of the spiritual struggles and aspirations of the race will deny that what men have been groping after through the ages is to become one with God. This is the essence of all religious yearning. We are often appalled by the difficulty of the problem of the relations of high caste and low caste, and Europeans and Indians, and we are sometimes apt to despair of a solution establishing a bond of living union and lasting understanding. Yet believing as we do in the human relationship of God and the divine nature of man, as Christian people we live in the faith that God actually entered humanity through Jesus Christ, and that we in Christ become one with God, whatever be our colour or culture. We look forward in due time to entering the hallowed presence of our Father God in Heaven, and I have yet to meet the man who will dare maintain that on the great judgment day the Divine Judge will pay any regard to colour, or base decisions on racial distinctions. Yet some of us appear sceptical of the possibility of a true brotherhood of European and Indian, of East and West, of high caste and low caste, of dark and white. Is not this something like straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel? The solution of our social and racial problems will be found in a deeper realisation of the significance of the foundation truths of our faith such as the Fatherhood of God, and the Incarnation and Atonement of Christ. The man to whom the one fundamental fact in his life is his living union with God in Christ and the spiritual privileges he enjoys as a son of God through participation in the perfect sonship of Christ, cannot, in so far as he recognises the world in which we live as God's world, and thinks of God as the Father of all men, have any real share in the narrow social and racial prejudices

of the common herd of men with their so slender grip of God, and their consequent magnification of race, caste and colour.

We are still far from appreciating the significance of our belief that Jesus stands forth as the one great world prophet and teacher, who speaks to the heart of man without any foreign accent, and I am doubtful if we yet recognise fully the greatness of St. Paul as an interpreter of Jesus Christ and the significance of His Incarnation for all the problems of human life, great and small, bearing on the relation of men with one another. Take for instance the following great passages: Philippians II. 3-11 (I quote from Weymouth's version): "Do nothing in a spirit of factiousness or of vain glory, but with true humility let everyone regard the rest as being of more account than himself; each fixing his attention not only on his own interests but on those of others also. Let the same disposition be in you which was in Christ Jesus; although from the beginning He had the nature of God, He did not reckon His equality with God a treasure to be tightly grasped. Nay, he stripped Himself of His glory, and took on Him the nature of a bond servant by becoming a man like other men. And being recognised as truly human, He humbled Himself, and even stooped to die, yes, to die on a Cross. It is in consequence of this that God has also so highly exalted Him and has conferred on Him the name which is supreme above every other, in order that in the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of beings in heaven, of those on the earth, and of those in the underworld, and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord to the glory of God the Father." Or again from Galatians III. 25-28: "We are no longer under a tutor slave. You are all sons of God through faith in Jesus Christ for all of you who have been baptised into Christ have clothed yourselves with Christ; In Him the distinctions between Jew and Gentile, a slave and freeman, male and female disappear; you are all one in Christ

Jesus." Ephesians II. 14-22: "For He is our peace—He who has made Jews and Gentiles one, and in His own human nature has broken down the hostile dividing wall, by setting aside the Law with its Commandments, expressed, as they were, in definite decrees. His design was to unite the two sections of humanity in Himself so as to form one new man, thus effecting peace, and to reconcile Jews and Gentiles in one body to God by means of His cross,—slaying by it their mutual enmity. So He came and proclaimed good news of peace to you who were so far away, and peace to those who were near; because it is through Him that Jews and Gentiles alike have access through one Spirit to the Father..... You are therefore no longer mere foreigners or persons excluded from civil rights: on the contrary you share citizenship with God's people and are members of His family. You are a building which has been reared on the foundation of the apostles and prophets, the cornerstone being Christ Jesus Himself, in union with whom the whole fabric, fitted and closely joined together is growing so as to form a holy sanctuary in the Lord; in whom you also are being built up together to become a fixed abode for God through the Spirit." Great passages like these bring us very near to the heart of things. The race-proud European and the caste-proud Brahman, who retain their narrow pride after entering the common fellowship of the Christian Church, may be compared with those Jewish Christians who continued to be prisoners under the law with its restraints and limitations after being brought into the freedom of the spirit of Christ. So many of us, both Europeans and Indians, who profess to be members of the Christian Church, are still like the Jews of old in the grip of slavery to externals, regarding as all-important things that are only skin-deep. The Christian Church in such an atmosphere will never attain to the spiritual and moral authority that is its due, and we must escape from it, in loyalty to the Lord to whom we have dedicated our lives.

I shall now attempt to indicate briefly what I consider the main considerations to be borne in mind in seeking to apply Christian principles to the solution of the problem under discussion in matters social, ecclesiastical and political.

(1) *The Social Problem.*

All nations who have attained a certain degree of culture and civilisation have been obsessed with an idea of their own superiority, and of the essential inferiority of all others. Jews were apt to regard Gentiles as dogs, the Greeks looked upon others as barbarians, to Chinamen we are all foreign devils, Hindus spoke of foreigners as Mlechchhas or dirty savages while like the Pharisee of old, Americans and Englishmen are apt to thank God that they are not as other men, and when Germans, French and Japanese shew signs of infection with the same dangerous idea, there is naturally some trouble. So long as these ideas are merely a subject of academic opinion no particular harm is done. It is when they form the basis of social standing and opportunity that the mischief begins. The objection of the East India officials in early days to missionary and educational work was based on the fact that they regarded Indians as fit only for subjection, and nothing but harm would come by instilling into them ideas of Christian brotherhood and educating them out of their position. Only a few days ago an English gentleman visiting me at Serampore remarked, "We made a big mistake when we introduced higher education into India. The result is that our very existence here as a Government is imperilled." This is essentially the spirit that underlies the Indian and all other caste systems, for the essence of all caste, whether East or West, is a cold-blooded and deliberate effort on the part of the strong and privileged to hold in a position of permanent dependence and inferiority the weak and helpless elements of the social organism. In sober reality not a few people in England have felt that the prayer befitting ignorant English

villagers is "God bless the Squire and his relations, And keep us in our proper stations." But perhaps the biggest system of social denomination the world has ever seen is the Indian caste system. Sir Rabindranath Tagore once described it as "a gigantic system of cold-blooded repression," because it has so completely entwined in its endless coils the Indian social body that the free expression of manhood even under the direst necessity has become almost an impossibility. Members of Indian Legislative Councils shew that they are able to smell from afar indications of a policy of political repression by an alien Government and I can sympathise with their sensitiveness on that score. One would like to see more marked signs of concern on the part of Indian political and religious leaders on account of the continuance of caste restrictions, this "gigantic system of cold-blooded repression" in their midst, a system that shackles the healthy social growth of so many millions of India's sons and daughters. Is it again a case of straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel? There can however be no doubt that the problem of social relations between Europeans and Indians has a highly important bearing on the present situation, whether from the standpoint of Government or Missions, and fundamentally the difficulty in each case is much the same, *viz.*, uneasiness on account of foreign control. Whether as Government administrators or as Missionaries, Englishmen have—I think it will be generally recognised—been highly successful in dealing with rude and primitive peoples. But the problem is an utterly different one when we are confronted with people working side by side with us who in culture and education are our equals or it may be our superiors. There are many Englishmen in India, and perhaps some missionaries among the number, who have not sufficient imagination to put themselves in the place of educated Indians, whether engaged in Government or in Christian work, who see foreigners in their country exercising the office of rulers and treating them and their people, the people of the

land, as a subordinate race, needing to be kept under control with a firm hand. This much I say emphatically that there is no room in India to-day for Englishmen whether Government servants or missionaries who insist on being treated as an order of superior beings, and who look upon all Indians as children or inferiors. (The Englishman's position in India to-day is not that of the heavy father or the stern master, but of the brother and comrade, elder brother in some cases if you like, but essentially a brother.) In that capacity there is often still scope for highly helpful service. We have much to learn from India, but we have also much to give, though we shall never be able to give if we follow the way of contempt or good-natured superiority, rather than the way of love and respect. Perhaps one of the most important qualifications for service in the East to-day is colour-blindness. As a student of history, ancient and modern, I recognise the terrible strength of race and colour pride and prejudice, but I believe that God is present in all that is true and beautiful and good in our human life and that there is a veritable incarnation of God in the man of Nazareth, and I believe further that in the eyes of God it is character only that counts. A man with a white face but a black heart is of the devil, a man with a dark face but a white soul is of God. It is because I believe this with all my heart that I am no more interested in the colour of a man's face than I am in the colour of his hair, or of the garment he wears, and as a Christian missionary I can see no other foundation for the social relations of Europeans and Indians.

(2) *The Ecclesiastical problem.*

The relation of Mission and Church which is fundamentally a question of the relation of European missionaries and Indian Christians will inevitably remain a problem with its particular difficulties so long as there is a foreign missionary enterprise with missionaries coming in considerable numbers,

and money in considerable quantity from abroad. It is the very success of the missionary enterprise—the building up of a growing Church increasingly conscious of its unity and power, that has made the problem acute. Speaking some time ago to a body of young Englishmen accepted for the Indian Civil Service, Lord Meston remarked that the British Administration of India had passed through three stages in its history. In the first stage the British ruled India in the way they consider best for India's good and England's advantage. The British themselves were the judges. They acted as masters in their own house, and each individual ruled as a patriarch or tyrant according to his own temperament. In the second stage, the stage of the Morley-Minto reforms, the British resolved to bring a number of Indians into consultation with them, so that they might have the benefit of their advice in all matters of difficulty. They still remained masters, but they made a certain number of assistants junior members of the firm. In the third stage, the stage of the Montague-Chelmsford reforms, the British have come to recognise that they have to administer India not merely for India's benefit but according to Indian ideas. Indians have entered the path of gaining full control in their own house. Now it must be frankly recognised that Missions are far behind Government in handing over control to Indians. We are at present only in the second stage referred to by Lord Meston, and some Missions have hardly advanced as far as that. Apart from the question as to whether this will be for India's good or not, I think there is a fairly general expectation among English officials in this country, that before very few years are over nine-tenths of the present British officials will have left India for good, and no new recruits from England will be appointed in their place. Can we expect a corresponding turn of events in matters ecclesiastical? I am aware that some are looking in that direction. An English Bishop at the recent Poona Conference

remarked: "The object we have in view is the abolition of missions or their absorption in the Church." I have heard prominent Indian Christians compose beautiful epitaphs for the foreign missionary. In his day he did a very good work, but his day is over. Indeed not a few young Indian Christians are thinking and saying that missionaries should give place to qualified Indians, and gracefully retire, while one Indian Christian addressing a body of Christian students in the West, is reported to have advised them not to come out as missionaries to India until the Indian Church was placed in full control of the foreign missionary enterprise. It is no use minimising the gravity of this problem, but I think we must not remain blind to the fact that there is a fundamental difference between the problem of a foreign Government and foreign missions. The British Government in India is supported wholly by Indian funds, the proceeds of Indian taxation, and the British principle of no taxation without representation may reasonably be regarded as leading logically to Indian self-government. Indians politically are only claiming the right to control their own money, which is their own life-blood. Besides, British officials with rare exceptions are in India not primarily because they think it to be the call of duty, but because an Indian career provides them a good opportunity of combining personal advantage and Imperial service and they look forward to retirement with quite a comfortable pension and perhaps a title. Foreign Missions and missionaries on the other hand are supported by foreign funds, voluntary contributions which in most cases represent a very real sacrifice on the part of the donors, whether rich or poor, inspired by deep religious motives. Foreign missionaries in India get nothing more than a reasonably comfortable living wage and not always that, and if they sometimes get a little official recognition, it is nothing more than a harmless Kaiser-i-Hind medal, which in their becoming modesty they are sometimes ashamed to accept. Besides they

always come to India at what they believe to be the ordering of their Lord and impelled by a deep sense of India's religious need, a need so overwhelmingly great as to be beyond the resources in the way of men and money of Indian Christians, without generous help from their brethren in the West. Here are fundamental differences between the British official and the foreign missionary that we cannot ignore. Personally I have to admit that I have never felt there was much force in the argument that foreign money, given for the Lord's work, must be under foreign control. To me the supreme question is how such gifts can be spent in the most fruitful way for the extension of the Kingdom of God among men. There are no two opinions in regard to the question of the desirability of seeking to develop independence on the part of the Indian Church especially as this applies to the support of an indigenous pastorate. But the burden of the great unevangelised areas in India at the doors of the Churches and in the regions beyond cannot for many a long year to come be borne unaided by the Indian Church. In view of these great unevangelised areas without the light of the great Gospel of human emancipation and redemption preached by Jesus I cannot view without misgiving the proposal to abolish organised missions or absorb them in the Church. I would say that in all cases Missions should work in living association with the Church, but is their complete absorption necessary or desirable? Does not the organised Mission help to keep the missionary spirit alive in the Church? In the history of Christianity there have been and still are Churches without Missions. Carey would never have come out to India if he waited for the Church as such to send him. It was the organised Mission that made his coming possible, and it is the organised Mission acting in close association with the Church that has often roused a careless Church membership and ministry to a sense of their responsibility and privilege. While I ask you to accept with caution the view that Missions must

be abolished, it would be dangerous to assume that things can go on just as they are. Foreign Missions cannot continue, without bringing stigma on the great cause, to be large employers of Indian Christian labour for Church and Mission purposes. There is an increasing sensitiveness in this matter that must be taken into account. The Church of Christ in Japan goes so far as to refuse representation in presbytery to congregations that accept foreign support. The tendency in India and China is for the Churches to ask for independence in government while continuing to receive subsidies, large or small, as the case may be, for pastoral or evangelistic purposes or both. The utmost Christian consideration and tact on both sides is needed, otherwise we may witness a sharp cleavage between the foreign and indigenous elements in Indian Christianity. Unless we can work in a spirit of cordial trust and good-fellowship with our Indian Christian brethren, it is clear that we shall begin to feel, as many British officials already feel in regard to themselves, that there is no room for us in India. Such an attitude would be interpreted as a failure of our common Christianity. I see the danger of placing large funds at the disposal of the Indian Church, and the injury it may cause in retarding our efforts to develop a self-supporting and self-governing Church in the Mission field. But a greater injury may be done, if we uncompromisingly insist that in all cases foreign money means foreign control, for there are certain limitations in every community to the control that money can be allowed to exercise. On the other hand if Christians in the West are to continue in large measure their contributions to India in the way of money and men, they will only do so in so far as there is a living point of contact and sympathy between themselves and the Indian churches. If you abolish Missions and missionaries, there will certainly be a big drop in the contribution of the home Churches, through the lack of that living link of human interest and sympathetic contact now uniting Western and

Indian Christianity. Indian Christians in their own interests will not fail to note the importance of this and the equal importance of the wise use of funds entrusted to them. I am not blind to the difficulties, but on the whole I subscribe to what I wrote on this subject a few years ago. "There can be no solution of the missionary problem in a land like India until the foreign missionary societies in a spirit of true Christian humility and brotherhood recognise the privilege and duty of working through the Church in India for India's evangelisation and placing all their resources, in the way of men and money, at the disposal of a Church of Christ in India freed from all taint of colour and racial prejudice."

(3) In regard to the *political problem* I do not care to say more than a few words, as I am not a politician, except in so far as political issues may have a moral and religious bearing. One hears many voices these days uniting in their expression of indignation at what is known as the policy of repression adopted by the Government. As a Christian I subscribe to the words of the warning appeal made by the National Missionary Council in November 1920 "against the inclination to trust to force as the means of procuring obedience and maintaining authority. The truth is that society cannot be saved by force apart from that reasonableness and equity in government and administration which win the hearts of the people." In regard to the evil-doer, I believe the most effective resistance is in many cases not to resist but to fight hate with love. But there are times when resistance becomes a form of love and a duty for the sake of the wrongdoer, for whom the Lord loveth He chasteneth. "Resistance," to quote some words used by Dr. Maclaren, "may also become a duty for the sake of others, who are also objects of love, such as helpless persons who otherwise would be exposed to evil, or society as a whole." It must be remembered too that there are dangerous elements in every social organisation including India, elements, to quote in reference to others

the words of the great Puritan Poet and prophet John Milton—

“ That bawl for freedom in their senseless mood,
And still revolt when truth would set them free.
License they mean when they cry Liberty ;
For who loves that must first be wise and good ;
But from that mark how far they rove we see
For all this waste of wealth and loss of blood.”

It is a Christian principle that we are to render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and certainly one of the demands of Cæsar is obedience to the law and the breaking of the law is followed by just penalties. I speak from considerable personal observation when I say that but a few weeks ago Calcutta had practically passed under the control of those who declared that their one object was to openly defy the Government and bring its authority to an end. On all sides there was a demand for strong measures by Government which was rapidly becoming an object of sheer pity and contempt. European and moderate Indian opinion seemed to me quite united as to the need of strong action. Some of my Indian friends were particularly loud in their praise of the document issued on the subject by the Bengal Chamber of Commerce. Now with one consent they are forward in strongly condemning Government for paying any attention to such appeals, and they are demanding through votes in Legislative Councils and other ways that Government forthwith abandon its new policy. The abandonment of a strong policy at the present time would mean in my deliberate judgment the abandonment of helpless minorities in a city like Calcutta and many other places to the tender mercies of men who mean license when they cry liberty and would pave the way for the perpetuation of the shameless outrages of Bombay and the nameless atrocities of Malabar. Many Indians are demanding Swaraj from to-morrow. Not as an Englishman

but as a member of a conquered and subject people, the Welsh, I advise caution. The Englishman after all has his strong points from which all of us may learn. Dr. Temple, before he became Bishop and then Archbishop, was Headmaster of Rugby, and his administration of that famous school was noted for its stern justice. One of the boys in bitter complaint remarked of his headmaster as boys sometimes will "Temple is a beast," but then relenting a little he continued "But I admit he is a *just* beast." The English administrator has many faults, and sometimes he may quite deserve to be called a beast; but withal he is usually a beast with a strong sense of justice and great administrative ability. Some years ago I heard a prominent American express the view in a public lecture in America, that his country had suffered a permanent loss through the too sudden severance of England from the American Colonies at the great Revolution. The fact that the administrative ability of British officials had not been available after the Revolution, had proved in his judgment a real loss to American national life. I think Indians would do well to ponder over this aspect of the situation. The Englishman can yet render real service to India in helping her in a spirit of true brotherhood to take her place as an equal in the great commonwealth of nations now opening up before our vision, a commonwealth of nations loyally co-operating to the benefit of all, and for the progress of the race.

GEORGE HOWELLS

ACWORTH COMMITTEE'S REPORT

The motives, which usually lead Government to extend the sphere of their business activity, have been three :—

1. To increase their own political influence.
2. To make up for the lack of private enterprise.
3. To avoid the abuses incidental to private management.

The desire to extend political influence has usually been the chief motive. It is the desire for centralized power that underlay Bismarck's railroad schemes.

The wish to make up for the lack of private enterprise has often been a motive which induces a government to take up an industry in its *early stages*. It is, perhaps, still more noticeably the case with railroads which are felt to be necessary to national development.

What men feel at present is a set of abuses involved in the system of private management ; and those who desire government management do so, in the hope that it will be a means to check those abuses.

Take for instance, the case of "railway rates." There is no inherent reason why the rates of government railways should be differently arranged from those of private railroads. It is rather the case that where a "mixed system" of competing State and Private lines, as in India really flourishes, the two rates are managed more or less upon the same principles. As far as their relations to the shippers are concerned, they are run to make money, not with a view to any general considerations of public policy. The tax-payers cannot allow a government to lose money or make small profits on its lines where a competing private road is making larger profits. If the latter is run to make as much money as possible, the former must also necessarily follow its example, and—perhaps in a somewhat disguised form—charges what the traffic will

bear. This constitutes at once the advantage and the disadvantage of the mixed system. It ensures that the state roads will be managed on business principles. But it does not leave the government free to manage them with a view to broader principles of public policy, right or wrong. Again, if the government goes to manage on the broader principles of public policy and imposes its own rate on the company-managed ones, as is very often done here in view of the government interests in the company lines, the result is a loss to the company to be met by the government in the shape of guaranteed dividends. The loss occurs to the company because of the establishment the company maintains to keep its own position of interest intact. At any rate, the mixed system is probably the great reason why the government finds the competition of private roads intolerable. It does not interfere with their profits ; it interferes with the freedom of government action.

When the State has its hands free, it has choice of several aims, instead of being restricted to the mere attempt to make good business profits. A government enterprise may be managed on any one of four principles :— (1) for taxation ; (2) for business profits ; (3) to pay expenses ; (4) for public service without much regard to the question of expense.

Under the first principle, a government enterprise charges more than would be charged by private enterprise. We have examples quite numerous here, in the form of government monopolies of salt, liquor ? etc., taken up, not on account of any business needs, but as a convenient means of taxing the people freely.

Under the second principle, a government undertaking is managed on the same system as any private enterprise—to make all the money it can. This is regularly the case in those branches of industry where government comes into competition with private concerns. If there is no such competition, but a government monopoly, this second principle cannot,

in the nature of things, be applied. When a government monopoly undertakes to make all the money it can, what it gets is not business profits but a tax.

The third principle is the system of fees, or rates based upon cost of service. On the whole, it is the general principle upon which the industrial enterprises of government are run. The aim may be to cover expenses either with or without counting interest. The interest is not usually included in considering the cost of Post Office; the item is so small that it is possible to neglect it, as postal services aim at doing something more than cover operating expenses. In enterprises involving a larger capital expenditure, they aim at covering interest also. This is the case in government Telegraph and Railway service, and in a variety of other cases.

The great mass of Government activity is not industrial and does not seek to pay expenses. It is organized for public service without regard to strictly business considerations. Under this head come the administration of Justice and Police service, with the activity of the government in matters of Education and Health. They cannot pay for themselves, and have to be paid for by taxation.

It is obvious that neither the first nor the last of these principles is a fit guide for state railway management. It is not possible to make it either a means of taxation nor a means of gratuitous service. The former would constitute a tax on commerce as such—a thing to be avoided; the latter would constitute a tax on the community for the sake of commerce—a thing also to be avoided, if possible.

The choice then lies between the second and third of these principles. It is a question of profits *vs.* fees. And the two different answers to this question mark two different phases of the state railway system. The first answer—management for profit—is given in general, whenever there is competition on tolerably equal terms between state and private railways. When roads are managed on this principle, we

usually have the same system of rates which we find on private roads: a system of classification, differential rates and special contracts. In other words, there is no serious pretence of basing differences in charge upon differences in cost of service. Under the system of fees, on the other hand, this is made the fundamental principle. The very first schedules of rates are constructed with this idea in view. It is adopted on two quite distinct grounds, one theoretical, the other practical. As a matter of theory, it is thought that rates ought to be based on differences in cost of service, or rather to put it more correctly, that differences in rates ought to be based on differences in cost of service. As a matter of practice it is thought that it will result in benefit both to the railways and to the public. We thus have to consider two distinct questions at the same time:

- (1) How far the theory is actually carried out; and,
- (2) Whether the results are beneficial or otherwise.

First, then, are differences in rates actually based upon differences in cost of service?

As regards classification, differences in charge on different kinds of freight—the theory is never completely carried out. A system of rates by which each article pays its share of the fixed charges would virtually prohibit the movement of an article (say coal), for which an exception, by special provision, is sometimes extended to other cheap and necessary articles. Yet the moment you make an exception and abandon this principle, you abandon the system of basing rates upon cost of service.

As regards local discriminations, they carry out the principle systematically. Yet even here, where the results are attempted to be most complete, they overdo the matter in such a way as to prevent the theory from being strictly followed. The theory is this: Each consignment ought to pay a fixed charge, independent of distance, to cover terminal expenses, plus a rate per mile to pay for movement expenses.

But as this theory is carried out, it injures both the very short-distance traffic and the very long-distance traffic. For the long-distance traffic the mileage rate mounts up so high as to prevent the sale of goods in distant markets. For the short-distance traffic the terminal charge amounts to so much as to make men and goods either go by horse-power or not go at all. It prevents the development of a vast, and in some respects easily-handled, traffic.

The authorities are feeling the force of these last points, and in order not to check local business, they make their terminal charges very low—lower than the theory demands legitimately. But, according to the principle of tolls, if they make one element of the charge too low, they have to make up elsewhere. This constitutes a distinction between rates based upon cost of service and rates based upon what the traffic will bear. In the latter case, they cannot and do not try to make up for any such losses. So that this principle leads to a still further increase of the mileage rates and matters all the worse for the long-distance traffic.

Some railways have felt this difficulty and adopted the sliding scale of charges. This is probably good policy, but it is an abandonment of the principle on which they pretend to act. It makes the middle-distance traffic pay relatively more profit than the long or short distance traffic. In other words, they base rates on what the traffic will bear, and then adopt an elaborate system of pulling wool over their own railways, in order that the schedules may look as though they are based upon cost of service.

There is never a more mistaken idea than the idea that rates would be reduced if they were based upon cost of service. The principle keeps rates up. If it is strictly applied, it makes it necessary that each item of business should pay its share of the fixed charges. A great deal of business which would pay much less than its share of the fixed charges (though still giving a slight profit above train and station

expenses) would thus be lost. This is bad for the railways, bad for the shippers, and bad for the prospect of low average rates. It makes the business of the roads so much smaller that the share of fixed charges which each piece of business has to pay (under this system) becomes higher, while the profit does not increase and the inducement to new construction is lessened. These things are not mere theory, but are matters of historical policy. And if a road with its hands free could just make a profit, a road forced to base rates upon cost of service, and thus could check the development of certain lines of trade, could not do so. It would thus have to go unbuilt, or else receive a subsidy—a dangerous policy. The attempt to base rates upon cost of service therefore goes hand in hand with the policy of subsidies. The money ultimately comes, or is supposed to come out of the pockets of local taxpayers. Nobody else is enough interested to have the railway built. If they are charged what the traffic will bear, they pay it to the railroad direct. If they furnish a subsidy, they pay it through the public treasury. Neither way is very satisfactory.

The state roads undoubtedly manage to use a large percentage of car space.. It is by no means clear that they secure the same economy in time. They load cars quite fully, but they seem to keep them idle a long time to do it. Regarding new construction of roads, it may be noted that the state is of necessity slow in appreciating the business importance (as distinct from the political importance) of new lines, and thus makes financial mistakes. It is further very rare that the state does not have to pay more for a given piece of work than would be paid by a well-managed private company.

This brings us to the political dangers of the state railroad system. The arguments advanced by the advocates of government management start from the idea that government means of transportation will be managed, not with a view to high profits, but for the good of the community. They will thus,

it is said, offer low rates based upon cost of service, and equal facilities without discrimination. The evils of speculation will be avoided. There will be no waste of capital; no construction of two lines where but one is needed. Capital will be put where it will go farther towards the development of the country. Finally, we shall no longer be at the mercy of capitalists who manipulate and tax us for their own interests. It is further urged that the Post Office shows how government secures to all men low rates, equal facilities and security against extortion, and it is claimed that the same result might be secured with a government railroad.

On the other hand, it may be safely noted that it is a mistake to expect lower rates or better facilities from government than from private companies. The actual results are just the reverse. The state is more apt to tax industry than to foster it, and when it attempts to tax industry, it is even less responsible than a private company. State management is further more costly than private management and a great deal of capital is thus wasted. Political considerations are lastly brought into a system of state management in a way which is disastrous to legitimate business and demoralizing to politics.

There exists, however, a strong popular feeling in favour of government management for mainly two reasons :—(1) Discontent arising from not giving suitable Indians chances of higher appointments in the company-managed rails, and (2) prevention from establishing industries in India to supply railway materials by the company-managed railways. While the first aims at the Indianisation of services, the second means commercialisation in favour of India. People think that through the newly-constituted Indian Parliament the members will be able to force the hands of the government in removing their grievances, should the company-managed railways be solely run by the government. The idea of Indianisation of the services and cheapening the cost of running

the railway is healthy ; but the idea of the people in matters of the Indianisation, is very vague. It may be summed up thus—“Indianise the services but don't cut down the remuneration.” This is bad and cannot be tenable ; as it would not help the government financially. Further, there might be a risk of vetoing a resolution tending to sacrifice the efficiency of administration for the sake of Indianisation and the result is “popular feeling” perhaps against the government, irrespective of the merits and demerits of the question. Would this be fair in a democracy ?

Then, again, as to the establishment of industries in India for the supply of railway materials, it is very strange to conceive that the same would not be possible if the railways were managed by companies. The companies accept certain foreign tenders, because there is no suitable agency here. The company accepts locally manufactured edible oils. They would never refuse other necessities if locally manufactured in a suitable manner. On the contrary it is generally observed that the state railways take a more prominent lead in the matter of accepting foreign tenders, not with a view to cheapness, but for certain political considerations generally unknown to the public. They know, however, how to give a bluff to public and to show that for cheapness they have accepted a certain foreign tender. Certain state railways conceived the idea of purchasing Welsh coal and did it on considerations not easily fathomable. The company-managed lines tried to maintain their independence in the matter though curbed by circulars of the government to remind one of the famous story in *Æsop's Fables*, viz., that a tailless jackal (tailless,—because his tail was cut off by an individual householder whom it disturbed most) asking all his brother jackals to cut off their tails. The actions of the Government are sometimes political, but they are highly ludicrous.

I would now refer to the Acworth Committee—another ludicrous form of political manœuvring. When the government

wants to do a thing, it adopts policies very hard to reconcile with what follows as their outcome. Take for instance, the constitution of the Committee—(1) in strength of numbers, (2) in qualifications. So far as the strength of numbers is concerned, it follows the most quixotic principles—3 Indians against 7 Britishers. Of the 3 Indians, only one may be said to know railway business, and is competent to express some opinion about railway matters. Of the remaining 2, one is an out and out politician and the other is a commercial man with more tinge of politics in him than that of commerce. Consequently, the views of the latter two Indians are subject to colorations, having very little of individual opinions in railway matters. Of the seven Britishers, the selection of the Agent, Bengal Nagpur Railway Company, as a member is most unhappy, since one could easily foresee his leanings. Again it is more than one can understand the object of selecting a banker. Is it to determine the financial aspect of the question of railway management? I do not know whether Barclays Bank, Ltd., has got any business connection with the Secretary of State on railway account. If any such relation exists, no selection could be more ill-judged and ominous in determining railway issues of momentous importance. An interested person is hardly likely to give independent opinions and to go against the wishes of his master.

Then as to the terms of reference, the undercurrent has been to extend the sphere of the government control over railways and to create and make room for some unemployed gentlemen in the widened sphere of the Railway Board. The government feels that the constitution of the present Railway Board is insufficient to control railway administrations efficiently and wants that there should be a Railway Board, whether the railways are managed by the state or by the companies. If the government so earnestly wishes to maintain the Railway Board, the management should gradually devolve upon the companies, for with the attainment of financial

autonomy, it will be costly to maintain and almost useless to watch over the proceedings of state railway management. The Railway Board consistently dissolves itself into provincial Boards; and for any special definite pursuit of a policy a suitable Central Advisory Board with less monthly,—almost negligible,—establishments may be created. The present Railway Board is heavy, the one suggested by the Acworth Committee is far more heavy. Under present conditions, and I should like to add in all conditions, it is not expedient to make a “watch and cure” staff so unnecessarily top-heavy.

It is much to be regretted that all the members have been unanimous in the modified constitution of the Railway Board, though some of them have agreed to differ on the question of management. The constitution of the proposed Railway Board is urged upon the principle of efficient control. But the members have lost sight of the important fact that in trying to control effectively the management may lose its innate virtue of earning for the Railways, and popularising the same to the Indian public.

It is proposed to appoint a Member for Communications who is to “allow himself sufficient freedom from the routine of his office.” This means that his action will be more confined to hearing the local public than to check the indiscreet actions of his subordinates. He will be a mere puppet in the hands of his subordinates and be a great and good signing machine on papers only. He may have his individual opinions, but they will be subject to the capricious cliques of his subordinates, which are sure to develop most detrimentally to the interests of the public, as he is to be allowed “sufficient freedom from the routine of his office.” This freedom is dangerous both to himself as an administrator and to the public interested in railway matters.

It is not further clear whether the proposed Railway Commission will have any legislative power; and it is hardly perceived that Indian Parliament will delegate such powers to

it. If the traders want a decisive judgment they have to go to the Railway and Ports Commissioners and fight it out with a costly array of solicitors and counsel, as if it were a suit in the High Court. Anything more foreign to ordinary commercial ideas and practices can hardly be imagined. Such a court may be used by traders more as a bogey for the railway rate-makers than as a means of redress of bona-fide grievances.

We find that there will be four Commissioners, of whom one is to be the Commissioner for finance, but there is to be no Commissioner for Northern Division. I do not know who will truly represent that Division. In the foot-note I find that the Commissioner, Western Division will represent Northern Division, but it is strange that with the development of Northern India, a Railway Division has not been found palatable by the Members of the Committee to specially represent Northern India. There are political divisions of the country, and the Railway division could have been more usefully done on that basis. That would have saved much time and useless discussion of *bona-fide* grievances from those divisions. People would have been able to meet the Commissioners personally or through their agents more cheaply and easily. Just as there is severe anomaly in the creation of the Western Division by including portions which are geographically and politically situated in the North, so also there is a gross injustice done to the other divisions of the proposed Commission. It is very hard to get at the principle of such division-markings; but what appears from the surface is that the divisions are thought out on the basis of the terminal stations of a Railway and the leanings thereto. But it would have been happier if the same were thought out on the basis of a railway starting from a place with its exact geographical situation. For instance, the North Western Railway starts from the northern portion of India and goes to the west.

The three Divisional Commissioners will have three policies for three divisions. Of these three policies, it is but natural to suppose that one might clash with the other, if the true interests of the division are looked after. It is not also desirable that such a clash should take place in the interests of trade in any particular division. The Chief Commissioner may dictate a general policy which might amount to suppressing the individual initiative of any Divisional Commissioner in the interests of his division. The dictation of a general policy in such matters has always the tendency to choke up the activities of a Divisional Commissioner. It may be desirable, but it may be dangerous. Besides, there is no road to fight against such a general policy. The policy once dictated will be strenuously and loyally followed by the Divisional Commissioners. Again, the Divisional Commissioners may turn despotic in the sense that their decisions will not be subject to the scrutiny of the Chief Commissioner. If any local trader has any specific grievance against the decision of a Divisional Commissioner and sends the same to the Chief Commissioner for action, the general procedure is that he will send to the Commissioner concerned the complaint in particular for necessary action. Whether any action is taken or not, the Chief may forget that the Divisional Commissioner is likely to hush up the matter anyhow. Even if he takes action, it cannot be favourable to the complainant as the latter would be most reluctant to acknowledge his mistakes. If, however, the party approaches the Chief with a host of solicitors and lawyers to have his grievance heard against any Divisional Commissioner, the former is more apt to support his subordinates than to hear the case impartially. At any rate, there would be time lost to have a decision of any matter. Thus, the public would be subject to endless cost and harassment.

There is the useless post of the Commissioner for Finance. The framing of the budget, the regulation of finance, the

préparation of statistics can all be done by a subordinate clerk and passed by the Chief Commissioner. It is really preposterous to suppose that there should be a Commissioner of Finance having the same status with the Divisional Commissioners and having powers to control them in their ways and means. Besides, the Finance Commissioner will be in direct touch with the Finance Department, and therefore the genuine necessities of the Railway Department will suffer at the hands of the Commissioner. It is not desirable to have a Commissioner with no independent voice in Railway Finance. The Finance Commissioner will have no independent voice, because he is to be subordinate to the Finance Department, since he is to receive the sanction of that Department before he can spend a single pice. However technical the Finance Commissioner may be, the Finance Department will always try to guard its rights and responsibilities most zealously. Further, if the Finance Department shapes the Railway policy, there is no use of a Finance Commissioner.

It is not again clear whether the Commissioners of Divisions should be technical men. If they are not, they will be tools in the hands of the Directors. These Commissioners, therefore, will not be able to give independent decisions ; the result will be disastrous.

The Directors and all the men above shall be subject to the whims of the General Secretary. The general procedure in a government office is that all letters are opened first by the Registrar, who sends the same to the addressee, who thereupon sends the same to the Registrar for a note. This note is generally prepared by a subordinate assistant ; it then goes to the head assistant, who sends it to the registrar, who forwards it to the Under-Secretary with his opinion. It is then circulated amongst the under-secretaries of all departments. Afterwards it reaches the secretary, who circulates it amongst his brother secretary-colleagues, before the whole thing goes to the Hon'ble Member. This is the procedure

with slight modifications in all offices of government. Under the proposed Railway Commission, a letter of the public would go through many persons and many channels to the Chief Commissioner, should the same appear "important" in the code of the proposed Board. It is very difficult to determine the importance of any letter, in the official procedure. At any rate, if the letter is subjected to so many currents and cross-currents, there will be a great chance either of the letter being left unanswered or its decision delayed indefinitely. So that in fact the grievances of the public will remain where they are now.

It is further generally found that technical men in government service are not the best men; but because they have the huge political support of the government, these men are considered as the best. What would happen exactly, when the different technical Directors were appointed, was that the standard of recruitments in the private management would be made low on political considerations. Appointments under government are generally made on political grounds, consequently the best men are not appointed. With the uncertain standard of government technical men for many politico-economic considerations, the condition of the people would be most unsatisfactory. There would be hardly any spirit for improvements. Further there would be too much play of conservatism and anything new in their eyes would be attempted to be thrown out. To take as an illustration from the action of the present Railway Board, I am reminded of the unfair rejection of the proposal for the construction of railway wagons by private companies. One can easily see therefore that conservatism and low standard of ability would alienate the minds of the true Indians from the government control over railway management.

It is again absurd that the Financial Commissioner should arrange the services of the Directors of various sections and the office staff to be available to the Commissioners. Thus the

immediate superior of the Directors and the office staff becomes the Financial Commissioner. He would therefore have to look into a good deal of administration besides his financial responsibilities. So that there would be every likelihood of many undesirable things cropping up either in the shape of personal gains to the Financial Commissioner or in the shape of favouritism. It is much to be regretted that he should be made an executive authority over a large band of officers and clerks.

It has been very unfortunately argued by persons favouring state management that because the guaranteed companies do not possess the essential qualities of management, therefore they should be managed by the state, since in almost every affair the state controls and restrains. It is this feature of control which hampered the earnings of the guaranteed railway companies. Whenever, in the history of Railways, there has been a little freedom, the railways have earned a good dividend. The position of the guaranteed railway companies is made most ridiculous by the government in the eye of the public. The government would interfere with an action of the company, but the public would not be allowed to know the same. The latter would be under the impression that it was all done by the company; and, therefore, they begin to doubt the sincerity of the company's statements.

It is again to be deplored that when attempts were made sometime back to raise railway capital in England for Indian railways, the government did not permit this for reasons best known to themselves. The government is working with a deficit, and if the portion of Indian Railway investments is relieved either wholly or partially by the raising of foreign capital on Indian Railway account, nothing would be more consoling and desirable. It is preposterous to lay down that there shall be no chance of raising the railway capital at home, if the management is transferred to Indian companies. To be frank, government does not want to put it clearly that

they do not like to lose the interests of Railway investments, otherwise they would never have stopped the plan of some respectable Indian companies (Indian—in the sense that they are located in India) to raise railway capital. Besides, the government feels that if an Indian company raises capital, the value of government loan papers would dwindle down. For this fear, the government is always anxious to bluff the Indian public. It may not be possible to raise railway capital in India, but it is quite possible to have the money from the London market. But the government sees the difficulties of its own and tries to check the growth of the idea of raising foreign capital. Indians are carried away by the sentiments of patriotism; they do not see the inward workings of the government; and therefore they suggest the raising of capital in India and state management,—meaning thereby investments of tax-payers' money also. The Indians believe that they would thereby have an effective control over railways; but that there is deep politics behind, they forget and ignore, being blinded by the sense of excessive patriotism.

The proposal, that the East Indian Railway Company will be wound up on the termination of its contract, is most unfair and misleading. The East Indian Railway contract was terminated in 1879. The purchase price of the Company's shares was ascertained to be £32,750,000, and this sum was payable in annual terminable annuities of £1,473,750 till February, 1953. As an annuitant, therefore, the present East Indian Railway Company has an interest in the property of the Railway system, besides their function as the managing agent. Now the $\frac{1}{4}$ th shareholders agreed to postpone their annuity and in place of it accept a new Contract on 4 per cent. guaranteed interest on their capital plus a certain share of surplus profits, varying from $\frac{1}{8}$ and $\frac{1}{16}$ to $\frac{1}{64}$. With the termination of the managing agency of $\frac{1}{4}$ th shareholders, the interest of $\frac{1}{4}$ th shareholders does not cease till 1953.

Consequently, the binding of the $\frac{1}{3}$ th shareholder with the $\frac{1}{3}$ th shareholders cannot be easily sundered by government interference. Naturally, therefore, with the close of the present agreement, the government should not take such a step as to irritate the $\frac{1}{3}$ th shareholders and bring financial bankruptcy to meet their legitimate demands. It is in the close binding of the $\frac{1}{3}$ th with the $\frac{1}{3}$ th shareholders that the deferred annuitant cannot be reduced to an ordinary annuitant.

It has been argued in this connection that there exists no company in which 80 per cent. of the shareholders delegate their rights to the remaining 20 per cent. If the $\frac{1}{3}$ th shareholders could be appointed as Managing Agent by the Government with the farthest view of meeting the annuities, to a partial extent, of the $\frac{1}{3}$ th shareholders, within the period of their managing agency, and if the $\frac{1}{3}$ th shareholders could trust them and could raise no objections, there was no reason why the Government should not delegate any substantial responsibility to the 20% Indian shareholders. Cannot one perceive the political significance of this financial issue?

S. P. MUKHERJEE

TO THE AŚOKA-TREE¹

(From the sonnet of Devendranath Sen.)

What ruddy feet didst thou kiss, O Aśoka, thrilled in thy
inmost being, thy green turning into one dazzling red?

Nature's darling! On what full-moon night of the Swing-
festival, in what fresh-green grove of eternal Beauty and
eternal Youth, didst thou joyously powder thyself with the
crimson-dust of Love?

What happy wife, at the fulfilment of her vow of life-long
wife-hood, made thee a present of that spring-mantle
vermeil-dyed?

At what wedding, in the assembly of glad damsels, didst thou
gather those armfuls of blossoming blushes?

Vain to guess! Alas, in this world, none has pre-natal recol-
lection, neither man, nor beast, nor tree;

Heart-puzzled in the conflict of lights and shadows, the tree
has forgotten its own story of joy!

Just as the baby smiles unwittingly in the dim light of
infancy, so is thy smile, O Aśoka, thy red red mirth.

MOHITLAL MAZUMDAR

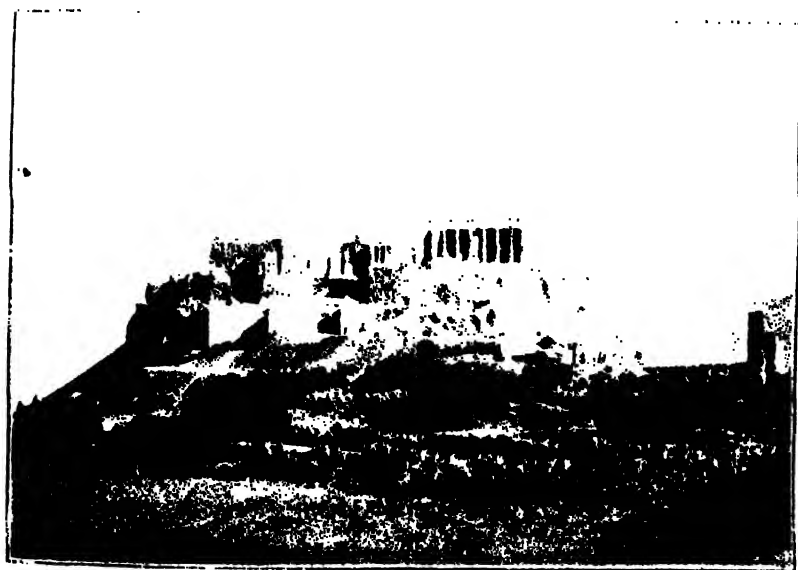
¹ An Indian tree (*Jonesia Asoka* Roxb.) of moderate size, belonging to leguminous class with magnificent red flowers.

ATHENS II

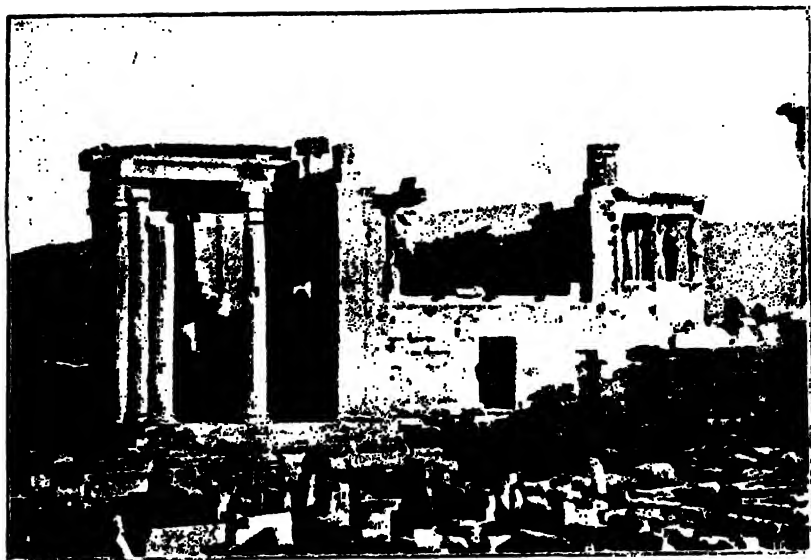
(*Old Athens*)



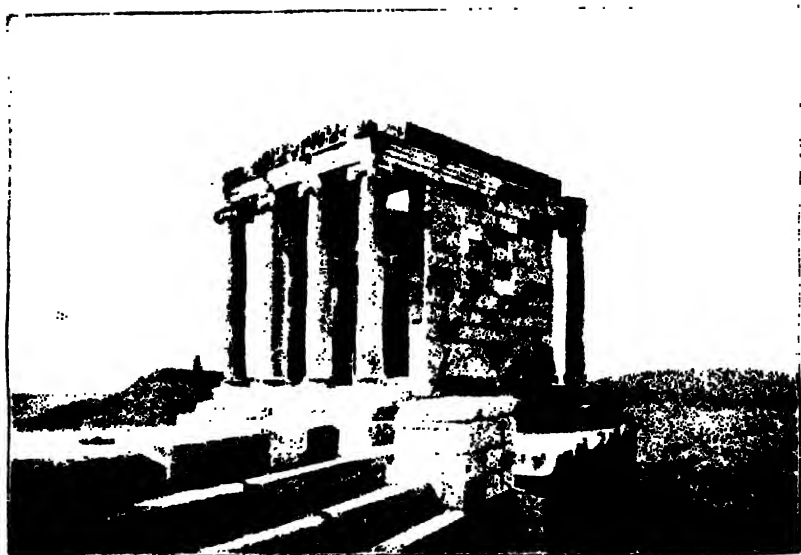
View of Acropolis



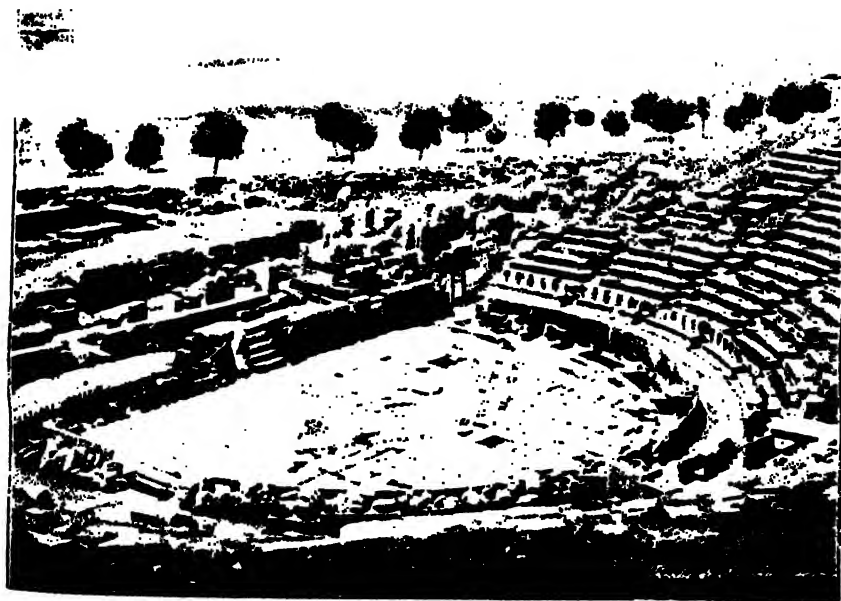
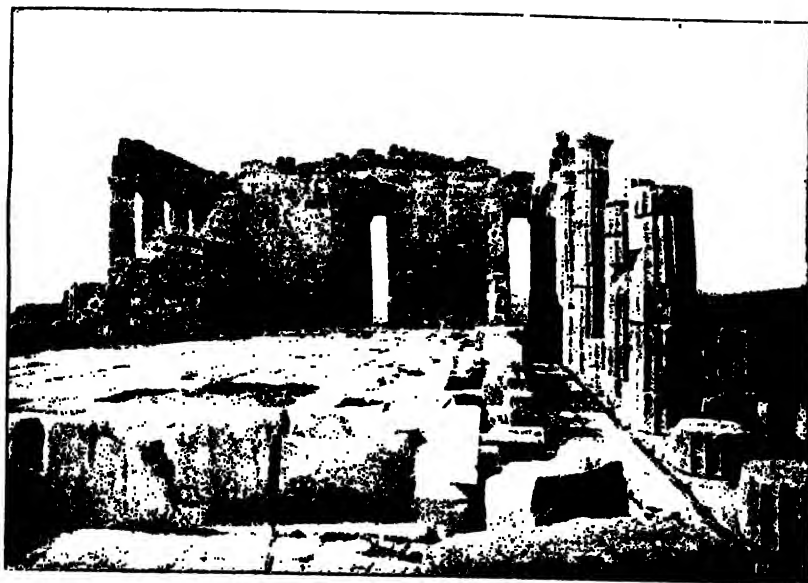
View of Acropolis



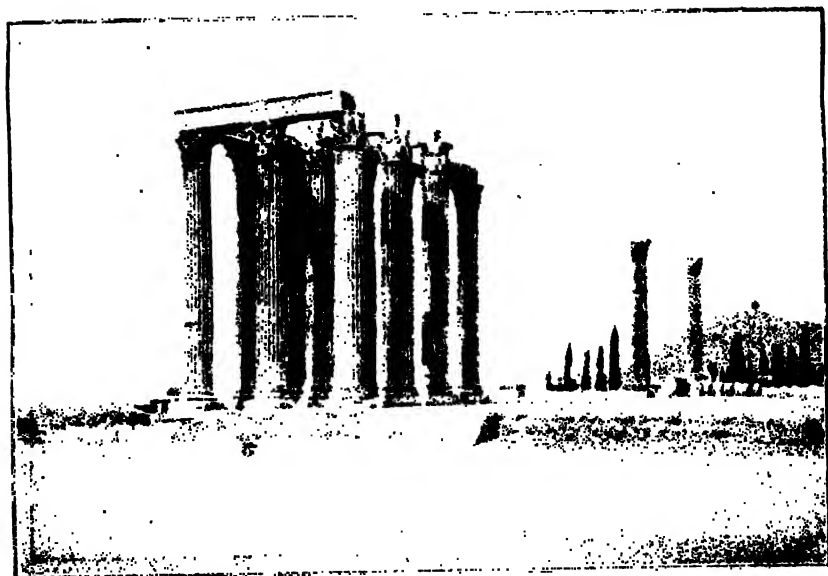
Temple of Apollo and Corymbes.



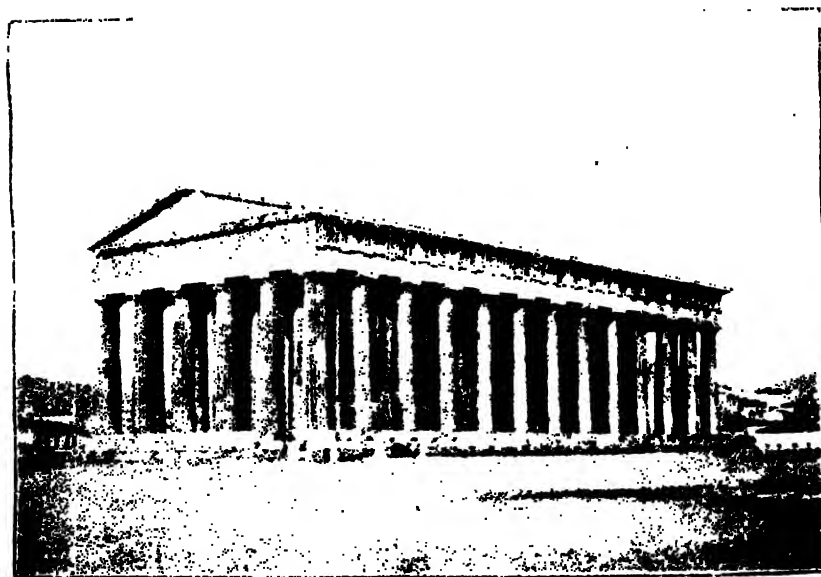
Temple of Wingless Victory.
(Nike Apteros.)



Theatre of Dionysos



Olympia.
(Temple of Zeus.)



Didyma.

NATURE¹

Nature!—We are by her all round enmeshed,
 And hemmed in, and surrounded. Quite beyond
 Our mortal power it is to take a step
 Away from her ; and equally beyond
 Our mortal ken her secret springs of work ;—
 Her veil we neither hope to lift nor pierce.
 Unasked and unawares she whirls us up
 Into the magic vortex of her Dance,
 Forcing us back and forth to tread her maze ;
 Until exhausted, giddy, worn out quite,
 From underneath her arm we slip away.

* * * *

Ever doth she create fresh forms : what now
 Exists, ne'er was before ; nor what was once,
 Shall e'er come back again. All she creates
 Is ever fresh, and yet naught but the old.

* * * *

We live in her, we move in her, yet still
 She, like a stranger shy, eludes our gaze.
 She speaketh unto us unceasingly
 And still her secret rests unguessed by us ;
 Constantly though we strive to plumb her depths,
 She still hath kept herself beyond our grasp.

* * * *

¹ This is a paraphrase of an exquisite string of aphorisms by Goethe, the greatest poet of Germany. These were written about A.D. 1780. They have already been rendered into English by the great naturalist Huxley and I have occasionally borrowed a word phrase from him.

The highest goal of all her effort seems
 Creation of the Individual.
 Yet once created, not a thought she wastes
 Upon him—so it seems to mortal minds.
 She builds up and destroys—unceasing round ;
 None may discover where her workshop stands.

* * * *

Her life is with her children,—aye, *in* them :
 But she—the Mighty Mother—where is she ?
 The One Great Artist she : from simplest stuff
 Fashions she deadly contrasts. Effortless,
 The most precise precision can she reach,
 The most exact perfection she attains.
 And yet her works are subtly covered o'er
 With softness all her own. Each work of hers
 Hath charm peculiar, and a message too,
 Belonging to itself and shared by none ;
 And all are parts of ONE GREAT PLAN—One Whole.

* * * *

She is an actress, acting out the Play.
 We know not if herself she is aware
 That she is acting ; still for us she acts
 And from our corners silently we gaze.

* * * *

In her are founts of Life and Energy
 And Motion everlasting ; yet she seems,
 Without progressive motion, standing still.
 Eternally she's changing, for she knows
 No moment's rest. Of utter standing still

She hath no concept : she hath laid her curse
 Upon stagnation. Firm is she. Her steps
 Tread out a stately measure, never once
 Turning aside from the appointed track :
 Her laws are changeless through Eternity.

* * * *

Deep-brooding hath she been and always is ;
 Her thoughts are not like thoughts of human minds,
 But—Nature's own. Within herself she broods
 Upon a single thought all-compassing ;
 No mortal man may hope to contemplate
 Its vastness, nor its secret wrest from her.

* * * *

All men are in her, she in all men dwells :
 With them she plays a friendly game of chance ;
 And in her heart rejoiceth when a man
 Wins, one by one, the treasures from her store.
 With most the game ends in her victory,
 They scarce suspect they lose it—and themselves.

* * * *

There's nothing outside Nature. E'en the thing
 We name Unnatural is but a phase
 Of her activity. The rankest quackery
 Must on her Truth and Law perforce take stand.
 Who sees her not in every speck of dust
 And everywhere around, lacks eyes to see.

* * * *

Her lov'd one is herself : with thousand eyes
 And thousand hearts eternally she clings

Unto herself. Herself doth she divide
 In images unending of herself,
 And multiplies her joy unceasing lacky.
 She bids new forms arise—an endless chain
 Filled with a thirst for joy, which never knows
 Satiety ; with these she shares *her* Joy.

* * * *

She finds illusion greatest of her joys.
 Woe to the man, who seeketh to remove
 The softening veil, that hides her blazing eyes
 From eyes of flesh. For such her punishment
 Is swift and terrible and merciless.
 But whoso follows her with humble faith
 Unquestioning, she takes him, like a child,
 Into her Mother Heart—and gives him Peace.

* * * *

The number of her children none could tell
 But niggardly of blessings unto none
 Is she, nor can be. Favoured ones there are,—
 Her very own,—on whom she squanders much
 To whom she always offers sacrifice
 Of all her best. Of greatness she makes use
 And fashions from it her protecting shield.

* * * *

Out of the "empty space" she tumbles forth
 Her creatures myriad-formed. Nor doth she tell,
 Whence are they come, nor whither are they bound.
 Their's but to follow, hers it is to lead—
 She knows full well their God-appointed Path.

* * * *

Not over-complex her machinery ;
 Few are the springs that lend it driving force
 But these rust never, neither do they wear
 Working their utmost in a million ways.

* * * *

The play of Nature's ever new and fresh,
 Because by her unceasingly renewed
 Are spectators and actors of the piece.
 Her best invention, fairest too, is—LIFE :
 Her most expert contrivance to unlock
 The floodgates of all Life, we know as—DEATH.

* * * *

In misty darkness hath she wrapt mankind,
 But spurs them onwards ever unto Light,
 She makes us earthy, creatures of the earth,
 Heavy and dull,—but shocks and shakes us oft
 To make our Spirits upward, homeward, soar.

* * * *

She loveth motion and activity ;
 Hence she creates, as spurs to urge us on
 Needs and desires. Effortless she threads
 The complex mazes of her wondrous dance.
 Each Need, as it ariseth, comes from her,—
 A blessing,—swift fulfilled, as swift renewed.
 And new Desires rise, ere old ones pass,
 Each one a source of joy to lead us on,
 Upwards and on, till equipoise is reached.

* * * *

Each moment sets she forth a path to trace,
Which longest seems ;—and yet she can attain,
Each instant, her desired goal.

* * * *

Herself

She is but Vanity and Nothingness ;
But not to us ; for she hath made herself
A thing of vast importance to mankind,
Their light in darkness, indispensable.

* * * *

She lets each child unhindered mould itself,
Each fool to sit in judgment on himself.
Thousands of creatures tread each other down,
Listless and dull ;—they see not where they go.
But she from their blind gropings gathers joy
From every creature she exacts her debts.

* * * *

Her laws man must obey, e'en though he wish
To stand against her. *With* her must he work
E'en though his heart desire to work *against*.

* * * *

All that she gives her children she doth make
For their good,—indispensable her gifts.
She dallies and delays and makes us yearn
For her ; but hastes away, lest sated man
Despise her and regard her gifts as naught.

* * * *

No language nor discourse she needs to use,
 For she creates a million tongues and hearts,
 Through which she feels and eloquently speaks.

* * * *

Love is her crowning glory. 'Tis the path
 By which alone we nearest may approach
 Her heart. She fixes vast deep-yawning gulfs
 'Twixt creatures different : each finds its food
 In others, feeding others on itself.
 Thus hath she isolated group from group
 That they may work together in the end.
 With her for all the worries of a life
 A draught of Love is recompense enough.

* * * *

She is all that we see. She's always just,
 Herself she punishes, herself rewards :
 Her joy she is herself, herself her pain.
 Tender and rough at once ; filled with deep love
 And filled with malice terrible is she :
 Weakest of weak and yet almighty she.

* * * *

In her is everything contained, that is,
 Or was, or shall be. She can understand
 Nor Past nor Future ; Time is unto her
 But One Eternal Now. Gracious is she ;
 I praise her and her modes. Silent and wise
 She is. No loving cajoery can force,
 Nor threats succeed in wresting, from her heart
 Her deep laid secrets, which she freely gives

Whene'er and unto whomsoe'er she list.
Crafty she is, but worketh for good ends
And not to make her tribes for us were best.
Whole and complete she is, yet incomplete
She shall remain until the end of time.
As she is working now, she shall work on
Through all eternity.

* * * *

Each creature looks
At her in its own way. She hides herself
In thousand shapes and names, and yet herself
Remains to all, eternally the same.

* * * *

She brought me here; and she shall lead me on
Higher. I trust her. Let her work her will
And bless or curse me. She can never hate
Her own creation. 'Tis not I who spoke
Of her—not I. What true is, what is false,
All this long since hath she herself proclaimed.
The wrong is hers, if any wrong there be
The merit of it all is hers alone.

POST-GRADUATE

THE LEGEND OF YIMA

(Reply to Dr. Taraporewala's Rejoinder, published in the
Calcutta Review, May, 1922.)

My attitude in calling into question certain assertions of Dr. Taraporewala regarding the situation of Airyana Vaējō has been that of an earnest student and enquirer, and I am always open to conviction. I presented my case as clearly and briefly as possible, dealing only with the salient points of Dr. Taraporewala's arguments, and I am glad that my criticism has evoked two rejoinders, one from the learned Doctor himself, and another from Mr. Kshetreschandra Chattopadhyaya who has not only criticized my views regarding the situation of Airyana Vaējō, but, in his zeal, also vehemently attacked my theory regarding the original home of the Aryans as advanced in my book, *Rig-Vedic India*. I always welcome any fair and honest criticism of my book, as I have never claimed that my theory embodies the last word on the subject. But this simultaneous attack on two different and unconnected points, directed by Mr. Chattopadhyaya, seems to smack of a desire on his part to embarrass me, if possible, by diverting my attention from the main point at issue to another remote and irrelevant point which, however, he considers to be vital so far as I am concerned, and which, he probably thinks, I would hasten to defend. But I am not going to do anything of the kind, and propose to confine myself to the point at issue, leaving *Rig-Vedic India* alone for sometime to take care of itself as best it can.¹

Dr. Taraporewala and Mr. Chattopadhyaya have advanced almost identical arguments in reply to my criticism regarding the situation of Airyana Vaējō. But, first of all, I would ask the learned Doctor whether he is really satisfied that Airyana Vaējō was situated in the Polar or the circum-Polar region, and that when wide-spread glaciation destroyed the happy land, the good Yima and his men and animals lived underground in the *Tara* for generations and generations, and plant and animal life flourished there all this time, though almost shut out from the light and

¹ I would, however, request Mr. Chattopadhyaya to read, in the meantime, my reply to Mr. H. Bruce Hannah's formidable criticism of the book, which has been published in Vol. VIII of the *Journal of the Department of Letters* (1922).

breath of heaven. I venture to anticipate his answer in his own words: "No reasonable person can hold this view." He says, however, that "all this is quite beside the point." Is that really so? Would not all reasonable men first like to be satisfied that such a state of things was possible in the underground *Vara* before they would accept his view as reliable history? The learned Doctor interjects the following query: "Is it possible that Airyana Vaējō was in the south 'not far off from Sapta-Sindhu,' and that Yima emigrated thence to the North Pole to escape the ice of the Glacial period?" There is nothing absurd in the proposition, though I have maintained that the invasion of ice that destroyed Airyana Vaējō on the tableland of the Pamir and Khokand was not identical with that wide-spread glaciation that made the Polar region uninhabitable.

Let us see what Geology says on this point. The following extracts are made from Mr. Wadia's *Geology of India* (1919):

"At many parts of the Himalayas there are indications of an extensive glaciation *in the immediate past* (my italics), and that the present glaciers, though some of them are among the largest in the world, are merely shrunken remnants of those which flourished in the Pleistocene age." (p. 245).

Elsewhere he says:

"Further evidence, from which an inference can be drawn of an Ice Age in the Pleistocene epoch in India, is supplied by the very striking circumstance to which the attention of the world was first drawn by the great naturalist, Alfred Russel Wallace. The sudden and wide-spread reduction, by extinction, of the Siwalik mammals is a most startling event for the geologist as well as the biologist....The sudden disappearance of the highly organized mammals from the fauna of the world is attributed by the great naturalist to the effect of the intense cold of a Glacial age." (p. 246).

This Glacial age of India, however, as Mr. Wadia has observed, was "greatly modified and tempered in severity." The destruction of animal life in India, caused by the advent of this age in the Pleistocene epoch, probably synchronised with the general destruction that overtook the animal world in Airyana Vaējō, situated on the high tableland of the Pamir, known as the "Roof of the World," against which Ahura Mazda had warned Yima. In the face of this undoubted geological testimony regarding the existence of an Ice-age in India, it is really exceedingly surprising to be told by Dr. Taraporewala that "certainly there is no geological record which states that the Sapta-Sindhu was ever covered under glacial ice!"

As regards Yima's emigration to the circum-Polar regions in the Inter-glacial period, the learned Doctor says: "Why he (Yima) should migrate during the Inter-glacial period passes my understanding." Prof. Geikie furnishes an answer to his query. Says he: "During the Inter-glacial period the climate was characterised by element winters and cool summers so that the tropical plants and animals, like elephants, rhinoceroses and hippopotamuses ranged over the whole of the Arctic region, and in spite of numerous fierce carnivora, the Palæolithic man had no unpleasant habitation there." (Geikie's *Fragments of Earth-lare*, p. 266.) Says Mr. Tilak: "There were great vicissitudes of climate in the Pleistocene period, it being cold and inclement during the Glacial and mild and temperate in the Inter-Glacial period, even as far as the Polar regions." It is an admitted and well-known fact that when, in the Pleistocene epoch, there was an Ice-age in Northern India and the Trans-Himalayan regions, a mild and genial climate prevailed in the Polar regions, and this period is identical with the Inter-glacial period. Would it not be quite natural for Yima to migrate to the Polar regions in this period, when fatal winters and ice invaded Airyana Vaejō on the table-land of the Pamir, and made it uninhabitable?

This brings us to the question whether the narrative regarding the destruction of Airyana Vaejō was addressed by Ahura Mazda to Yima or to Zarathustra. I have put the question contained in Fargard II 39 (129) in the mouth of Yima, as all the previous conversation takes place between Ahura Mazda and Yima, and there is no mention of Zarathustra as yet excepting in the reply of Ahura Mazda in stanza 42 (137) later on. I may mention here that I am not alone in interpreting stanza 39 (129) in the way I have done, for Mr. Tilak also has interpreted it in the same way. Says he: "The *Vara* or enclosure, advised by Ahura Mazda, is accordingly prepared, and Yima asked Ahura Mazda 'O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! what [lights are there to give light] in the *Vara* which Yima made?'" (*Arctic Home in the Vedas*, p. 72).

That the passage admits of an interpretation like the above is undoubted. But even if we admit for the sake of argument that the question was put by Zarathustra, and not by Yima, what does it imply? It goes to show that the prophet did not know anything about the physical characteristics of the *Vara* which must have been situated far far away from Iran Vez or Airyana Vaejō, and of which his son, Urvatad-Nara and he himself were said to be the lords and rulers (Far. II. 43), though the fact had to be told to the Prophet by Ahura Mazda himself. The real fact

seems to be that in Zarathustra's time the Vara had passed into the realm of legend, and nobody (including the prophet himself) knew where it really existed. The reference of Zarathustra's or his son's so-called lordship over this region goes to show that people still believed it to have been inhabited by the descendants of those men whom Yima had taken with him, and Zarathustra as the leader of the Ormuzdians was supposed to hold his sway over it.

With regard to the passage of the Avesta, Yasht X. 104, which mentions three places in Airyana Vaejō, respectively situated in the East, West and South, can it not mean that Airyana Vaejō, situated as it was on the tableland of the Pamir and Khokand, had the Asiatic Mediterranean to the north of it, extending as far north as the Arctic region, which disappeared only in early historic times (*Ency. Brit.*, Vol. V, pp. 179-181, Ninth Edition), and that, therefore, only three places in the three directions could be mentioned, there having been no land towards the north? The country on the south coast of the Asiatic Mediterranean, which was Airyana Vaejō itself, was thus regarded as the middle point of the earth, having a sea on the north, and lands in the other three directions. Did not the Hindus also in a later age regard the Himalayas as the very centre and back-bone of the earth? The above passage of the Avesta, therefore, does not go to establish unquestionably the Polar home of the Aryans. If the middle point of the earth be identified with the North Pole, the idea must have originated after the emigration of Yima to the Polar region. There is absolutely no mention of the Polar region in the Rig-Veda; but in later Sanskrit Literature, *viz.*, the Mahabharata and the Puranas, as well as in the later astronomical works, we find mention made of Mount Meru, round which the sun is said to travel without setting for six months. This knowledge of the Polar region was obtained by the Hindus, like the Parsis, in a later age, and does not go to establish the original Polar home of the Aryans.

With regard to Yima's "stepping forward towards the luminous space southwards" thrice, with a view to meet the sun and stretch the earth, the act may have been performed in the Polar region after Yima's emigration to that place, or even in Iran-Vez, to the north of which was situated the Asiatic Mediterranean, barring all progress in that direction, and making it necessary for Yima "to step forward towards the luminous space southwards."

The reason why time was measured by *winter* and not by *summer* in Airyana Vaejō was that a cold climate prevailed in ancient times in that country as well as in the land of the Seven Rivers. *Winter* is also the

name of the year in the Rig-Veda. (R-V. 1. 64-10; II. 1. 11; II. 32. 2; V. 54. 15; VI. 10. 7; VI. 48. 4, etc.)

Abura Mazda says in Fargard I. 4 (9) that there were ten winter months, and two summer months in Airyana Vaējō. His statement is corroborated by the geological evidence regarding the existence of a glacial age in the Himalayan and Trans-Himalayan regions in the Pleistocene epoch, reference to which has already been made.

I did not discuss or criticize these points in my reply, published in the February number of the *Calcutta Review* (1922), simply because they were minor points and could be explained in the way I have done, without admitting the original cradle of the Aryans in the Arctic region. Once you concede that Yima emigrated to the North Pole, the other descriptions referred to by Dr. Taraporewala would follow as a matter of course.

Lastly, I will discuss again the ancient custom of disposing of the dead body, as it obtained among the Zoroastrians. Dr. Taraporewala ridicules me for saying that in ancient times they postponed the disposing of the dead body, if the sun remained covered behind clouds for days together, and remarks: "It would have been easy for Dr. Das to have found out that the Zoroastrians never have postponed funeral ceremonies on account of rain or clouds. (My italics.) Only the absence of the sun (not its mere hiding behind the clouds) could warrant keeping such a contamination as a dead body within a house.....Dr. Das says 'the contingency of clouds concealing the sun for three days does not seem to have struck Mr. Tilak at all.' Most certainly it did not, nor would it strike any one who was in the least acquainted with Zoroastrian customs, either modern or ancient." I do not pretend to be as thoroughly acquainted with Zoroastrian customs, either ancient or modern, as Dr. Taraporewala. But I rely upon the sacred scriptures of the Zoroastrian religion for the assertion I have made, and wonder what he would say regarding the following extracts from Fargard VIII. 4 (11), 8 (18) and 9 (21):

"O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If in the house of a worshipper of Mazda a dog or a man happens to die, and *it is raining, or snowing, or blowing, or the darkness is coming on* (my italics), when men and flocks lose their way, what shall the worshippers of Mazda do?"

Mazda in reply says that in such a case a certain place should be selected and "on that place, they shall dig a grave, half a foot deep if the earth be hard, half the height of a man, if it be soft; [they shall cover the surface of the grave with ashes or cow-dung]; they shall cover the surface of it with dust of bricks, of stones, or of dry earth. And they shall let the lifeless body lie there *for two nights, or three nights, or a month long,*

until the birds begin to fly, the plants to grow, *the floods to flow, and the wind to dry up the waters from off the earth*" etc.

There can be no doubt or mistake, then, about *raining, or snowing or blowing* being some of the reasons for postponing a funeral. The *darkness* in the above extracts evidently means not only the darkness of night, but also the darkness caused by masses of clouds over-spreading the sky, precipitating rain, or by snow-storms, blizzards, or boisterous weather lasting for days together at a time. The words "two nights" and "three nights" have been used in the sense of "two days" and "three days," just as the word "fortnight" is used in English for "fourteen days," and the word "Pancharatra" in Sanskrit for five days.

I hope, my readers will now be convinced that whatever may be the modern Zoroastrian custom (and old customs always change yielding place to new), the ancient orthodox Zoroastrian custom was *not* to take out a dead body for funeral, *if it rained, or snowed, or blowed*, or if the days became darkened by overhanging clouds and boisterous weather. I am sorry, I have to interpret a Zoroastrian custom to Dr. Taraporewala, but I have been forced to this unpleasant task for which certainly I am not to blame.

ABINAS CHANDRA DAS

June 15, 1922.

Reviews

The Text of the Sakuntala ; by B. K. Thakore, B.A., I.E.S., Poona, 1922. (D. B. Taraporewala Sons & Co., Fort, Bombay.)

This is a paper read at the First Oriental Conference, Poona, 1919, and has been published in book form on the advice of several scholars. Students of the Śakuntalā know too well the great difference that exists between the different recensions of the work, especially between the Devanāgarī and the Bengali recensions. In the case of an oft-read work like the Śakuntalā such differences are particularly galling to scholars. "Cultured humanity," says Professor Thakore, "cannot possibly tolerate three divergent Śakuntalās or even two. It must have one single definitive Śakuntalā acceptable to all competent judges." On account of these differences, a student has either to stick to the recension he happens to be best acquainted with or to follow an eclectic principle in choosing his text. Both these methods are uncritical. Unfortunately for the restoration of Kālidāsa's own text, we do not get old manuscripts to work on. Professor Thakore therefore thinks that we have now no alternative but to select "out of the divergencies that reading and that arrangement of speeches which in the light of dramatic criticism is demonstrably the best." He has applied his æsthetic judgment to the study of the play and has shown the relative merits of several differences in the Bengali, Devanāgarī, Kāshmirī and South Indian recensions. Along with the great Īśvara-chandra Vidyāsāgara and other competent judges, Indian and Western, he has come to the conclusion that the shorter Devanāgarī recension is considerably superior to the longer text of Bengal. But he has not altogether shut his eyes to the defects of the Devanāgarī recension and he is very much to be commended on the openness of his mind. In sections 1—4 he has discussed those passages of the Bengali and Kāshmirī recensions for which the Devanāgarī gives a better version and in sections 5 and 6 have been discussed the defects of the Devanāgarī and the South Indian recensions.

Professor Thakore has admitted that æsthetic judgment differs in different individuals and that all his conclusions will not be accepted

by others. We too feel constrained to differ from him in several cases. We would not, for example, subscribe to his criticisms in section 2 of the Bengali arrangement of the Fifth Act, though we might not feel inclined to reject the Devanāgarī text either. There is absolutely no harm in Kañcukin's beginning the Act and in the description of the king's fatigue as in the Bengali recension. The king's excessive labour seems to give some justification, from his own point of view, of his falling an easy prey to Durvāsā's curse and consequently for getting Śakuntalā. The fatigue is a natural consequence of his constant activity and Kañcukin's words can serve as a good prelude to this. As regards the place of Hamsapadikā's song, the Bengali arrangement may not be so bad as Professor Thakore would have us believe. The reference to Śakuntalā if meant at all is very distant and by taking the Queen Hamsapadikā to be the person referred to we learn that after returning from the hermitage, Duṣyanta did not seek the company of his other wives and unconsciously kept true to Śakuntalā. कमलवसदमेतत्पश्यन् should be noted in this connexion. This would be a sufficient compensation for Duṣyanta's forgetting his beloved. The Bengali recension does make the king restless after the दृष्ट्वापि वीर्य verse. We cannot see how the Bengali दृष्ट्वापि वीर्य is different from the Devanāgarī इति पर्याकुलमिति. We would also think that the Kañcukin's long soliloquy, in the Devanāgarī recension, when the king is trying to recollect his past, mars the beauty of the king's condition. The Kañcukin's not understanding the state of the king's mind and approaching him with his message as given in the other text does give a good rounding off to the situation and introduces the king immediately to the cause (to him now unknown) of his pensive mood. There are also other cases in which we feel constrained to differ from Professor Thakore. His choosing of the reading भावि from one solitary manuscript and of चायादि from Rāghava Bhaṭṭa in the śloka कानं दिया त सुलभा, etc., of Act II is uncritical and cannot be supported. The sense too, we would think, is greatly spoiled by the reading he has chosen. अज्ञतायैपि जनविजं रतिसुखमाशेषं कुर्वते in the second half of the verse ought to have convinced Professor Thakore of the soundness of the reading (त वदन्नायादि) which all the recensions give. But we must admit that Professor Thakore has on the whole performed his very difficult task with great sobriety of judgment.

Lovers of Kālidāsa and particularly of his Śakuntalā will find this small book of considerable interest and value. Students of literary criticism will also learn a very good deal from it. But historical students will not be convinced from what the Professor has written that the method

he follows can ever fix the text of the Śakuntalā. They will not subscribe to the view that æsthetic considerations can determine what a very ancient writer wrote. The method they would follow is comparison—comparison of different old manuscripts and comparison of the other works of the author himself. In the case of Śakuntalā, the first sort of comparison fails us for want of sufficiently old manuscripts and on account of the presence at an early date of divergent recensions to go behind which we have no palæographic authority. The second sort of comparison—comparison of what the author has written elsewhere in similar passages—is perhaps the only way open to us. If our choice between the divergent readings is determined by what comparison makes it probable that Kālidāsa did write, we can attach to it a scientific value and the resulting text would be acceptable to scholars. Professor Thakore has on æsthetic grounds assumed that the reading

राजा । अपरिचतकोमलस्य यावत् कुसुममेव नवस्य यद्वदेन ।

अथरस्य विपामता मया ते सदयं गृह्णते रमोऽस्य ॥

(सुखमन्याः समुन्नमयितुमिच्छति ।)

अङ्क । (परिहरति नायकेन ।)

of the Devanāgarī recension in Act III is authentic. To many it might seem an unjustifiable assumption but a good deal of probability will attach itself to the reading if we compare Vikramorvaṣī II. 14 and Mālavikāgni-mitra III. 19 and particularly IV. 14 and what follows. We must not confine our comparison to the dramas of Kālidāsa but must also utilise his poems. Persons who follow the comparative method often make the mistake of supposing that an author always holds the same view; in actual practice they often keep very little room for a natural development of the author's mind and art. In the case of Kālidāsa's writings we find an undeniable growth. His literary activity can be divided into three periods, the formative, the developed and the mature. To the first undoubtedly belong the R̥tusanhāra, the Mālavikāgni-mitra and the Kumārasambhava, to the second probably the Meghadūta and the Vikramorvaṣī and in the last, few would object to place the Śakuntalā and the Raghuvamśa. This is of course only a tentative arrangement. Detailed study can, however, fix the sequence of Kālidāsa's works beyond doubt. In the text-criticism of the Śakuntalā the views and methods of the earlier books have to be taken into account—not only those that persist in this period but also such as have certainly been discarded or improved upon. But the really final conclusion can be obtained by comparison of the other works of the same period (probably only the

Raghuvamśa). In the Raghuvamśa there is generally no useless display of words and everything is arranged in a most artistic manner. The philosophy of life too is very deep. Similar ideas and similar style make us put the Sakuntalā in the same period and we therefore can feel no compunction in rejecting the long passages of the Bengali recension. The Bengali text must have passed through a revision at the hands of the *Gauḍa* school proverbial for its love of *বাক্যভঙ্গ*. Kālidāsa's own *Vaidarbhī* style which had fully matured by now, with all its grace and harmony, is perhaps better preserved in the Devanāgarī recension. In many points of detail however, this joint comparative-*cum*-genetic method will give the palm now to this recension and now to the other.

We read that some of the friends of Professor Thakore have suggested that he should bring out an edition of the text. We hope that if he does this he will not pin his faith too much on mere æsthetic considerations, but will primarily use the critical method just suggested.

K. C.

Selections from Hindi Literature, I and II; compiled by Lala Sita Ram, B.A., Sahityaratna.

Typical selections from Oriya Literature, Vol. I; Edited by B. C. Mazumdar, B.A., B.L.

(Both published by the University of Calcutta.)

During the last three years the University of Calcutta has undertaken instruction in the Indian Vernaculars. A far-sighted and extensive course of studies has been laid down and so far it has produced encouraging results. As a part of the whole plan scholars of the various Vernaculars were invited to prepare books of typical selections from the various literatures and the three volumes under review are the first three of a whole series of such books which will embrace all the important mediæval and modern languages of India.

The two ponderous volumes of "Selection from Bengali Literature" compiled several years ago by Rai Sahib (now Rai Bahadur Dr.) Dinesh-chandra Sen have served as a guide and it seems the very excellent volumes of Prof. T. H. Ward on "English Poets" might also serve as models.

The Hindi volumes cover the period from Chānd Bardāi to Dhruvalās (last half of 17th century). The authors are arranged according to chronological order, each author being preceded by a short notice in English. The selections follow and they are fairly copious and enable a student to form a very decent appreciation of the author. There are, however, two shortcomings which we hope would be seen to in the future. The absence of diacritical marks is very noticeable. And one would like to have had a

bird's-eye view of the whole range of Hindi literature. Perhaps this may be done as an Appendix in the concluding volume.

The Oriya Selections have at the very beginning a good account of Orissa and its literature and also short notices of the authors treated in Section I. The book is very well printed and attractively bound. It covers the literature from the Koili Lyrics up to Visvanath Khuntia (circa A.D. 1750). It is however a pity that the introductory notices for the authors treated in Section II (1509-1750 A.D.) have not been put at the beginning of that section. Perhaps these would form the Introduction to Vol. II. The selections are copious and well chosen (to judge by the titles) and would serve to give a student a fairly accurate idea of the extent and contents of the literature of Orissa. One slight suggestion might be made here, which applies to both the books, the titles of each "selection" might have been given both in the Vernacular as well as in English.

On the whole these books supply a decided want. They put together much of what has been scattered till now and has thus been available with difficulty even to a professed scholar of the Vernaculars. A good many defects may be pointed out if one wishes to be pedantic, but we are sure that, supplying as they do a firm basis to go upon, these first editions should be welcomed very heartily. Later editions will of course take care of themselves. The University of Calcutta has done most valuable service to the cause of our national revival by undertaking this series.

POST-GRADUATE

Indian Export Trade ; by R. M. Joshi, M.A., LL.B. (Bomb.), B.Sc. (Econ.), (Lond.), Gladstone Memorial Prizeman, London, Professor of Indian Economics, Sydenham College of Commerce and Economics, Bombay, 1912, pp. 135.

The book is a critical analysis of India's export trade mainly during 1900-1914 based upon statistical data. The quantity, the value and the distribution of the main articles of India's export trade have been studied under three main heads—raw materials, food stuffs and articles mainly manufactured. This study has been supplemented by a consideration of the principal factors which have influenced year by year the volume of the export trade. Professor Joshi has done a useful piece of work in this survey—useful alike to students of economics and commerce as well as to persons interested in the industrial development of the country. An admirable feature of the book is the large number of diagrams which have considerably heightened its usefulness.

ECONOMICUS

Gleanings

—*—*—*—

The eyes of Azrael are fixed upon high education ; and the University of Calcutta is in *articulo mortis*, gasping, struggling. The struggle has been long and bitter. It has not yet come to an end. On the contrary the attitude adopted by the Minister of Education is largely tinged with obstinacy and is, therefore, not calculated to conduce to general satisfaction. The radix of the unseemly contest is visible even to the most indifferent eye. He who runs may read it. If we fathom the depth of general sentiment in regard to this matter of vital importance, we can safely assert that the public do not like that this University which has made Bengal what it intellectually is—which has shaped its youth on the anvil of moral education—which has poured forth its mellow light upon the most obscure hamlet in Bengal and chased away ignorance, should be treated with supine nonchalance and cut off with a shilling. There is the Minister of Education in his sanctum listening to the gnathonic encomiums of his courtiers who are against the University ; and this noble institution has been constrained to submit to the ignominy and indignity of sending the hat round to keep its life-blood coursing through its veins. For centuries it has provided intellectual pabulum to the people of India and Burma and held aloft the oriflamme of culture. Must it be given a quietus now in the twentieth century for want of funds ? This is self-government in all its glory ! *Humiles laborant, ubi potentes dissident*. We therefore wish that His Excellency intervened and poured oil over the troubled waters.

* * * * *

Mr. Van Manen in a letter, under the caption " Ancient records in danger," published in the *Statesman* of the 29th December, 1922, computes the cultural value of this city in these feeling words : " I have heard it said that nowhere in the world is intellectual life at such a low ebb as in Calcutta. I do not invent this saying. It is no doubt an exaggeration but hyperbolically it embodies truth. Do you know, sir, the cases of anguish and despair amongst an impoverished intelligentsia in this city ? I could cite the Chinese monk who is a twentieth century translation of the old pilgrims, Fabian and the rest. After ten years in Calcutta he has ended by teaching English to Chinese carpenters and opening a boot shop to keep

alive. Or the Russian scholar whose recent publication on Persian subjects brought him complimentary letters from the greatest living authorities in three continents, and who has still a few months between now and starvation. Or the young Indian scholar responsible for two remarkable volumes about India's past, published within recent years, a master of Sanskrit, Pali and old Prakrits, who cannot pay his house rent. Or the promising Bengali scholar whose earning does not enable him to meet the doctor's bill presented to him after his old father's illness..... saddest of all, that one of the greatest endeavours in this city to build up an intellectual centre, a true University, focus of culture and learning, is howled at like the rising moon by village dogs." We are in entire agreement with Mr. Van Manen. Intellectuality is lamentably at a discount ; otherwise a clandestine and Judus-colond movement would not have been set on foot to mangle the University.

* * * * *

In his historic speech, delivered sometime ago at the Senate, the modern Mæcenas—the intellectual light of Bengal clearly showed how the University had been consistently and persistently sinned against. Informed with an ingenuous candour and vibrant with a message of hope and freedom, the speech will live with undimmed lustre to the last syllable of our University's recorded time. We quote a few lines which will repay perusal. "Our Post-graduate teachers would starve themselves, rather than give up their freedom. Do not, my friends, believe for a moment that there is no Providence. If Science or Philosophy has taught you that get rid of your blunder. If it is the design of Providence that high education should disappear from Bengal, let His will be carried out. But I have an unalterable faith in Providence; that has been my one, sole inspiration in moments of trials and tribulations. Reaction is bound to come. I call upon you, as members of the Senate, to stand up for the rights of your University. Forget the Government of Bengal. Forget the Government of India. Do your duty as Senators of this University, as true sons of your *Alma Mater*. Freedom first, freedom second, freedom always—nothing else will satisfy me."

GOVERNMENT *r.* UNIVERSITY.

(By N. CHATTERJEE.)

What a lot of pother is made over and around the poor body of the University. It is not quite dead ; there is some little vital spark left in it, yet the ugly birds have got together, standing "cavy," to get an opportunity to get in their beaks to tear it to pieces. The guardians of the

University have got into financial trouble and have asked the State for accommodation. The State like Barkis is willing, but makes a condition for the gift. The physicians, with the expiring patient under their eyes, plunged themselves into a frenzy of rage over the imposition of the condition. The whole controversy has been carried on *plenus sanguinis*. It is the Grove of Academe where a calm and dignified atmosphere should prevail, and the language of serenity and stateliness is necessary. We do not like this important topic to degenerate into personalities. That is the ugly tendency in this degenerate country. In Europe, in politics, this wretched spectacle is often visible.

That anglicised men with anglicised education, with the European word "culture" on the tips of their tongues should betray vulgar heat and passion is sad and humiliating. Under the present Vice-Chancellor the University has been raised to a high intellectual level; some of the post-graduate professorships are excellent. Anybody with any pretension to intellectuality must commend them. There are other post-graduate subjects which ought to be turned down, thereby filling in the coffer of the University. It seems to us that the Education Minister has not been graceful in the language in which he couched his letter to the University. The tone of it should have been more sedate and dignified as it was written to a learned body. The Education Minister is the past pupil of the University and should have felt an attachment for it. He should not have chastised and humiliated it. But Linus instructed Hercules in music, and was slain by his scholar with his musical instrument.

We have a bone to pick with the University. It was established in 1857 and we are in the year of grace 1912. We solemnly ask whether the University education has done any real good to the people. Politics is talked and written glibly and with ease. Any tiro on the sands of Timbuctoo can do it. "Freedom is a noble thing" wrote old Spenser. Have the English professors for two generations taught the students under them the true significance of the expression and all that is implied in it? Have they ever told them in the lecture rooms that women needed emancipation, education and fresh air;—that many social customs, which hedge round the country and are followed and practised blindly and without reason, should be thrown into the dustbin of discarded, noxious things? Has the University been able to instil into the mind of the student the importance of food,—that its chemical virtues either go to degenerate or ameliorate the physique of the men and women? Food, fresh air, exercise and cleanliness help psychic qualities in us and generate determination, resolution, perseverance and fearlessness. Has the University been successful in producing

such a race of men and women in the land? It appears to us that with all the book learning, the University men think and believe that the social customs and traditions which have descended to us from remote ages are sacrosanct and superior to those of the western countries. They are lured and captivated by the jingle and sonorousness of the phrases of the European writers, and quote them with avidity to air their knowledge which is merely superficial. The University men in all the European countries have been the leaders of the people in social, ethical, economical and political matters. Has the University turned out men of such calibre and nature? It has doubtless manufactured so-called politicians by the bushel. They have not learnt that true politics is strengthened by grim determination—character, and that this is induced by the social and economic elevation of the people. In London, for instance,—and it is the same all over Europe, the University men give discourses to thousands of men and women nearly every evening on the advancement of social, ethical, economic and political measures. In the slums in London, or in the big cities, University men and women place their services for the improvement of the poor and the uneducated. Has the University been able to give this inspiration to the tens of thousands of its students? The shortcomings of the University are egregious. It cannot compare with the University of any country in Europe except of Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Turkey. When this University turns out intellectual Bulgars and Yugoslavs, we cannot but expect hateful, ill-natured prize-fighting within doors.

The University needed money and applied to the State for it. The borrower cannot impose his terms on the lender. That is the simple position. The lender without considering the position and status of the borrower dictates onerous terms to him. It is indelicate. It should not have been done. There is gracefulness even in the conduct of commercial transactions. This has been overlooked. In the meanwhile, the professors are being starved in a country where the reproduction of the species is carried on helter-skelter in the hallowed name of custom. How can a man, in the teeth of the woman's economic dependance, be expected to pinch his and his dependants' stomachs for the empty glory of freedom. The soldier fights on his stomach. He is the saviour of his country. He understands the first principle of biological law—the self-preservation. He makes sure of his food before starting on the perilous journey of saving the honour and freedom of his country. He is unencumbered by a brood of children. The professors have their quiver full, and it is puerile to ask them to starve with a family of children. As it is, the Hindus are bereft of stamina, owing to their bad and unhygienic food, but if the little mites are put upon

enforced starvation they will grow up to be complete degenerates. We have been served with bad dishes, for the University and gubernatorial cooks are Nineday cooks. In this naughty and theocratic world money is in estimation. And Ovid truly says, "Dat census honores; census amicitias : pauper ubique jacet."

The serious drawback of the University has been the appointment of men of narrow mind and indifferent intellectuality who have taken their degrees by memorising. Men with broader outlook and experience of European systems should be introduced into the Senate to place their knowledge in the service of the University. They will be able to put their case ably and clearly. They will explain what is implied in the term, higher education. Every University man should be a missionary in the cause of social, economical and political matters, and that he should assimilate and make a part of his mental structure what he has learnt in the University. That is the true education. Learning by heart and speaking by rote is merely a feat of memory. It leaves no impression, as water does not wet the duck's back. This dispute has raised a contemptuous laugh among people outside of the University and the Government. Let there be truce and no more of the unpleasant exhibition of childishness and temper. The fossils and the half-fossils should be taken back to Sawaruck and put into the earth where they ought to be. The University must be preserved and must remain autonomous.—*The Rationalistic Review*, January 1923.

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

SEPTEMBER, 1923



THREE POEMS

(Translated by the author from the original Japanese)

I

THE THIRD PERIOD

Where is the old song I used to sing
With high style and joy ?
I am now a charred ruin ;
With the conflagration began the third period of my life.
'Tis the character of the age to hasten its catastrophe ;
Oh, to rebuild a new song
On the ruins of my heart,---
The poet's castle, lone and immense,
In colour evolve from sadness and wounds !
To carry out my plan subtle and free,
I would never regret sacrificing
The lusts of ideal and dream.
My life was directed before by the set notion of
entanglement ;

But my song, I am glad to say, is now free
From sophistry.....
Oh, how the fire had ruined
My love and romance !
Here I stand upon the ruins .
Against reality's menace.

II

THE SPARROWS

The sparrows are twittering under the eaves.
I sat behind you for the first time, (oh, that's some
twenty years ago now,)
I pulled your black loose hair, two or three, with my
finger-tips.
How you raised your lovely frightened eyes, and stared
at me.
You said : "Why are the sparrows twittering so ?"

Ten years passed since then. You brought out the name
of my old lover,
You became depressed foolishly, then you cried and raved
loudly,
You sprung to your feet, saying: "I am unreasonable,
no doubt,——"
Let us separate now for good!" To the garden you stepped
out,
Between you and me the sparrows had been twittering so.

Now it is eighteen years since we got married, (how time
flies !)

You take off the lid of the boiling kettle in this small,
small sitting room,

And say : " Please, wait, I'll make tea after baby sleeps."

I lie down by the oblong brazier with a paper,

And listen to the sparrows twittering under the leaves.

III

THE PILLARS

To-day after a long time, I was dipping in the hot water at a
public bath.

The little boy held in the arms of an old man with the dirty
Dharma-like face,

Turned back timidly, and looked at me hard ;

The face of the boy, at least one half of it, was smeared with
bean-jam, as with a plaster.

I thought it was more than I could bear, if he washed his
face in this water ;

But when he turned back his timid face again,

Good heavens ! he was quite clean.

"Oh, such is the dirty public bath," I muttered.

The boy of some seven years old, also accompanied by this same
old fellow, looked back on me.

The two sticks of mucus, wonderfully large, hanging down
from his flat nose,

Were, why, something like the pillar of the Nelson Monument
at Trafalgar Square.

Thinking that he might wash his face too, I left the bath-tub
in a hurry.

I was looking down, while the bath-man rubbed my back with
all his strength ;

And when I looked up, there was sitting before me the same
boy with the wonderful pillars,

And stared at my face strangely.

I felt relieved, saying : "Thank God, he did not throw his
pillars in the water ! "

Then not to stand shilly-shallying, I soon left the place.

While dressing, I thought of something to the following effect :
"What does such a trifling love of cleanliness amount to ?

I am certainly a weakling.

Suppose Harunobu or Utamaro or Rossetti is living to-day,
He would like to colour a lady's garment with such a greenish
mucus.

At any rate, they are the most beautiful sticks of ultra-marine !"

YONE NOGUCHI

CHILD PSYCHOLOGY

PARALLELS

There are children who do not take much note of the things around them. These ask few questions. Others are of a continual curiosity, and are such askers of questions, as frequently to tire out their grown-up companions.

The heroine of this little piece belonged to the second class; but her curiosity was limited in a peculiar way. Her brother, at the same age, had looked upon the world with a mind open to any and every impression, and the matter of his questions was very nearly as various as the things that lay within reach of his eyes, ears and hands. His sister was as intently curious; but with a prepossession, which was that in the world of beasts, birds, and flowers, you would always find parallels to the doings and occurrences of human life.

She supposed, for instance, that enquiry would shew that birds keep their food in a larder, just as human beings do. Once she said: "Daddie, the birds are all singing for their supper, and going to bed. But I don't know where is their *bottle-khana*." She went on: "Where can they get their *Khana*? I think they go to some place in the trees, and find *Khana*, and then they go to sleep, and they wake in the morning, and talk."

To wake in the morning and talk what was, she knew, her brother and herself to do. Birds must be supposed to do so too; for what else could they do? Her preconceived idea, it will be seen, stood between her and knowledge. Her brother knew where the birds got their food, for he had watched and noted. To her mind, it was useless to try to ascertain; for the birds would be sure to have their *bottle-khana* where nobody could find it. It is an open question, however, whether she was not preparing her mind for the reception of knowledge of a

more valuable kind than the knowledge that is concerned with the things of sense.

Her preconceived idea, I have said, was that parallels to human occurrences would be found everywhere. She applied it even to the smallest particulars. She once quoted her father as having said that a bird that was in sight was a kestrel, and that kestrels feed on rats. "I didn't say *rats*," her father corrected her, "but *mice*. Rats are too big." "But, Daddie," she asked, "a kestrel would be very glad of half a rat, would it not, or a quarter?" She saw it carved at some bird-substitute for a dinner-table.

Another of the stories told of her is concerned with eating. She and her father were watching snails on a window-sill. She wanted to know why, as they were there then, they hadn't been seen before.

"I think they live behind the leaves of the Virginia creeper," her father answered, "and they feed on them. It has been raining, and so they have all come out. Many creatures come out after rain." "Yes," he added presently, "you see that one there is eating a leaf." It was not so, however. They soon saw that the snail had merely been passing over the leaf. They were a little disappointed. The child was the first to recover her spirits: she had worked out that a snail was not to be expected to be seen eating at that hour. "But Daddie," she said, "it will eat the leaf, when it is *our* tea-time."

Once in a field that they passed they saw a white hen with about a dozen chickens. On their return they saw a black hen in the field with three chickens. Her mind was instantly ready with the explanation that the matter seemed to her to call for. The white hen was the mummie-hen, and it was putting the younger chickens to bed. The three chickens with the black hen were the three eldest, and the black hen, which was taking them for a walk, was one of the chickens' aunts.

"The fact is," she would have said, if she had spoken her whole mind, "beasts, birds, and flowers are the same as we are, only different to look at."

LITERALNESS

A thing noted in Brideen is an extraordinary passion that she has for literal truth. That is not to say that she objects to make-believe, or the saying of things in play that are not true. Make-believe is a chief stock-in-trade in her conversation, the expression of it coming with her under the general name of "dolls'-house hAt." She has even invented a piece of machinery, by means of which anything passes that may be said. It is her "lawdy family." If anything is objected to in her play as unusual in real life, or impossible, absurd, or dangerous, as taking more than a drop or two at a time of medicine that is poison, she will say: "In my 'lawdy family' you may take as many drops as you please."

It is when the talk is serious, that it troubles her, if anything is said that is not literally true. Thus if you say that everybody knows this or that, she will understand you to mean *literally-everybody*, and, if she knows that literally everybody doesn't it troubles her. The passion in her is most alert when she is being reprov'd for something, which is unfortunate; for the occasion for correction is apt to be lost in a quicksand of explanation of things merely verbal. So if you would correct her, you must choose your words as you would pearls, some of which if you do not choose well, may prove paste.

Once Brideen had to be refused an orange or something, she having been unwell. Said her Mother: "You don't want to be a little sick girl always, do you?" "It couldn't be *always*," she replied; "for I sha'n't be a *little* girl always, and I sha'n't be anything *always*, for I shall die."

Another time her Mother said: "At that rate, Brideen,

you'll be all day over your dinner." "It couldn't be *all* day," she said; "for I have already spent part of it in the garden."

Yet another time her Mother said: "Brideen, I've a great mind to send you to bed for the rest of the day. If I had been as naughty, my Mother would have made me stay in bed the whole day." "It couldn't have been the *whole* day," she rejoined: "for that would have meant that you had been naughty in the night."

IN THE THIRD PERSON

To speak of themselves in the third person is common with children, I understand; but with Brideen the practice persisted longer than usual. When she was old enough to have learned freely to use the first person, she was still capable of resaying a thing in the earlier manner, if with some difference. Thus she once said: "I have found a haricot bean in my soup;" but being the next instant dissatisfied with that, she resaid it so: "Peter, if you were Brideen, you would have found a haricot bean in Brideen's soup."

I was not prepared for such an extended use of the third person—it had not been a feature of Peter's talk, who is older—and that made me more attentive to his sayings, and more interested to remember them. Such a piece of recorded conversation as the following has still a great interest for me:—

"This is a very long walk! Brideen said she wanted to go for a little walk."

"Well, you see Mummie wanted to get some medicine at the shop."

"Then the shop ought to have been a little more close."

"It is where it is."

"Then Mummie should have gone to another shop."

"Then happens not to be one nearer."

"Then Mummie should have left Brideen at home."

"Should she?"

"Yes; for when Brideen goes very far from home, not in carriages, she gets very tired."

Brideen not only usually spoke of herself as others did—in the third person, that is—she also shewed no hesitation in speaking of herself on occasions as others might when cross with her, or minded to be ironical, or merely to banter. Thus, seeing a hammock, she might say: "I'd like—great fat thing!—to be carried in that hammock," or, having a cold in her head: "Put on your bib, old sniffer." The epithets in those instances, and of course usually, were appropriate to the occasion; but she was once heard to say: "Brideen, butter-fingers!" When she had dropped nothing, and when what moved her to address herself so was solely the interest that the phrase had had for her.

A fact was a fact with her, and, even if the fact was about herself, she could take an apparently impersonal, or "other-person," view of it. I will give instances in a moment: I would first note that it may explain her so free use of the epithet "butter-fingers" and the rest. And now for the instances.

Once it was a question whether Peter or she should go into the house for something. Peter wished her to go. "I can't go," she said.

"Why can't you go?"

"Don't you know?"

"Of course not."

"I can't go because I'm too lazy."

The tone in which she brought out the last phrase—there was a great deal of impatience in it—had the implication that she thought Peter stupid to require to be told a thing so well known to everybody.

This is another instance. Brideen's mother had a way of good-humouredly calling her children names, and, except that the good humour broke their force, of using very hard names. She has been known to say to Brideen for

instance : " Aren't you a little abomination ? " Once Brideen asked her father why he had brought her downstairs. " Oh," he said, " I thought you were perhaps worrying your mother —being a ' little abomination.' "

" I *were* being a little 'bomination ! " she said, with her head on one side.

Her interest in a fact as a fact, which obscured the impropriety of her advancing her own laziness as a reason why she should not do a thing, went with her readiness to accept any grown-up person's statement about anything, however little prepared she might have been for it. She was only once known to exercise a doubt, and then it was to be noted that it was not the statement that she found too hard, but the implication that she had read into it herself. Someone had said that her apple must be peeled, because the skin was like leather. After long reflection she said : " Can they really make shoes out of apples

CHILDREN'S TALK

I suppose I am not wrong in thinking that there is no very successful piece of writing that has the talk of children for its subject. That might be taken to denote that my own interest in it, which is certainly very great, is due to the conjuncture of a particularly rich experience with a special susceptibility to the pleasure of it. It is in just such conjunctures that successful pieces of writing have their genesis, and I might see in what has fallen to me an encouragement to write, except that the same conjuncture must often have been before, and yet has not been an encouragement to another. If it has been before, which one must suppose, what is denoted is that the subject, though certainly of high private interest, could never be of public, but for one objection. It is that, as in biographies there is a striking dearth of talk, only one man having had a Boswell, so the absence

that I have noted of an essay on children's talk may be due to there having been no one minded to play the Boswell to them. There must be the record made at the time; for nothing is rarer than the memory that can recall spoken words after the time, and everyone has felt how unsatisfactory it is to quote spoken words, when they cannot be reproduced exactly. "I do not remember well enough," a person says. We do not know, perhaps, why the substituted word should not be as telling as the one that was used, but only that so it is. It is not so telling even for a third person—*i.e.*, one who does not know for certain that it is not the word that was used; which shows, does it not, how closely words fit the character of the person using them? They fit him like a skin, of which, if part be taken off, even one who has not seen the man before will know. But for that, such a one as Froude, in his "Life of Carlyle," would have given quantities of talk; for he could not but know that nothing else would be half as interesting. If you want to portray a man, give his talk. Nothing else is so revealing—not his writings, nor men's opinions of him, nor anything. Even if reproduced not perfectly exactly, it would be more revealing than anything; but, as I have said, we cannot be reconciled to that imperfection.

To bring us back to my subject—is it not seen that a man's interest, or lack of interest, in children's talk is interest, or lack of interest, in child character? There are those who want the full wine of human personality, the product of the mature mind, and to them childhood is just immaturity. To others it has its own ripeness, completeness, perfection. For such I would write: they will feel the charm of character revealed by the child talk that I am now to give.

There is plenty of repetition in families of things that children have said; but the interest is usually some quaintness, oddness, or unexpectedness in the thought. My interest is as often in the expression. When a little girl, asked where she is

going, answers, "*none-where*," or looking round the table says, "there is *none* butter," or says, "they have given me so much milk, that I do not know when I shall have *lasted* it all," and, asked what she means by *lasting* milk, replies, "have it all *drunken*." I find it very interesting. I have pleasure, too, in the way children coin words on the analogy of other words, as when they speak of *unlaying* the table, or the *uneasy* game of tennis. Another thing that has pleased me is their way of picking up a grown-up expression, and using it, sometimes in such a context as we use it in, sometimes in quite another. Her mother once said to a little girl, "I should like you to do it, but you needn't, if you don't want to. There is no *must* about it. For some time afterwards she was always using the expression. Once it was while she and another were watching to see if a ladybird would walk up a blade of grass. "I think," she said, "it says, 'I do not want to, and there is no *must* about it.'" Another time, her father having said that they might bathe first, and have tea afterwards or have tea on the edge of the cliff, and then go down to the sea, and bathe, she asked, "Is there any *must* on the edge of the cliff?" The same young person was told to be careful not to spill anything the speaker adding: "It is a clean cloth: see that there are no accidents." A reproving finger pointed later to a jam stain, and the same voice said, "Look at that!" "Yes," the young person replied, "that is one of my accidents." Another time she had to report the loss of a handkerchief. "One of my accidents!" she added.

What I enjoy most is when some unexpectedness in the thought enhances the charm of the expression. A father walking with a child of five years exclaimed, "Thank heaven for this bright sunshine!" "But, Daddie," the child objected, "when there is a great lamp of sun, then I try to look at it, but I can't." The same child (an Anglo-Indian, more familiar with *roti* than *bread*) "used to call a big plateful of slices of bread" "a huge *bunch* of *rotis*." It was she who, asked if she

had drunk her tea, replied, "yes I have drunk my tea, but I have left the *cha*." She meant that she had left the tea leaves at the bottom of the cup. And she and her brother, doing their first "copies," used to speak of 'H' as made of two *sticks*, with another joining them. Only they used the Hindustani *lakri*.

There was a little boy of fifteen months, with a vocabulary of some twenty words, five of which he had coined himself. They were, *ai-ee*, apple; *dish*, cat; *cee*, pencil; *did-da*, photograph, picture, illustration; and *dách*, tobacco pouch, pipe, match.

Two other children, older certainly, but not so very very much older, coined *memil* as a name for the splints that were used for a time to straighten their legs. Afterwards, for some inexplicable reason, they transferred the name to the hot-water bottle. It is not known in that family by any other name.

THE LITTLE UMBRELLA

Brideen is still an interesting child, with quaint little ways of thought and speech, and with so many of them, that sayings of hers might be quoted in most chapters in a book on child psychology. She is very knowing (a vulgar person would call it 'cuteness'), yet equally naive; very old-fashioned, yet very childish; very wide-awake to the things going on round about, yet a day-dreamer. She is also a charming phrase-maker.

It is not to be expected that one little story should illustrate all this, especially as its date belongs to a still earlier period of Brideen's life. She was not yet four years old, when her Mother took Peter and her to call on a Mrs. Corin in Lee Road in Calcutta. There she fell instantly in love with one of her hostess's baby's presents—a toy Japanese umbrella—but as the baby was too young to appreciate it.

and Mrs. Corin very kind, it promptly passed into Brideen's possession.

"Mummie," Brideen said with intense interest, as they drove home, and with the implication that she thought that nobody would ever have dreamt of such a thing happening, "Mummie, I've got the little umbrella!" Presently she said, with her grey-blue eyes very wide open, "I said '*thank you very much*' to that Memsahib, but she didn't say anything!" It was explained to her thereupon that the giver of a present, when thanked, is not expected always to say something.

From that point onwards it was perhaps Brideen's father who was most concerned with the little umbrella. He had first to listen to her endless prattle about it. She would ask such a question as :

"Daddie, how did we make this umbrella?"

"We didn't make it," he replied.

"Then how did Corin Memsahib make it?"

"She didn't make it either."

"Then who *did* make it?"

"Oh, somebody in a shop or in a factory."

"I think Baby Alice"—that was Mrs. Corin's baby—"wanted to buy a little umbrella," Brideen went on, in a tone that indicated her desire decisively to dispose of the question, and leave the field free for other speculations—"I think Baby Alice wanted to buy a little umbrella, and Mrs. Corin *bayed* that one, and the Sahib in the shop where she *bayed* it, *he* made it. Yes—with a confirmatory shake of her curls—I think that was what happened."

Or it was :

"Daddie, this little umbrella came from far Japan." The allusion was to Robert Louis Stevenson's

"The children sing in far Japan ;
The children sing in Spain," *etc.*,

which Peter and Brideen at that time were getting by heart.

Presently the shadow of the umbrella as a broken thing fell upon Brideen. It was not broken yet, but it soon might be ; for Brideen had much of her father's house in her, one member of which was once heard saying over a broken toy : " Broke already ! I did broke it ! "

So Brideen wished the umbrella taken care of for her.

" Daddie, will you *khahardari* my little *chatir* ? "

" Yes."

" Will you keep it in your *almirah* with Teddy and Tommy Trout ? "

" Yes."

They were a Teddy Bear and a doll of hers that were being taken care of. The *almirah* usually contained quite a number of such articles.

Brideen was not to be inconsolable, if the little umbrella did get broken. Indeed, there might be something so interesting to do then, as almost to make her wish that the day had already come.

" Daddie," she said, " if after another time (she meant 'some time') this little umbrella gets old, then we must cut the *kapra* straightly off, and throw away the umbrella. But it isn't old now. It is only a little days now. An umbrella doesn't get old in a little days ! "

" If after another time..." It was a very short time afterwards that the umbrella got broken. Brideen and her father went out alone that evening for a drive. Suddenly Brideen, who had been unusually silent, broached the subject.

" Daddie," she confessed, " Peter Sahib wasn't pleased with me for breaking my little *chatir*."

" No, and I wasn't pleased either. You can't have been careful with it. If you had been, it wouldn't have got broken."

" I've got the *kapra* in my drawer," said Brideen after a pause. " When I got a new dollie, and we make clothes for that dollie, then I'll use the *kapra* for trimming."

Then suddenly remembering that she had been told that her father didn't feel very well that day, she added :

"When I was *thora bimar*, I didn't want to talk, and now you are *thora bimar*, and don't want to talk. So I will talk to myself."

So on she prattled to herself, but Daddie noticed that nothing more was said of the broken *chalis*, or the *kapra* that was to be used for trimming, or of Peter Sahib's displeasure. Peter's mattered, Daddie knew, much more than his own.

J. A. CHAPMAN

WILFRID SCAWEN BLUNT AND INDIAN AFFAIRS

Wilfrid Scawen Blunt was born at Petworth in 1810. He attained to fame and notoriety in many directions. He began life in the diplomatic service and was attached to Athens, Madrid, Paris and Lisbon. In this way he travelled a great deal and imbibed many ideas not usually associated with those of the orthodox Englishman. He was a poet of considerable parts and his volume styled "Love Sonnets of Proteus" rightly attracted much attention and earned for him no slight meed of praise. He married the Lady Anne Noel, a grand-daughter of Byron, and together they wandered all over Asia Minor and Arabia. Blunt thus came into close touch with Moslem opinion and thence onwards he devoted much of his time and energy to the advancement of Mahomedan ideals and aspirations. He was attracted by the unlimited vista of Pan-Islamism and it was as a result of his sympathies with the Musulman world in general that he came to take a particular interest in India. Wherever he went he disagreed entirely with the forms of government introduced and favoured by his own countrymen and hence we find him constantly engaged in anti-British schemes and plots. At the time of Gladstone's Home Rule Campaign he rushed excitedly into the fray and supported the extremists in Ireland with the result that he was imprisoned for a couple of months. In the compass of this short article, which deals primarily with matters of Indian interest, it would be impossible to indicate and describe even a small fraction of Blunt's many-sided activities but still I must not fail to refer to the famous stud of Arab horses at Crabbet Park which was wont to attract visitors on purchase intent from countries in both hemispheres.

Blunt frequently identified himself with those occupied in endeavours to wreck constitutions and existing governments. Extreme nationalism appealed to him immensely and this is strange in view of his low opinion of rich and poor alike. He was always anxious for change but was never really happy since he did not wait to consider if the new machinery would be any better than the old. Yet restless in mind and body he could not sit still himself or allow anything in which his interest was aroused to remain peacefully quiet. For his own countrymen he had it would seem but little love or respect. "There is," he says, "nothing so mean in the world as the British mob, unless it be the British aristocracy, but now our fine lords and ladies, though they adulate royalty, do so with their tongues in their cheeks, and this saves to some extent their self-respect."

The diaries of Wilfrid Scawen Blunt prove fascinating and interesting reading. A careful study of them throws much light on his character and opinions. Educated at Stonyhurst he was in the more early days of his life a staunch Catholic but gradually he became materialistic and in the end he lost his faith. He seems to have striven with all his mind and might to remain within the fold of the Church but the trend of events proved too strong for him. He made the journey to Rome and even had a special audience of Pope Leo XIII. "It was in the spring of 1886 when, after my failure at the Camberwell election, I was sick alike of the affairs of the world and of the vain pursuit of happiness. I went to Rome as on a pilgrimage with the vague hope that perhaps I might there recover my lost faith in supernatural things and end my days in piety.....I made a general confession of my sins, and if I had been unmarried, I should have attempted to join some religious order as a desperate protection against my own belief... ..My reception by His Holiness was of a kind which surprised and touched me almost to bewilderment when I heard the door shut behind

me, and I found myself absolutely alone with one so nearly divine, if there was divinity anywhere to be found on Earth." It is a pathetic picture that rises upon the screen of one's mind—the aged Pontiff anxious to retain in the Church a soul that is going astray: kneeling at his feet the penitent desperately anxious to remain but unable to do so owing to forces that he cannot combat. Blunt gave up his faith but he never harboured any ill feelings against the Church of his ancestors. In fact it seems to me that to the end of his long life he was always hoping to recover his lost beliefs so eager was he, whenever occasion arose, to discuss questions of Catholic dogma and tradition. Moreover, the Bellocs and the Dillons, the Petres and the Butlers were amongst his closest friends and this is a fact from which only one deduction can be drawn.

Blunt took a great deal of interest in Indian affairs and made a couple of journeys to Hindustan to see for himself the condition of the country. His views were formed, however, long before he landed and he went away after seeing only the side of the question in which he believed and was interested. Half measures never appealed to him and so he was greatly disappointed in Gokhale. "He expresses himself well in English, and I have no doubt is an able speaker. But he is clearly no leader of a revolution and they will effect nothing without one. He lacks the enthusiasm which a belief in ultimate success would give, or even the bitterness which is also the force of hatred and despair."

Again under date 21st July, 1912, there is another very interesting reference to Gokhale:—"Drove Belloc to Steyning where we had tea with Mackarness. We found Gokhale there, who exhorted me to use my influence with Indian Mahomedans to get them to join the Hindoos in working for self-government. I have of course been doing this for a long time. I reminded Gokhale of my advice to him four years ago to put a couple of bombs in his pocket when

he went to see Morley at the India Office. The reminiscence shocked him, for he is a timid man, and terribly afraid of being thought an extremist, especially in presence of Mackarness and his fellow judge, Lord Coleridge.....My last word to Gokhale on going away was—Above all don't be too moderate."

This is typical of Blunt's earlier aspect on life in general. Agitation by lawful and constitutional means had no attraction for him. Any object to be attained must needs be gained in a hurry and with the aid of the minority who might be obsessed with ideas of hatred and revenge. Beliefs of this nature have done considerable harm to many nations in their struggle for what is styled independence and the student of history need only ponder on the conditions that exist in Russia and in Ireland to realise the force of this contention. When Sir Curzon Wylie was assassinated at the Imperial Institute by an Indian student Blunt had no word of sympathy for the relatives of the deceased. He makes fun of the English press which "is united in its religious horror at the crime.....if ever people had excuse for means of this kind, it is the people of India." This indeed is an extraordinary standpoint and an unwise statement to make. Even when allowance is made for likely exaggeration such words could only have been written by an individual with an abnormal mentality. If an object is worthy of attainment it is desirable beyond denial that the end should be gained by laudable means. Wilful murder and the like are certainly not stepping-stones of righteousness and they will never prove satisfactory advertisements of a just and wholesome cause.

Blunt wrote a book entitled "India under Ripon" which brought forth a long and eulogistic letter from H. M. Hyndman, the socialist, who also dabbled a great deal in Indian affairs. The following is his description of Hyndman. "He is a big, burly, bearded fellow, a rough edition of William Morris, with the same energetic talk on socialistic

topics that I remember in Morris.....We discussed the prospects of socialism and how it would affect Imperial questions, and I told him I believed it would be just as bad for the subject races in Asia under a socialistic regime in England as now. This he would not agree to, but he did not convince me I was wrong." Whatever opinion one may have regarding Hyndman and his views it cannot be denied that he had definite beliefs which he considered, rightly or wrongly, would be for the benefit of mankind in general, in the East as much as in the West. With Blunt, however, the case was apparently different. He undoubtedly believed that he was doing right in supporting what he called subject nations, but he did not appear to consider sufficiently if the new state of affairs was likely to be an improvement upon the old.

In 1913, however, the failure of his propaganda and schemes elicited a heart-rending confession from Blunt. He had been seriously ill for some time previously and without preface he suddenly records the following lament in his diary :—"I am alone just now here and in this dark world I am overwhelmed with woe. I see myself as one sees the dead, a thing finished which has lost all its importance, whatever it once had in the world.....I have made almost no converts in Europe, and am without a single disciple at home to continue my teaching after I am dead. Even in the East, though my ideas are bearing fruit and will one day be justified in act, I have founded no personal school where my name has authority." These words were written in his seventy-third year and they constitute a confession of complete defeat and abject despair. It is difficult to decide what caused this admission on the part of Blunt though it is a typical ebullition of his emotional temperament. "Nothing, if not all" was invariably his watchword and that is perhaps the reason why as the end of his career was approaching he unexpectedly gave the following advice to Indian Moslems :—

"My present motto, therefore, for Indian patriotism, Mohamedan and Hindoo alike, would be Loyalty to the Imperial Crown but insistence on self-government under it.....And so may God prosper you and hasten the day of Islamic and Asiatic independence." This indeed is strange advice from one who had previously supported Dhengra and Savarkar, and other extremists of Egypt and of Ireland as well as of Turkey. It is, however, yet another example of the way that human nature often tempers and improves the wild and semi-irresponsible minds of enthusiasts. These well-meaning idealists set up a target before themselves but fail to notice how torn and disfigured it becomes before their attack upon it succeeds.

In the pages of his diary Blunt makes a pleasing reference to Lord Ronaldshay, lately Governor of Bengal. "Beauclerk brought Lord Ronaldshay to luncheon, a pleasant young man of thirty-five (1911) who has travelled much in Asia and is now in Parliament, with aspirations of being some day Viceroy of India.....My view of Imperial matters was entirely new to him, as it is to most people, though it is really forty years old. He, like everybody else, confuses the meaning of the word Empire, which has only quite recently been applied to our white colonial system, which is no more imperial than was the Greek colonial system in the days of Pericles."

Blunt was a great friend and admirer of Robert, first Earl of Lytton, and on the 6th of February, 1911, he records a note to the effect that he has been arranging "Lytton's letters to me, some two hundred of them, a really wonderful series, from 1865 to 1891 when he died. They are as good as Byron's or Shelley's, and far better than Trelawney's whose letters to Clare and Mary Shelley I have just been reading."

There are also certain references to the present Governor of Bengal which I propose to cull although there is no suggestion of India about them. They were made long ago and so

even if there were no oriental connection at the time there exists at present adequate reason for their obvious interest to those whose lot is cast in Bengal.

"7th April (1903). Lunched with Victor and Pamela Lytton in their new house in Queen Anne's Gate. Victor goes almost daily to listen to the debates in the House of Commons, feeling cut off from a political career by being in the Lords. He is looking older and his face has grown longer. I see in him a certain likeness now to his grandfather the novelist."

"17th February (1910). Victor Lytton came to lunch to talk over the question of prison reform with me. He talked intelligently on the subject, in which he is much interested."

Such remarks, pedantic and arbitrary as they certainly may be, are typical of many that illuminate the pages of the diaries. Although it has no Indian interest I cannot refrain from quoting the entry against the 2nd of January, 1911. It hardly could have been shorter, or more to the point :—

"The birthday honours list gives Jameson a baronetcy who ought to have had a rope." This admittedly is in far from the best of taste but it exemplifies that intensity of feeling which Blunt himself not only possessed to overflowing but that he demanded so vigorously in others whose cause he wished to further.

When Blunt passed away recently at the ripe old age of four score and two he must have been sore and sad at heart. All his ideals had eluded him though no one could have tried more bravely than he to keep them with him. Ireland and India, Egypt and Turkey, nations one and all whose several schemes and schisms he had constantly championed, were seething with internecine strife. Peace and happiness were nowhere in sight and he left the world, a disappointed visionary. Not even the consolations of the Christian Religion were available to him.

He was buried in an old Eastern carpet in a certain Sussex wood without any rite or ceremony. By his will he left to the Franciscans of Crawley a legacy for the up-keep of the Monastery Chapel where the mortal remains of his brother and sister rest in peace. To the Quakers a bequest he made for the support of one of their burial grounds as a token of his appreciation of their conscientious objection to military service, while to the Mahomedans he bequeathed a sum of money to be devoted to the erection of a mosque in London.

“ All which I took from thee I did but take,
Not for thy harms,
But just that thou might'st seek it in My arms.
All which thy child's mistake
Fancies as lost, I have stored for thee at home :
Rise, clasp My hand, and come.”

Methinks that if Blunt had sought comfort from amongst its wonderful pages the philosophy of “The Hound of Heaven” might have helped him much during those dreadful periods when he was “alone in the dark world and overwhelmed with woe.”

P. LEO FAULKNER

BIRDS' NESTING IN THE SIMLA HILLS

Several years' residence in the hills of Simla and the observation and study of bird-life of this part of India have taught me much of the nesting-habits of the birds found in this district. The exigencies of space prevent me from attempting a full description of the nidification of all Simla birds, but it has often struck me that a collection of notes, culled from my diary, would be of interest, especially to those who are fond of the oological aspect of ornithology. It is not my intention to write about any rare birds, nor do I wish to record any startling discoveries—such notes are better suited for publication in a scientific journal devoted entirely to natural history. In the pages that follow I shall give some of my personal experiences in connection with oological rambles in Simla. I sincerely hope that my notes may prove to be of interest; and if this be the case, my task will have been accomplished. In order to be a bird-lover it is not necessary to be a professional scientist, and there are many bird-lovers in India.

One of the most engaging little birds found in Simla is the tiny Red-headed Tit, which is about half the size of a common house-sparrow, but which the learned have saddled with a scientific name far too heavy for the diminutive bird to bear. In ornithological parlance the Red-headed Tit found in these parts is known as *Aegithaliscus concinnus iredulei*! The nesting-habits of this tiny bird are most interesting. Like the other tits found here, this species is a very early breeder—in fact, except for the huge Lammergeyer or Bearded Vulture (*Accipiter barbatus grandis*), which like some other birds of prey breeds in the depth of winter—the Red-headed Tit is perhaps the first bird to turn its attentions to nest-building at the very first signs of spring. By the second week of March this little tit begins nesting operations.

A sharp eye and a little patience are all that is required, and a walk along any hill road will soon result in the discovery of more than one pair of building tits. Before your eye catches the birds you will hear the well-known call-notes—*Prit-tit-tit*, *Chee-hee-hee*. Then you locate them, and you will soon be rewarded by seeing a bird carrying a feather in its bill. Stand still and watch, and you will find the bird making for the nest which is in course of construction. The nest of the Red-headed Tit is indeed a very pretty little structure. It looks at first sight like a large artificial pear made of moss. Closer inspection will show that the nest is made of hundreds of scraps of moss, cobwebs, lichen, thin stems and a few small dry leaves. At the top end of the nest, which is usually narrower than the lower end, will be found a small entrance-hole. The inside is always copiously lined with a large number of soft, downy feathers which are exceedingly soft to the feel—a cosy repository for the eggs. From five to eight eggs are laid, but usually five or six are found in a nest. The eggs have a very neat appearance, being white marked with a more or less distinct broad ring of light brownish-pink round the broad ends. There is, however, a great variation in colour. This year, for instance, on the morning of the 25th March, I took a ramble along the railway lines and found four nests containing altogether 24 eggs. Some eggs were very distinctly marked with the usual ring, but one clutch had the markings very indistinct, and one egg in this clutch was pure white. Round about Simla the nest of the Red-headed Tit is usually placed in a low bush, *e. g.*, a young oak about 3 or 4 feet high, or in a creeper. Sometimes a nest is placed in a fairly big tree, like an oak or rhododendron, either at the end of a branch or wedged in between two branches growing upwards. Occasionally one finds a nest with two holes, one being the usual entrance-hole, and the other perhaps an exit in the event of an emergency or a rejected entrance which did not meet with the bird's

approval. A great variety of feathers is used for the lining of a nest, any picked-up feathers serving the purpose. The feathers of the White-crested Kalij Pheasant (*Aennæus hamiltonū*) are often used, and once a nest was found containing the feathers of an Imperial Sand-Grouse (*Pterocles orientalis*), which is most unusual, as grouse are not found in these hills. The following are the dimensions noted in my diary of a typical nest of the Red-headed Tit :—

" Greatest length	...	...	5½ inches.
Greatest width	...	...	4½ "
Diameter of entrance-hole	...	...	1½ " "

Another pretty little bird is the White-browed Blue Flycatcher (*Cyornis supercilioris*). The male is a greyish blue bird above and white below, with a blackish broken collar that comes down either side of the neck but does not meet on his shirt-front! The female is an inconspicuous brown above and white below, but her build exactly resembles the male, so that she is easily recognised. This small Flycatcher is a bird that may be met with on any well-wooded hillside. It seems to have a decided preference for rhododendrons and oaks and shuns the thin shade of pines and deodars. The White-browed Blue Flycatcher nests in a natural hole in a tree or in a suitable place between a tree-trunk and a creeper growing thereon. The nest is a neat small cup of thin twigs, stems, etc. The eggs are of a most peculiar colour, being of a uniform brownish-pink or stone colour without any marks. The nests are not difficult to find, for you have simply to exercise a little patient observation and keep a look-out for likely-looking holes, especially if the birds are near by. For example, in the course of a work on the 16th April, 1922, I found three nests in half an hour and within a radius of 100 yards. Apparently one egg is laid every day to judge from the observations made on a nest recently. On the 30th March this year I found a nest not quite built, situated in an ivy-like creeper that was clinging

to small oak which grows on a well-frequented road. On the 8th April I visited the nest again. It had been completed and one egg had been laid. On the 10th two more eggs had been added.

Early in April two more common flycatchers start building. Both species are somewhat smaller than a sparrow in size, but they are widely different in colour and in nesting-habits. One is a greyish-green bird with something of a crest and with bright yellow underparts. This is the Grey-headed Flycatcher (*Culicicapa ceylonensis*) which visits Simla in summer only. Both sexes are alike and it is therefore impossible to distinguish at sight a male from a female. The other is known as the Verditer Flycatcher (*Stoparola melanops melanops*), on account of the peculiar shade of its blue colour. Except for a blackish mark near the eyes, the whole bird is of a uniform verditer blue. The female can be differentiated by her paler hue, for, alongside the cock, she looks quite faded and dull. The Grey-headed Flycatcher builds a very characteristic nest. This species is fond of well-wooded parts and is seen near moss-covered tree-trunks. Why near moss-covered tree-trunks? Because this bird builds its nest on such trunks. How? It constructs a very elegant pocket of moss, lichens, cobwebs and cocoons, and this beautiful pendent nest it attaches to the moss growing on the hole of the tree by two long arms. How delicate the nest is one who has not seen it cannot imagine. It fills us with wonder to think how, first of all the eggs, and later on the young birds, remain safe in this fragile cradle, supported by a few strands of cobwebs and moss. The nest does not look strong enough to stand the strain, and yet the eggs are hatched and the little flycatchers are fledged. Four eggs are usually laid, and these are of a dirty white marked sparingly with yellowish-brown spots, particularly round the broad ends. Years ago, when I first looked for the nest of the Grey-headed Flycatcher, I was

almost deluded : I had noticed that a pair of these birds frequented a particular locality, so I determined to find the nest. For three or four days I watched the birds, until one day they behaved in a very alarmed manner and I knew I was somewhere near the nest. But where was it ? A careful search revealed a suspicious bit of moss hanging from the trunk of an oak. This may not be the nest I thought ; but I went up to the tangle of moss, and lo !—I had found the nest. The measurements of this nest are given below :—

Depth	1½ inches.
Inside diameter	1½ "
Outside "	2½ "
Thickness	1 inch.
Greatest length of pocket	4 inches.
Length from top end of one arm diagonally to base of pocket	7½ inches.
Length of each arm	2½ "

The Verditer Flycatcher attracts attention on account of its colouring. Who can resist looking at a beautiful bird ? This species is always found along shady hill-roads, and it oft times perches on the telegraph wires and from thence pours forth a merry whistle. Its thoughts lightly turn to love and nesting about the second week of April. This flycatcher, or "Bottle" bird as the schoolboys in Simla call it, makes no pear-shaped or pocket-like nest of moss. Instead, the nest is a pad of moss lined with slender roots, or sometimes composed entirely of the latter. The rain and other factors hollow out portions of the hillside overhanging roads, and in these miniature cliffs, a tangle of roots thickly coated with mud, shows through. Such places are the nesting-sites of the Verditer Flycatcher. But the bird is also fond of building under those small wooden bridges that are constructed below so many of our hill-paths. Four eggs are usually laid, and these are of a pinky-white colour with an indistinct cap of confluent red specks and freckles. Why schoolboys call this fly-catcher the "bottle" bird I do not know ; this nickname seems meaningless.

The Streaked Laughing-Thrush (*Trochalopteron lineatum griseicentior*) is an excessively common Simla bird. It is the representative in these hills of the "Seven Sisters" or *Sat bhai* of the plains. Laughing-Thrushes are, like Jungle Babblers (or "Seven Sisters"), found in small flocks. They are about the size of Mynas, and are clad in reddish-brown, but have a streaked appearance, hence their name. On account of their colour these birds are called "Brownies" by schoolboys. The breeding season is a long one extending from March to August, so that the eggs of this species may be obtained for many months. However, as Hume rightly points out, although the Streaked Laughing-Thrush makes a fairly big nest, the birds take great pains to conceal it carefully. Consequently, a thorough search is necessary in order to find the nest, which is placed usually in some thick bush or creeper. I shall relate a recent experience of mine which bears this out. I had been watching a pair of laughing-thrushes from my office window. The birds were collecting materials for a nest. As soon as each had a beakful of twigs and leaves, it would hop off along the ground till it came to a "Bridal Bouquet" creeper, and then it would vanish from sight for a few minutes, emerging again with nothing in its bill. The nest was obviously somewhere in the creeper. For two or three days I watched the birds doing this, and then I went under the creeper and looked into it. But there was no nest visible! The next day I searched more carefully. The creeper passed over a deodar branch, and on this branch the nest rested, barely visible from below due to the thick creeper. The eggs of the laughing-thrush are, unlike the bird itself, beautiful. They are of a lovely blue colour without any contrasting markings.

That fine songster, the Himalayan Whistling-Thrush (*Myiophonus horsfieldi temminckii*) or *Kastura*, also takes not a little trouble to guard its nest from detection. This bird is almost as big as the Common House-Crow of the plains

(which by the way is not a Simla bird), and is clothed in purplish black, with a few glistening white spots on the head and shoulders, and has a yellow bill. As its name implies, it is a great songster. Its loud, ringing call sounds particularly fine when it perches on some rock in a deep ravine and sends its lay echoing up the nullah. The Whistling-Thrush is never found in flocks but is seen singly or in pairs. Its haunts are *par excellence* those rushing hill-streams, full of large boulders, waterfalls of varying size, green banks, and steep, rocky sides. Last year I came across quite a number of whistling-thrushes in a certain stream of this description, below Summer Hill railway station. During the course of a ramble along this stream I found no less than five nests, either on one side or the other among the rocky ledges of the ravine. I found also the nests of two other species, but that is another story. Very often the *Kastura* builds a nest in some inaccessible spot; or, on the other hand, if the nest can easily be reached, it is most cunningly concealed. Here are two instances showing the way in which this species builds in places difficult of access. Two years ago, I was informed of a nest placed in a hole in the wall of an hotel in a locality called Nabha. On the 23rd April, 1921 I visited this place, and with the aid of some assistants, a thick rope, and a weird-looking apparatus consisting of a small cloth bag fixed to the end of several long sticks and poles, I managed to secure the eggs. The following are extracts from my notes relating to the taking of these eggs:—

“I tried to get at the eggs from where I stood, on fairly safe ground on the hillside, but I was not able to exert sufficient leverage at this distance. With trouble I secured the services of three natives, and making two of them hold a rope which was attached to the third man's body, I persuaded this individual to go lower down the hillside. By stretching far out the eggs could just be reached by the cloth bag. After several fruitless attempts we succeeded in getting all four eggs. The operation lasted fully an hour, but the exertion was well spent. The manner in which I obtained the eggs was the only solution of the difficulty. The nest was too high to be reached by a ladder from below, or by a ladder placed from the hillside against the building.” * * * *

Again, on the 14th April, 1922, I found a nest built in a square hole in a stone wall at the end of a big natural drain water for rain-water. My note-book says: “* * *

* * * I climbed up the ravine. This in itself was not a difficult task by any means, but once arrived at the base of the stone wall, I found that the nest was not easy to get at. I made several attempts to climb the wall, which afforded very little foothold as the lumps of mud and the scant and fragile vegetation growing thereon would come away very easily. At last, by dint of utilising every available gap and cranny in the wall, I succeeded in reaching the nest. The result was as I had expected—no eggs had been laid yet !”

As a matter of fact no eggs were laid in that nest: it was cast aside, and a new nest was built in a valley lower down. The eggs of the Himalayan Whistling-Thrush are almost as big as those of a domestic pigeon. They are of a delicate greenish-grey, minutely speckled all over with light pink.

There are a large number of birds of various species that lay their eggs in holes in trees. In the plains the Green Paroquet (*Psittacula torquata*), the Coppersmith (*Xantholaema haemacephala indica*) and the Golden-backed Woodpecker (*Brachyple nus aurantius aurantius*) furnish the most familiar examples. In the Simla Hills we have, for instance, the Slaty-headed Paroquet (*Psittacula schisticeps schisticeps*), the Great Himalayan Barbet (*Megalaema virens marshallorum*), and several kinds of woodpeckers and many other birds. The following extract from my ornithological diary illustrates a typical experience in the finding of the nest of the Brown-fronted Pied Woodpecker (*Dryobates auriceps*):

“6th April. This morning I went down the *khud* to find nests. *
* * * * *
Low down in a valley * * * I saw an oak,
in the trunk of which, at the top, was a small circular hole. * *
I threw a few stones at the trunk of the tree. One of the stones hit the
trunk fairly and produced the desired effect. First of all a head appeared,
and shortly after a *Dryobates auriceps* flew out. From the way in which
the sitting bird remained in the hole till she was dislodged, I knew that
she had eggs. I managed to obtain an axe from a village near by, and
with the aid of this implement, I enlarged the hole. Five eggs were
extracted. These were lying on wood shavings and chips at the foot of
the hole. The eggs were stained, due I suppose, to the decaying wood.”

It may be mentioned here that many birds that deposit their eggs in a hole lay white eggs. Owls, paroquets, barbets, woodpeckers, etc., all lay white eggs. It is easy to locate a woodpecker's "nest" before the eggs are actually laid, because the bird, in hollowing out a hole for their reception, makes a loud tapping noise which betrays the nesting-site. Strictly speaking these birds that lay in holes in trees make no real "nest" in the sense that they build a structure for the reception of the eggs.

A common garden bird in Simla is the Dark-Grey Bush-Chat (*Oreicola ferrea ferrea*). This species is a podgy bird as big as a sparrow. The male is dark-grey above and white below; and the female brown above and dirty white below. This bird is seen all over Simla, but not being of a very retiring disposition, it is not partial to dense forest. The Dark-Grey Bush-Chat does not build its nest on trees or bushes, but selects a suitable natural depression in the ground at the foot of a low bush in which to place the nest. Let me describe the nidification of this species by a quotation from my note-book. I noticed the beginnings of a nest of this bush-chat on the 9th April, 1921, at 7 A.M., when going for an early morning walk. On the 17th I watched both birds, and found that they were still building:

"23rd April. The nest of *Oreicola ferrea ferrea* referred to in my note of the 17th instant, was visited to-day.

* * * * *

"I climbed up the hillside where I thought the nest had been constructed, but I was not able to find the nest at once. I searched for about ten minutes, when the female flew off and revealed the nest at the foot of a wild rose-bush. The nest held a clutch of five eggs."

The nest may be described in general terms as a rather compact cup, made of fine, dry grass stems, lined scantily with cows' hair and resting on a foundation of dry leaves intermingled with moss. The measurements, taken on the day on which this nest was found, are:—

" Greatest diameter (including moss padding on one side)	3 $\frac{3}{4}$ ins.
Diameter of nest proper	... 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ "

Average thickness of sides	...	...	...	$\frac{1}{2}$ in.
Depth	...	...	...	$1\frac{1}{4}$ ins."

I had better describe the eggs using the words in my diary :

"Clutch of five. Two slightly hard-set ; three quite fresh. Ground colour a pale blue-green. Marked with a number of minute specks of reddish-brown colour, forming a zone at the large end of each egg, but being very sparingly distributed elsewhere, especially at the thin end, which is practically free from these markings."

Another bird which nests in situations similar to that chosen by the Dark-Grey Bush-Chat is the Eastern Meadow-Bunting (*Emberiza cia stracheyi*). This bunting looks very much like a common sparrow, but it has a black and white striped head, a pinkish breast and some white feathers in the tail. These characteristics serve to distinguish it at a glance from a sparrow, although the resemblance between these two species is so marked that Simla schoolboys call the Eastern Meadow-Bunting the "Rock Sparrow." There is nothing very special about the nest, but the eggs are marked in a very peculiar manner. Taking, at random, a description of a clutch of eggs (found on the 30th April, 1921) I find the following remarks in my diary :

"Visited the nest of *Emberiza cia stracheyi*. Found that three eggs had been laid and took them * * * * Ground-colour a dull greyish-white. In all three eggs there is a zone round the large end of a mass of intricately confused black and dark-brown hair-like scrawls of varying thickness, interspersed sparingly with black dots of irregular shape. In two eggs the hair-like markings tend to approach the thin ends, but the third egg is not so marked. As stated by Hume, the pattern of the markings on the eggs of this species reminds one somewhat of a spider's web with a fly caught in it every here and there."

Mr. Douglas Dewar says that the Minivets would carry off the first prize at a beauty show of Indian birds. Although I do not hold this opinion, there is no doubt that the Minivets are hard to beat. There are various kinds of Minivets that occur in India, and they all specialize in shades of red, yellow and green. Simla has but one species, known as the Short-billed Minivet. The natives call this species the *Rajah Lal*

and ornithologists have named it *Pericrocotus brevirostris*. The male has a black head and neck, and his wings and tail are also marked with black, but the remainder of the cock's plumage is a brilliant dark red. The hen has the same scheme of colouration, but her dress is green and yellow. Minivets strongly resemble wagtails in the elegance and grace of their build. During the non-breeding season the Short-billed Minivet is seen in small flocks of about six or eight individuals, the majority of the birds being clothed in green and yellow, with one or two black and red cocks. This has given rise to the strange story that the male is the "Beloved of Seven Damsels!" But to write of their nidification. April and May are the best months to search for minivets' nests. They start building at the beginning of April. In 1922 I was able to discover many nests, three of which I found by keeping my eyes open on my way to and from office. One nest was built on a branch of a tall deodar, and the nest was directly above the main road, where hundreds of people pass daily. This year the first nest that I noticed was on the 24th March. The following extracts from my note-book will show the progress made by the birds:

"24th March. For some days I have seen a pair of *Pericrocotus brevirostris* frequenting a particular locality. This morning the birds were behaving suspiciously, and a little watching showed me what appeared to be the beginning of a nest about 15 feet up on a horizontal branch of a pine.

"27th March. The nest is getting on well.

"30th March. The nest of *Pericrocotus brevirostris brevirostris* is almost complete. I stood under the nest and watched the female building. The male was observed sitting in the nest at one time. I suppose this was being done to shape the nest.

"6th April. * * * I sent up a climber to report on the progress made. I was informed that one egg was visible in the nest."

Thus, a Short-billed Minivet takes about two weeks to build a nest.

Without practice, it is difficult to locate a minivet's nest. Even when built it is hard to see. The nest is placed on a horizontal branch, usually on a pine or deodar; but if on a thin

branch, the nest looks from below just like a natural knob, and if on a thick bough, the nest is not visible from beneath. The nest itself is a beautiful deep cup, made of thin twigs, stems, etc., and is wonderfully decorated with pieces of lichen, cocoons, etc., which closely assimilate with the branch on which the nest is placed. So well is this lichen put on to the nest that the lichen looks as if it is naturally growing there. Hume says, "I have never seen one (a nest) on any kind of fir-tree." The Short-billed Minivet lays four or five eggs. These are white tinged with pink, or even green, and are richly marked with brownish-red and pale purple, the marks being densest at the large ends.

Two birds, of quite different species, nidificate on grassy hillsides: one is a warbler and the other a pipit. The former is known as the Brown Hill-Warbler (*Sitta crinigera crinigera*), and the latter is called the Upland Pipit (*Oreocorys sylvanus*). The Brown Hill-Warbler is a most insignificant bird to look at. It is a "tinie brownie" bird with a fairly long tail. The name "Warbler" must be euphemistic, for this species certainly cannot warble. Its note is a strange, but distinctive, chirrup. Schoolboys have created for it the onomatopœic name of *chikra-chu*! This is a fairly good imitation of the bird's note. It begins nesting at the commencement of the monsoons. By this time of the year the vegetation is quite green and many slopes are clothed in long grass. It is among the long grass that this warbler builds. The nest is somewhat similar in shape to that made by the Red-headed Tit, yet the material used is not moss, but strands of grass all plaited together and the gaps filled in with cotton and seed down. There is the usual round entrance-hole near the top of the nest. The nest itself is attached to a clump of grass. When freshly built the nest looks very pretty, but the green colour soon fades and the beautiful appearance is then lost. In the year 1918 I was living at Chota Simla, and just below my residence were two or three grassy slopes. In that

year, by searching the grass, I found close upon a dozen nests of the Brown Hill-Warbler. The eggs are white with a ring of reddish spots round the broad end.

The other bird that frequents grass-covered slopes is the Upland Pipit, but this species prefers those hillsides where the grass is not very long. The nest is a shallow pad of grass, placed in a hollow on the ground and near a clod of earth, a rock, or a tussock of grass, which acts as a protection. The best way to find Pipits' nests is to get a few assistants and walk with them in a line across a suitable grassy hillside. The birds are disturbed, and as they fly up the places from which they rise are carefully marked and searched. The eggs are greyish-white, thickly speckled all over with reddish-or purplish-brown. Four is the usual complement. The Upland Pipit looks exceedingly like a hen sparrow, but it is not arboreal and is found sneaking about the open hillsides. Moreover, its note is very distinctive. Flying off a hillside straight into the air, the bird utters a quick call like *tick-tick tick-tick*,—and then, while returning in a graceful curve on outstretched wings, it utters a call which may be syllabised as *kut-kee-kut-kee-kut-kee*. This is not the behaviour of any self-respecting sparrow !

Swallows, like the Government of India officials, are summer visitors to Simla—they spend an agreeable time here till the winter begins to set in, and then they depart to more salubrious parts. The common swallow of Simla is known as Hodgson's Striated Swallow (*Hirundo daurica nepalensis*). I shall not describe it as everyone knows what a swallow is like, and the only swallow that the man in the street is likely to notice in Simla is this species. This swallow builds in houses, so it is easy enough to watch its nesting operations. The nest is made of mud, consisting of hundreds of pellets all joined together to form a retort-shaped structure which is affixed to the roof. When far from human habitation, the birds fix their nests to the underside of ledges of cliffs. From

April to August swallows may be observed nesting. The birds pick up small pellets of mud from some soft wet spot, *e. g.*, near a roadside water-tap, and slowly construct their nests by adding one pellet to another until the whole structure is complete. Just a little wet mud is added every day and this is allowed to dry before more is put on, as otherwise the wet mud would be too heavy and would suddenly collapse of its own weight. The inside of the nest is lined with grass and soft feathers. The eggs are pure white, and the shell is very thin and delicate.

Let us now consider the nidification of the largest bird found in Simla. This is the Lammergeyer or Bearded Vulture (*Gypaetus barbatus grandis*), already referred to at the beginning of this article. There is no need to describe it, for it is easily identified on account of its huge size. High in the air its pointed wings and long, wedge-shaped tail are always recognisable, and when it flies at a low elevation its long, black beard is quite distinct. On account of the brownish-yellow colour of the head and neck the Lammergeyer is often erroneously called here the "Golden Eagle," which is quite a different bird altogether and is comparatively rare in Simla. This grand bird builds on ledges in high precipices, and it can well be imagined that it is no easy task to secure the eggs. To go over the top is never an easy job and the feat is rendered more difficult than ever in the depth of winter. Once did I essay such a performance, but I am very doubtful whether I shall do it again! I prefer someone who is of a bolder spirit to get Lammergeyer's eggs. A dare-devil man and an unbreakable rope are essential. The nest is like that of the common vulture—a large mass of sticks with a central depression, lined with grass, hair, rags, etc. Two eggs are usually laid. These are fairly big, measuring about 3½ by 2 inches. The eggs are marked all over with reddish-brown, and sometimes are beautifully decorated. These large eggs always attract attention in an

egg-collection. It is no wonder that they provoke enthusiasm. But to get the eggs needs much daring and necessitates the preliminary finding of an orphan who will have none to mourn his loss, should he, by any chance, drop into a boulder-strewn valley from a height of more than 200 feet!

There is an interesting bird found in Simla, although it is not a common species here, known as the White-tailed Nuthatch (*Sitta himalayensis*). An account of its nesting-habits will, I am sure, prove interesting. But before describing the nidification of this Nuthatch, I shall say a few words about the bird generally. To begin with, a Nuthatch is so called, because, in addition to its insect diet, it feeds to a large extent on hard nuts, the kernels of which are extracted in a wonderful manner. The nut is firmly fixed in some crack in a tree, and being held thus as in a vice, the bird then hammers at the nut till it has made a hole through which the kernel can be picked out. The insects it finds by climbing about the trunks and branches of trees, poking and peering into every crevice and cranny. During the breeding season, which begins about the middle of March and lasts to the middle of May, Nuthatches are found in pairs, but at other times they go about in small flocks, probably family parties. The White-tailed Nuthatch could perhaps have been given a better name, as the whole tail is not white, but only the outer pairs of tail-feathers. Both sexes are alike, but the hen is a little paler: they are slaty-blue above and chestnut below. In size a Nuthatch is about as big as a sparrow. The call of this Nuthatch is repeated very quickly and sharply, and sounds to me like *kia-kia-kia-kia-kia-kia*. Let me now pass on to the nesting habits. The White-tailed Nuthatch selects a natural hollow in a tree in which to make its nest. When a suitable hole has been found it is made smaller with a sort of plaster until it measures about an inch in diameter. Stuart Baker says that the material used for narrowing the hole is mud or clay, but my experience is that a curious gummy substance is

utilised. The following extracts from my ornithological diary give an account of the nidification of the White-tailed Nuthatch :—

"11th March. Near 'Cherriton' (the name of a house) I saw the head of a bird peeping out of a hole in a knot on the trunk of an oak. The hole was about 15 feet above the hillside. * * * * But the way in which it twisted its head about soon proved that it was a *Sitta himalayensis* * * * *

"17th March. Went for a ramble this evening * * * * Visited the place where I saw a pair of *Sitta himalayensis* nesting. The hole was not clearly visible as it was dusk but a light coloured patch below the hole may have been some plaster put on by the birds * * *

"18th March. * * * * The white patch I saw last evening was a discoloration of the bark. While inspecting the hole, both birds suddenly appeared. One was carrying a chip of bark which it deposited in the hole. It then picked off another small piece of loose bark from a point a few feet above the hole, and this also was placed in the hole.

"25th March. The nesting-site of *Sitta himalayensis* was inspected again. No eggs have been laid yet, but the nest itself is visible on peeping into the hole. The entrance has been plastered up but the plaster is not clay. * * * * Eggs should be laid about a week hence.

"30th March. Visited first the nest of *Sitta himalayensis*. No eggs have been laid yet.

"6th April. Made arrangements to obtain the eggs of *Sitta himalayensis*. I took a heavy axe and an electric torch. The entrance to the nest was plastered up and looked exactly the same as when I saw the nest on the 25th March. The diameter of the entrance-hole was just about one inch. I brought away two pieces of this plastering material. It appears to me to be composed of a mixture of moss, rotten wood, bark and a little mud (clay ?)—all held together and worked up into a hard mass with gum or some other viscous matter from trees * * * * Having removed the plaster and some pieces of wood from the knot, I flashed the torch and found that five eggs had been laid. The female was hiding in the hole in a corner away from the eggs. In three quarters of an hour (1.45 to 2.30 p.m.) the hole had been sufficiently enlarged to admit a hand. All five eggs were extracted without damage. Just before taking the eggs the female flew out. She had been sitting through all the hacking and hammering ! The nest was just a hollow pad. Moss was not used, but rotten chips of wood, bark, and some dry, broken oak-leaves. The following is a description of the eggs : Clutch of five. The ground-colour is white. The eggs are marked all over with freckles of reddish-brown, chiefly towards the broad ends. There are also underlying yellowish-brown freckles. Although the bird sat so close, the eggs when blown were quite fresh."

I have only been able to write about a few birds out of a host of species that nidificate in the Simla Hills. Many common birds, like the White-cheeked Bulbuls that are

always found in the garden, or the Spotted Forktails that haunt the stream, or the Blue Magpies and Jays that are seen in the forest, and several others, have been omitted ; but I trust that I have been able to show that birds'-nesting is a happy combination of exercise, amusement and study. In the plains egg-collecting is, I think, far easier, but against this is to be set the climate which makes a day's ramble in the country most unpleasant; in the hills the climate has not to be contended with, but the inaccessibility of the nests of various birds is an important factor, and the exertion of climbing up and down the hills is something to be remembered.

I have had lucky days in the Simla Hills, but I have also been attended by bad luck. On one occasion I went to visit the nest of a Spotted Forktail (*Enicurus maculatus maculatus*). I walked a distance of six miles from my residence to a valley at the other end of Simla—a stream hundreds of feet below the nearest human habitation. I found the nest but no eggs had been laid in it. So I climbed up again and walked back six miles. Later on I undertook the same journey, but although I found a second nest, even this had no eggs! In trying to climb an oak to secure the eggs of a Red-billed Blue Magpie (*Urocissa melanocephala occipitalis*) I fell to the ground and rolled down the *khud*, but I escaped with a few scratches! I have risked my neck more than once, and, I am afraid to confess, have inveigled some others to do the same! Bird-watching is hard to beat, and those who do not know our common Indian birds miss, as Mr. Dewar says, "much of the pleasures of life"; and we cannot watch birds without learning about their nesting-habits. Most nests are found during the months of April, May and June: but some birds breed earlier and some later in the year.

S. BASIL-EDWARDES

THE ROSE OF INDIA

(ACT V; SCENE V)

[On the Mountain of Avenging Doom. A low elevation in the background up which there winds a white path. On the top of the hill there is a cluster of trees. In the distance are heard cries of joy, the clanging of cymbals, beating of tom-toms, and the ringing of bells. Discovered a group of Christians, looking down over the city.]

1st Christian—

How ill, alas, accord these joyous sounds
With our sad errand to this hill of doom,
And our beloved Master's Martyrdom !
Why is the people's temper thus elate ?

2nd Christian—

The news hath reached them—the decree of war
Is cancelled. See, already to the city
Returning come the great war-elephants,
Chariots and footmen with their glittering spears
Undyed with bloodshed ; 'tis the dawn of peace.

1st Christian—

What peace is this that flaunts upon the breeze
Its scarlet banners and makes holiday,
E'en while it stains the soul of Hindustan
For ever with the life-blood of a saint ?
Alas, alas ! must ever human joys
Be purchased at the cost of human woes ?
Must one man's pleasure be another's dole,
And like some radiant goddess sprung to birth

Of surging ocean, from our gushing tears
 Leap clear the silvery laugh on faery wing,
 All heedless of the travail whence it came ?
 Must pain be ever minister to bliss,
 Must leisure live upon the aches of toil,
 And wealth upon the want of starving men ?
 Our glories rise 'mid moans of Iehabod ;
 Life's path is strewn with ashes of the dead !

3rd Christian—

Brother it is the law of human kind
 That life is only saved by sacrifice.
 Look to the Cross ; behold it there proclaimed
 When at the Just One's God-forsaken cry
 Dawned on a world redemption.

2nd Christian—

Lo, he comes—

Sweet Christ, have pity ! Brethren to your knees !
 Thoma Muthappen, bless us, pray for us !

(Enter St. Thomas guarded by four soldiers carrying lances, under an officer ; Sitaraman walks by his side ; a crowd of weeping Christians, Gurprashad and several Brahmins.)

Gurprashad (to Officer)—

These people must no further. Many climb
 The slopes already, and the number swells.
 Haste on the execution, lest attempt
 Be made at rescue.

Officer—

There are men enough.
 Some three score lances gleam from yonder trees.

St. Thomas—

Suffer thus far, to bid my friends farewell.

(Addressing Christians)

My children, be not overmuch dismayed
At my departure; 'tis my going home,
And your distress and anguish of farewell,
Its only sadness, save the many sins
I bring for pardon to the piercèd feet
Of Him who waits for me, my Lord and God.
Now but a little hill remains to climb,
Now but a little way is left to wend,
Ere I behold Him—hear Him speak the words
Of welcome and acceptance, and exchange
My toils of pilgrimage for endless rest—
Howbeit from praise and service resting not
Nor from mine intercession for your need,
That ye once gathered in His fold may walk
Among the number of His white Elect.
Meanwhile take heed ye waver not in faith
Nor be enticèd back by error's snare
Thro' aught that may befall you. Better lose
Your breath of life than cast away your souls.
I may not linger. Nay, bemoan me not.
This morning after Holy Sacrifice
On Sitaraman here I laid my hands,
And trusted to his overseeing care
The flock that I awhile have shepherdèd.
God grant he tend it better, and preserve
Him for these little ones from every harm.
Now to the faithful mercies of our God,
My children, I commend you. May the grace
Of Christ enable you to overcome,

The spirit advance your growth in holiness
And keep you blameless till the Lord appear.

(To the Officer)

Good sir, I thank thee for thy leave of speech,
And trust I have not over-stept its bound.
May not the guilt of bloodshed rest on thee,
Nor on thy soldiers, whose keen lances pierce
The doors through which my soul her prison flies.
Mine enemies, if they would bear that name,
I pardon from my heart, which but entreats
They fail not of salvation for my blood.
I pray for blessing on Mahadevan,
On his good Queen, and on the prince, his son,
Both now the Faith confessing : which last fruit
Of Christ His Passion hath refreshed my soul.

(Sounds of rejoicing break out anew)

Hark, 'tis the music of a nation's peace !
No earthly sound were sweeter to mine ear.
In peace now lettest Thou Thy servant pass.
Lead on! I come to do Thy will : O God.

(Exeunt St. Thomas and soldiers)

[The following hymn is sung by an invisible choir.]

Now to the hills I bend
My eager footsteps home ;
My soul salutes her journey's end.
I hear a Voice and come.

Though dark the gateway frown,
Its portal swings a jar ;
Gol's City sheds a glory down
On pilgrims from afar.

Victim to Love I bow ;
 My arms the Cross embrace.
 Christ, print Thy kiss upon my brow
 Ere I behold Thy Face.

Krishna—

Hold ! not so fast, Mahatma ! 'Thou'rt stir
 Betimes upon this work of butchery,
 Like some fell hawk that swoops upon his prey
 At dawning ere it waken and its flight
 Can cheat his gaping beak and cruel claws.
 Yet times there be, Mahatma, when a hawk
 Must tame and hooded bide upon the wrist,
 While the free skylark hymns it o'er his head.

Gurprashad—

Your Highness o'er excelled in imagery,
 And none in riddles ever mastered him.

(To Brahmins)

Come brethren, we must onward.

Krishna—

Not so swift !

I have the hood to slip upon thy head,
 To hulk thee of thy keenly sighted prey,
 And plunge in disappointment's sudden night
 Thine all too confident expectancy.

Gurprashad—

Interpreted what means thy parable ?

Krishna—

That thou, so early come, art yet too late ;
 That in my breast I bear, Mahatma-ji.
 The written order of Mahadevan,

Which now, my joyous service 'tis to read,
While the dark furrow deepens on thy brow,
And baffled rage thy flesh a-trembling sets.

Gurprashad—

Read on, we hearken, since it must be so.

(Krishna reading from scroll)—

Thus saith His Majesty, Mahadevan ;
Whereas a prisoner, condemned to die,
The Christian Sadhu, Thomas Didymus,
Surnamed Apostle of the Golden Cross,
Hath wrought upon us and our royal house
Great blessing and relieving of distress,
In that upon our son right well beloved
Full benefit of healing hath been shed
At this most holy Rishi's prayer and touch—
Whereby he hath from Yama's dread embrace
Rescued the dying and restored him whole
To our wide opened arms and thankful heart—
We do repent us of the doom decreed
In evil hour upon this holy man,
Do cancel and revoke it, and proclaim
Beneath the shade of the Asoka tree,
Where sorrow ends in heart's ease and delight,
Our pleasure now his pardon and release.
Wherefore let those entrusted with the care
Of his most sacred person see to it,
And fail not at their peril to comply
With our most instant order and decree,
To which we duly set our hand and seal.

(Gurprashad and the Brahmins prostrate themselves)

Gurprashad —

Mahadevan hath spoken. We obey :
And will forthwith the pardon from thine hand

Up to the stone of execution bear
For the said prisoner's deliverance.

Krishna (thrusting pardon into Gurprashad's hand)—

Despatch thee, and release him, Brahmana !
I may not further bandy words with thee.
Mahadevan himself ascends the mount.
With Gondophres and his new betrothed
The princess Draupadi, whose countenance
Sweeter and softer than the Vrihat leaf,
Lifts up its favour on her new-found love.
Come too the prince Vizayan and the Queen,
And next to them their errant Highnesses,
Prince Gad and Magudani, whose escape
At Ganges' holy stream perforce was stayed
By the King's outpost. Under guard returned
They now have won forgiveness, and await
The state observance of their nuptial rite.

Gurprashad—

All this upon your Highness must entail
A weight of occupation seldom borne.

Krishna—

Ay, Sitaraman's fall devolves on me
A multiplied array of services
That crowd out leisure and forbid delays.
Too long already have I lingered here,
And time is precious, while a human life
Hangs in the balance. Lest thy speed of foot
Suffice not, Brahmin, to prevent this doom,
Or subtlety should nicely calculate
Its pace to render null the royal hest,
'Twere better done I onward rode myself
And to the pardon gave its swift effect.

Gurprashad—

Were it not better to await the King,
Whose retinue e'en now hath turned the bend
And glitters bravely on the upward slope ?

Krishna (with agitation)—

A truce to argument ! The pardon, quick,
Before I slay thee ! Gods, should I be late !

Gurprashad—

Here 'tis, your Highness. You may save him yet.

(Delivers the pardon to Krishna who snatches it and gallops off)

Gurprashad —

Methinks the scatter-brain hath drawn his bow
Of converse long enough to pierce the life
He rides to rescue ; he was easy held.
So the king deems in these untoward times
We Brahmins may be slighted and ignored.
• These royal unions of an hour's caprice,
This peace contrived by tyrants in their cups,
Demand a price, a victim this at least.
We will not thus be cheated of our due—
Mahadevan shall learn it, though he think,
All grace denying us, to keep his throne.
E'en for the wolves do travellers pursued,
To check their onset, cast a crust of bread,
While we get nothing. Shall we tamely brook
Starvation ? Nay, by Indra's thousand eyes !

(Enter Tulsi—runs forward and throws himself at Gurprashad's feet)

Who art thou, slave, and wherefore comest thou ?

Tulsi—

O Guru, I am Tulsi, once a mute,
The Apostle's most unworthy servant I,
And of all things that breathe the unhappiest.

Gurprashad (drawing back)—

Avaunt, O base-born, sacrilegious thrall,
Presuming thus upon our sanctity
Within the score of paces law allows!

(Tulsi retreats some twenty paces)

What wouldest thou?

Tulsi—

I would confess the crime
For which my master stands condemned to die;
'Twas I who slew Ram Chandra, when he raised
His hand against my master while he slept
Of bloodshed guiltless all and innocent.

Gurprashad—

Dog, why so late thy tale?

Tulsi—

I was afraid—
God pardon me—I was afraid to die—
But now would rather die a thousand deaths
Then let my master suffer in my stead.

Gurprashad—

Wherefore thou art a fool—for life is sweet.
Thy master's death is of more use to us
Than is the shedding of thy worthless blood.
So take thy life, and say no more of it.

Tulsi—

Nay, life were cursèd bought at such a price.

Gurprashad—

What is that, pray, to us? See thou to that.

(Flourish. Enter courtiers, etc., carrying garlands of flowers followed by Gad, Magudani, Vizayan and Draupadi.)

A Courtier—

Stay! It is here Mahadevan dismounts
To meet the Holy Rishi.

Magudani—

What a joy
To look upon our shepherd once again,
To end his sufferings and to welcome him
Back from the threshold of the door of Death,
In peace and honour.

Gad—

Yea, beloved—yet
My eyes in shame will drop before his gaze,
Since had we waited, as he counselled me,
Not thus had been provoked Mahadevan
To peal his clarion of avenging war
Or pass his deathful sentence on the saint,
But patience had attained her crown undimmed
*With anguish caused by our untimous flight,

(Flourish. Enter Mahadevan, Gondophares and Manashtri.)

Mahadevan—

Here will we humbly wait our holy guest
Returning pardoned from the hill of doom,
And at his feet proclaim our gratitude
Ay, at his feet, forgiveness seeking first
For hasty sentence we repent us of,
Ere through the city he shall ride acclaimed
The man whose honour is the King's delight.

Gurprashad (making a low reverence)—

His Highness the Prince Krishna, Majesty,
Bearing the royal pardon to the hill
Hath ridden past us, and anon should bring
The Rishi back to meet the smile of Kings.

Vizayan (to Manashtri)—

See, mother, they are coming down the hill.

Magudani—

Blessed is he that cometh in the Name
Of Christ the Blessèd !

Mahaderan—

Praise to Him we give.
Now sound the timbrels, clap the ringing brass,
And lift the hymn of welcome to the blue !

*(Beating of drums, and clashing of cymbals, then bursts
forth the hymn of welcome.)*

Thoma Rasul, to thy feet from the mount advancing,
Beautiful e'en as the sunrays on Ganges dancing,
We are come, we are come—and our music goes out to meet thee ;
Our arms are full laden with jessamine wreaths to greet thee,
Thoma Rasul !

Thoma Rasul, we would welcome thy steps returning
As Koels on eastern horizon the daystar burning,
Let thy face in disdain from our eyes not turn its glory
That lights up the golden page in our people's story.
Thoma Rasul !

Thoma Rasul, to the rain of our blossoms bow thee.
Refuse not the white rose-water when we avow thee
Rishi, at whose pure presence our knees we render,
Father, as dear to our souls as thou wert tender.
Thoma Rasul !

Thoma Rasul, from the far-lands across the waters,
 Visioned only in dreams by our sons and daughters,
 Thou at whose glance Death faileth, to ears that wonder
 Tell of the great third Day and of death trod under.

Thoma Rasul !

Tell of the joy that dawned on the night of weeping,
 Tell of the Cross and the nations round it creeping,
 Tell till our eyes look up and our hearts beat faster,
 As lo, in our midst He standeth revealed, our Master—

Jesu Masih !

(Clashing of cymbals and rattle of drums : Enter Krishna and Bishop Sitaraman followed by soldiers carrying a stretcher on which lies the body of St. Thomas. The music breaks off suddenly.)

Gad—

O God in Heaven, what awful doom is here ?

Manashtri—

Ah, what is this that turns our joy to grief,
 Our song to lamentation ?

Mahaderan—

Krishna, speak !

Krishna—

Ne'er sadder tidings fell from lips of man.
 The pardon, royal Sire, arrived too late.

(A silence. Then Tulsi from somewhere in the background rushes forward, and throws himself down by the bier, crying.)

Tulsi—

O Master, Master, thou hast died for me !

*(Bishop Sitaraman bends over Tulsi as though to console him.
 The rest all fall on their knees.)*

(CURTAIN)

FRANCIS A. JUDD

[*The End*]

MITES FROM MANY

BRIDGE OF LOVE

I

I. LOVE'S DAWN.

He loves me or he loves me not,
Ah! he alone can tell.
With him, I'll float on sea of joy
—I know this true and well.
His words will cool my burning ear,
His vision will charm my eye,
His nearness waken ev'ry hair
And fancies sweet and shy.—*Bengali Song.*

II. ANGUISHED LOVE.

She lifted th' silent Flute from dust,
And clasped it to her breast;
She asked in accents full of tear:—
“Love, who's thy song suppress?”
Alone she heard the mute flute song:—
“The music of thy heart
Breath'd anguish'd love that pierced me through
And slew with artless art.”—*Modern.*

III. LEAVE TO LOVE.

Cease, cease, my friend, He's naught to me,
O, name Him not again.
Were He my God, His creature I
Then why my life so vain?
All I ask is leave to love Him,
And e'en that leave's denied.

Ah ! what is life and what am I
If life of love is dried ?
I love the world, I love what dies,
And I myself am death,
But, oh, to love Him who is Love
For, be't, a single breath !
“—Fool, but raise thine eyes above
See, thy being all His love.”—*Modern.*

IV. LOVE'S MYSTERY.

Love flashed like lightning on my heart
And vanish'd like the lightning she,
I know not by what magic art
On heart she grav'd a mystery.
A mystery of rapturous joy,
A mystery that wipes out me
And makes this world a broken toy
And sends forth hope where none can see.—*Modern.*

V. SHAMELESS LOVE.

He came and I was wrapt in sleep,
Alas ! He waked me not,
He found me in dishevell'd plight,
It was, oh, cruel passing thought.
The greatest shame of all my life
Before Him shame to feel
My worst and best are all for Him
—In love to kill or heal.—*Modern.*

VI. BOND OF LOVE.

Love's the bridge whereby to cross
From world to world beyond,
Soul and God for aye unite
By love's unending bond.

The love wherewith my God to love
Is His, descending from above.

VII. LOVE UNSPOKEN.

“Vain, vain thy labour, vain thy love,
Unweave that chain of tuneful flow'r ;
The lustrous, large eyes turn aside,
To reach the heart it's void of pow'r.”
“Of flow'r, forsooth, is not my chain,
A web it is of joy and tear,
A magic mirror of the heart,
Unspoken love's true image clear.”—*Modern.*

VIII. LOVE'S CONSUMMATION.

The night, called life, is nearing end
And won't He keep His tryst ?
As moments pass I fear, my friend,
The stab of Light on Mist.
I fear my flowers will die for Him,
This fragrant breath grow stale,
The light of these two eyes grow dim,
Say, will my whole life fail ?
I feel Him with me in my heart,
I must in whisper say :—
Exist I not from Him apart,
Nor He from me away.—*Modern.*

II

OM. AMOR INTELLECTUALIS DEI

I. BY WHOM ?

(Om, peace be unto all who hear !)

By whose will press'd does mind the Mind,
Whose will sends forth the Life to live,
Whose will transmits the speech that's spoken,
What being of light joins sound to ear,
What god sight to eye unites ?

Ear of ear He, of mind the Mind,
Speech of speech He, of life the Life,
Eye of eye—of these freed, the sage
This life leaves for endless life.

Eye, speech nor mind can follow there :
To teach Him we nor know nor feel.
We know from those who taught of yore
He other is from unknown and known.

Him speech speaks not, from Him comes speech,
Know ev'n Him as Brahman thou,
Not him men worship, saying, " This."

Mind minds not Him but He the mind,
(So sages say whose thoughts are true)
Know ev'n Him as Brahman Thou
Not him men worship, saying " This."

Th' eye sees not Him but He all eyes,
Know ev'n Him as Brahman thou,
Not him men worship, saying " This."

Th' ear hears not Him but He all ears,
Know ev'n Him as Brahman thou,
Not him men worship, saying "This."

Th' nose smells not Him but noses He
Know ev'n Him as Brahman thou
Not him men worship, saying "This."

(Sayeth Master most revered) :—

If thou think Him comprehended,
Thou little know'st His nature true,
Search after Him—'tis meet for thee.

(Full of faith disciple sayeth) :—

I know not well nor do not know ;
Of us who knows this truly knows,
Who knows not truly this, knows naught.

Who knows he knows not, truly knows,
Who thinks he knows, he knows not Him,
The non-knower perceives Him true,
The knower never Him perceives.

In knowledge all if this be known,
The knower gains immortality,
Self-effort gains the power to know
And knowledge immortality.

While in flesh, thus perceiving,
He's, here and after, fixed in truth,
Else, he is great destruction's prey.
In beings all, thus perceiving
The wise depart to deathless life.
(Om, peace be unto all who hear).—*Kenopanishat*.

II. HE PASSETH ALL UNDERSTANDING.

Om, Moveless, fleeter far than wind,
 Whom fore-running sense-gods never reach,
 Outstrips He, moveless, running gods,
 In Him the courser of the sky,¹
 Unseen, the world's all life-work holds.

He, far and near, He moves, unmov'd
 Of this all—out and in is He.

Whose, in Spirit all things views
 And in things all the Spirit finds,
 As holy words declare, none hates.

Who loves All-controller as th' self.
 Delusion, grief, for him are not.

He, self-radiant, beyond sense-bonds, pure,
 Devoid of sin, of merit free,
 All-seeing, causeless, Lord of mind.
 To all His creatures He assigns
 Their proper ends—each his to gain,
 Thro' gods, called, years unknowing end.—*Isopanishat*.

ADIEU.

These unlov'd things of love, bright joys
 Of my unnoticed cottage home,
 Consoling hope, 'midst life and death,
 The lotus, born of native loam :
 My rest from hours of weary toil,
 My songs of heart, in silence sung,
 O grant them love from other hearts,
 Tho' lisped, not sung, in stranger's tongue !
 Sorrow shared, the sorrow heals,
 Joy, but shared, new joy reveals.

¹ The universal Life, vital air.

I. FLOWER OFFERINGS.

Thee I adore with flow' rets five,
O Mother of the Universe !
Of all, Thou mother, dead or live
Of worlds at once the cradle and hearse !
Sweet Hurltlessness the first of flowers,
The second flower is Sense-control ;
The third is Mercy's loving showers
On life, in ev'ry part and whole ;
Forgiveness I offer then
And Faith that saveth gods and men.—From *Sanskrit*.

II. MY PRIDE THY PRAISE.

Thee without I cannot be,
Thou my being's sole stay,
If aught in life with pride I see,
My pride Thy praise always.—*Modern*.

III. THE POET.

They worship Sun on sun-lit tower,
E'en with water is worshipt Sea,
Sweet Spring is worshipt with her flower,
With this song I worship thee,
Th' song is thine, tho' sung by me.

MOHINIMOHAN CHATTERJI

MOHAMED—THE PROPHET OF GOD

We shall do honour to our Prophet not in the old, traditional style which contented itself with fairy-tales and unattested reports, but in a manner more in accord with the critical and progressive spirit of the age. We propose to take our stand on the solid ground of facts testified to by a cloud of witnesses, facts which none can question or deny. And the historical Mohamed is certainly a figure of towering intellect, of gigantic achievement and of abiding interest. Why need we resort to legends or fictions or unverified assertions?

The adoption of a critical method when enquiring into the life of the Prophet is, to my mind, an unmistakable indication of the new spirit of the times. It betokens an advance in the direction of liberalism. It holds out promise of a still greater reform and advancement, in the near future, along the lines of free enquiry and historical criticism. It is a matter of joy to us that we are fast shaking off unreasonable prejudices, born of ignorance, and, more still, it is a splendid refutation of the charge, so persistently and maliciously made by non-Muslim writers, that Islam is stationary, stereotyped, hostile to progress. But the whole history of Islam gives the lie to this charge. Islam, indeed, has never been such. Nor is there anything in its religious system which, even remotely, is calculated to retard progress.

On the contrary, as I have always maintained, the down-fall of the Muslims and their Empire was occasioned, first and foremost, by their indifference to and neglect of those eternal principles of justice, love, righteousness which Islam enjoined and inculcated, and which its great founder amply^{*} illustrated and emphasised in his own dealings at home and abroad. We will not deny—and our

admission will not in the least detract from the greatness of the Prophet—that contemporaneously with him, a new spiritual light was falling upon Arabia, and that there were men, his contemporaries (one, at least, almost a kinsman of his), who, dissatisfied with the existing religion of their country, looked ahead and around for something more liberal and more rational, something more consonant with spiritual needs, than the gross fetishism which was all that their country offered to them. But what was the nature and extent of this movement? Imperfect and fragmentary as our knowledge is, we are not in a position definitely to determine its scope or to assess its worth. We must, therefore, abandon the solution of the problem as to how far Mohamed was affected by the movement around him, or by the fact of the existence of Judaism and Christianity in the Arabian Peninsula.¹ But influenced he undoubtedly was and there are clear indications of such an influence in the Qur'an. That ideas, at variance with the prevailing religion of the Arabs, were afloat at the time of the birth, infancy, youth, manhood of the Prophet, it would be idle to deny. The Pre-Islamite poetry incessantly refers to the light of the monk guiding the way-farer in the desert, and the Qur'an often refers to Jewish and Biblical legends.

But who was it that within a brief span of mortal life called forth a nation, strong, compact, invincible, out of loose, disconnected, ever-warring tribes, animated by a religious fervour and enthusiasm unknown in the history of the world before, and set before it a system of religion and a code of morals marked by wisdom, sanity and sweet reasonableness? Who was it—it was none other than Mohamed, the Prophet of God. He may have caught the fire from his few enlightened countrymen; he may have been influenced

¹ Goiger, *What has Mohamed borrowed from Judaism?* Wright *Early Christianity in Arabia*. The writer has a good deal of information to give but he is very prejudiced against the Prophet.

by the Christians and Jews, but the destruction of paganism and the building-up of Islam belongs pre-eminently to him and to him alone.

It was he who launched the new faith on its world-wide career. It was he who attacked heathenism in its very stronghold, its cherished sanctuary, at Mekka, the central point of Arabian idolatry.

Professor De Goeje has told us in a remarkable paper, how the prophetic call presented itself to Mohamed. And whether we accept or reject his views, it is clear beyond doubt that the idea that he was the Prophet of God was born, and reborn, was formulated and abandoned, times without number, before it assumed final shape, before it took definite hold of Mohamed. The process was gradual, but nevertheless it was steady. Not that Mohamed ever doubted his mission, but he felt the magnitude of the issue, and, at times, shrank from the life and death struggle, in which the announcement of the new revelation would necessarily involve him. He felt, at times, uneasy and uncertain whether he would be able successfully to face the storm which the new religion was bound to raise.

His countrymen he knew, and he knew well enough that the old religion was the bond which united them with their ancestors, and linked them with their history and tradition, and even appealed to their less purer motives, the love of gain and the love of power, for it brought to them riches and influence alike.

All this Mohamed knew, and hence his hesitation. But the light dawned upon him, and the inner voice spoke unto him, and the decision was formed; a decision firm and irrevocable, a decision for all time. The whole history of the Prophet is an eloquent commentary on the genuineness of this conviction. Battling against the whole force of his country, arrayed against him, he stood undaunted, unshaken in his resolve. Is there one single instance of lapse from the

position thus taken up? The most recent historian, Prince Caetani, has completely discredited the alleged lapse of the Prophet, involved in the acknowledgment of the three idols, as intermediaries between man and Allah, and has rejected the whole story as utterly void of truth.

No consideration could induce him to give up that which he considered as a duty entrusted to him by the Most High, the duty of proclaiming Monotheism, in its undefiled purity, and of bringing back his erring countrymen, nay the erring world, to the path of true faith. Could anything but a conviction of the truth of his mission have sustained him in that terrible struggle?

Even European writers concede that until the celebrated Hegira to Medina they have no fault to find with him: in fact, they have nothing but unbounded admiration for him and his beliefs, for his method of preaching, and the spirit in which he fought for his cause. They seem to think that a change for the worse came over him when he found himself in possession of power. Is there any truth or substance in this charge?

When enthroned as spiritual and temporal chief, what did he do to justify the most distant suggestion that he deteriorated in virtue or departed from the path of rectitude? Did he change his mode of living? Did he surround himself with the pomp of power? Did he keep a retinue of body-guards, or did he indulge in any one of those outward manifestations of earthly glory with which the monarchs of the earth, ancient and modern, have loved to surround themselves. Did he amass wealth, or leave a large fortune behind? In fact in no one single respect did he change. Power notwithstanding, and stupendous power too, for he exercised a power which the greatest of monarchs might have envied; he remained to the last, simple, unostentatious, free from pride, living with his people, with a noble self-effacement and a shining self-sacrifice rarely to be seen in life.

But it is so difficult for a European to understand the Oriental's attitude towards life and religion. With the Oriental, every act of his has a religious bearing, a religious significance. His whole life—from cradle to grave—is one series of religious performances. There is no sharp dividing-line between religion and politics. There is no such thing as 'give unto Cæsar what is Cæsar's and unto God what is God's'—Cæsar is but a representative of God and obedience to him is obedience to God. Mohamed was Cæsar and Pope in one. He had not only to regulate the ritual, frame religious ordinances, direct the worship of his followers, but he had also to attend to their material wants, to guide their political destiny.

And what Prophet of Israel from Samuel to Isaiah was not a maker of kings and constitution? At Mekka his sphere of activity was necessarily narrow and confined—at Medina, the slow march of events added to his prophetic office the arduous duties of the head of the state. It was not a purely ideal code of ethics and morals that he was called upon to administer, but a code workable in daily life, and in conformity with the existing moral standard of the age and the people among whom he lived. The problems of statesmanship and the problems of religion are as widely apart as the poles.

He would have failed most egregiously if he had dealt with the political problems in the spirit of a visionary, in the fashion of an idealist. Take for instance his attitude towards the Jews? Could we, in the light of the facts that we do know, censure him for his attitude towards them. Modern statesmanship would, perhaps, have taken a far less merciful view than the Prophet did. He tried his uttermost to placate them, but they would not be placated. They would not even remain neutral, but they took up an attitude of positive, aggressive hostility. They formed alliances with his enemies, and they even secretly helped them. Was he to let them alone to destroy what he was painfully and laboriously building up?

No statesmanship would have permitted or indicated any other course than the one adopted by Mohamed.

Take again his triumphal entry into Mekka. What a glorious instance of forbearance ! Arabia lay prostrate at his feet, and Mekka, the stronghold of opposition, was entirely at his mercy. Did he, then, show a spirit of revenge ? And could he not, if he had so willed, have cut off the heads of every one there—those implacable enemies of his—who gave him no quarter, who forced him to leave his native land to seek shelter elsewhere, who held him up to scorn and ridicule, who persecuted him with a rancour and bitterness which was at once cruel, fierce and heart-rending.

But the personal element never entered into his actions, never not once. He rejected every token of personal homage, and declined all regal authority, and when the haughty chiefs of the Quraishites appeared before him, he asked :

“ What can you expect at my hands ? ”

“ Mercy, O generous brother.”

“ Be it so ; you are free,” he exclaimed. His simplicity, his humanity, his frugality, his forbearance, his earnestness, his steadfastness, his firmness in adversity, his meekness in power, his humility in greatness, his anxious care for animals, his passionate love for children, his unbending sense of fairness and justice—is there another instance in the history of the world where we have the assemblage of all these virtues woven into one character ?

After centuries of perversion of facts and suppression of truth, the figure of Mohamed stands aloft to-day, extorting admiration from and commanding the reverence of the non-Muslim world. He is no longer a neurotic patient suffering from epilepsy, but a man of tremendous character and unyielding will. He is no longer a self-seeking despot ministering to his own selfish ends, but a beneficent ruler shedding light and love around him. He is no longer an opportunist, but a Prophet with a fixed purpose, undeviating in his constancy.

All this Europe has now acknowledged, and acknowledged freely. We have the appreciative works of Higgins, Davenport, Bosworth-Smith, Carlyle, in English ; Krehl's and Grimme's in German.¹ There are other scholarly works too, but they are not quite free from those prejudices which, at one time, were the stock-in-trade of Christendom.

I will refer here to the tribute paid by Dr. Gustav Weil to the founder of Islam.

"Mohamed set a shining example² to his people. His character was pure and stainless. His house, his dress, his food—they were characterised by a rare simplicity. So unpretentious was he that he would receive from his companions no special mark of reverence, nor would he accept any service from his slave which he could do himself. Often and often was he seen in the market purchasing provisions ; often and often was he seen mending his clothes in his room, or milking a goat in his court-yard. He was accessible to all and at all times. He visited the sick and was full of sympathy for all. Unlimited was his benevolence and generosity, as also was his anxious care for the welfare of the community. Despite innumerable presents which from all quarters unceasingly poured in for him—he left very little behind, and even that he regarded as State property."

But if Mohamed, as a man, stands as a peak of humanity, his work, no less, is strong with the strength of immortality. True, the political power of Islam has ebbed away, but its spiritual power is as young and vigorous to-day as it was when first launched on its wondrous, world-wide career. In India, in Africa, in China the Muslim missionaries have won laurels. They have succeeded signally, and succeeded where

¹ I must mention here the scholarly work of Tor Andre, *Die Person Muhammeds*, Stockholm, 1918.

² Khuda Bukhsh, *History of the Islamic People*, p. 27. This is an English translation of Weil's *Geschichte der Islamitischen Völker*.

Christianity, with all its wealth and organisation, has failed most hopelessly. But its success has been confined not only to backward races. Has it not secured proselytes even in cultured Europe ?

And what is the secret of its success ? The secret consists in its remarkable freedom from the fetters of priestcraft ; freedom from the fetters of embarrassing ritual and bewildering articles of faith. Islam is the simplest of all revealed religions and it is, therefore, a religion compatible with the highest as well as the lowest grade of civilisation. Its simplicity is attractive and appealing alike to the man in the street as to the philosopher in the closet. Gæthe fell into raptures over the Qur'an, and Gibbon saw in it a glorious testimony to the unity of God. Belief in one God, and belief in Mohamed as the Prophet of God—such is the quintessence of our faith. This theoretical belief, however, is allied with a principle of infinite grace and wisdom ; namely, that it is not mere faith in the theoretical belief but purity of life and honesty of purpose, sympathy with the afflicted, and love of our fellow being ; it is the conjunction of the two, the theoretical and the practical, which ensures salvation. This is a lesson which we have forgotten, and this is the lesson which must needs be taught if we would make ourselves worthy of the great faith we profess.

It is the practical after all which is more important than the theoretical. True worship need not be limited to the chanting and singing of hymns and the telling of beads. There is as much worship, perhaps truer worship, in developing our faculties, in discharging our duties, as in the silent devotion of cloistered meditation. It is this side of religion which Islam has brought clearly to light, and it is this side which we must now cultivate more and more, if we would win the prizes of life and come out triumphant in the terrible struggle for existence which is the most distressing feature of our modern civilisation.

"Among us, Europeans," says Pierre Loti,¹ "it is commonly accepted as a proven fact that Islam is merely a religion of obscurantism, bringing in its train the stagnation of nations, and hampering them in that march to the unknown which we call 'progress.' Yet such an attitude shows not only an absolute ignorance of the teaching of the Prophet, but a blind forgetfulness of the evidence of history. The Islam of the earlier centuries evolved and progressed with the nations, and the stimulus it gave to men in the reign of the ancient Caliphs is beyond all question. To impute to it the present decadence of the Muslim world is altogether too puerile. The truth is that nations have their day, and to a period of glorious splendour succeeds a time of lassitude and slumber. It is a law of nature. And then one day some danger threatens them, stirs them from their torpor and they awake. This immobility of the countries of the Crescent was once dear to me. If the end is to pass through life with the minimum of suffering, disdaining all vain striving, and to die entranced by radiant hopes, the Orientals are the only wise men. But now *that greedy nations beset them on all sides their dream is no longer possible. They must awake, alas!*"

And do not the signs of the times unequivocally point to their awakening?

What did Mohamed bring to the world, and wherein lies his immortal service to humanity?

To a people steeped in the grossest form of fetishism he brought a pure and uncompromising monotheism, belief in one God, the Creator of the universe. And, indeed, this gift was meant for the whole of mankind. It is an error to suppose, as it has been supposed by some European writers, that originally Islam was meant for Arabia and his own people alone. The *Sura Fateha* speaks of the Lord of the Universe, and it is impossible to imagine that the Lord of the Universe ever intended his light for the guidance and illumination of

¹ Loti, *Egypt*, pp. 72-73.

only a small fraction of humanity. There is not one single passage in the Qur'an which warrants the conclusion that Islam was addressed to the Arabs only. Facts, indeed, point the other way. To us, monotheism might seem commonplace enough, but it was not so when Mohamed delivered it to the world. By the side of the corrupt religion of the Arabs and the strange perversions of Christianity it shone with all the lustre and brilliance of a newly-discovered truth. To preach monotheism, such as that of Islam, to a world such as that in which Mohamed lived, was an instance of rare courage and heroism. And it was a work which could never have succeeded without divine light, and help and support. Its success, more than anything else, is a convincing proof of its divine origin. But with this most valued gift he bestowed another, of no less importance in the history of human belief and human morals. He awakened in man the idea of responsibility to his Creator. To the Pre-Islamic Arab it was the immediate present which was of importance and of real consequence. He cared not for the past, nor did he show any interest in the future. Like the pagans of yore, his life was one continual orgy, undisturbed by any serious thought, or unrelieved by any care for the morrow. Mohamed opened the eyes of humanity to the fact that man, as a rational being, endowed with the gift of understanding, was a responsible being, fully accountable to the Almighty for his deeds and misdeeds. What a tremendous step forward this meant for mankind! It is impossible for us fully to realise the importance of this doctrine, this article of faith. Man, henceforward, became a moral being. He was, so to speak, born again, and born with a conscience, that inward judge whose vigilance none can evade, and from whose judgment there is no escape.

Nor can we forget the sublime idea of brotherhood in faith which he, for the first time, introduced into the world. All Muslims were brothers. There was to be no wall of division, no difference founded on the score of nationality, and no distinction

begotten of colour. Islam truly realised 'the parliament of man, the federation of the world.' I am not insensible to the fact that it was far too beautiful a scheme to last for any length of time. But nevertheless it was a splendid achievement. It was a beautiful ideal to aim at, to strive for, to live up to. For the Muslim the whole world was his home, entire humanity his kinsmen.

This broad and liberal doctrine found its counterpart in the splendid democracy which Islam set up. The head of the State and the Church was a popular nominee with very clear duties and very distinct obligations.

Read the inaugural speeches of Abu Bakr and Yazid III—documents whose value is inestimable on a gold basis. Nothing like it has ever been realised in the East, and Europe itself has hardly any example to cite of so perfect a democracy as was the one established by Islam. True it was short-lived, but its existence, however brief, is a crowning glory to Islam. A new view was opened, a fresh direction was given, a new starting-point was made;—the whole past was obliterated, a new Arabia arose, and a new Arabian nationality was summoned into existence to take its place in the history of the world, and to hold aloft the torch of monotheism to guide erring humanity to the path of the true faith.

Glory to Mohamed for the light and illumination, for the joy and comfort and consolation which he brought to sad, suffering humanity.

II

MOHAMED'S CALL TO PROPHETSHIP ¹

In the truth of his mission as the Prophet of God Mohamed believed whole-heartedly. So firm and deep-rooted was this conviction that nothing could shake or dislodge it. Long

¹ Translated from the German of Prof. De Goeje in the first volume of *Nöldeke-Festschrift*, pp. 1-5.

before he came to power he had attained this conviction—a conviction which was shared by many, and some, to be sure, of no mean rank and position. How did he come by it? A period of severe strain and excitement preceded his *début*.

The recognition of the one, all-powerful Creator of the Universe who wishes that mankind should serve him, who has fixed a splendid reward for those who carry out his command in purity of heart and steadfastness of purpose, and a terrible punishment for those who neglect and disregard it; the conviction that the Day of Judgment was near at hand, and that his tribesmen could not escape verdict and judgment if they failed to accept the true faith in time; the oft-recurring question whether he might not himself have to step forward as the Preacher of repentance; and the doubt whether he, nervous of temperament as he was, would be able to stand the ridicule and contempt of his coreligionists—all this had brought him to a frame of mind akin to despair. Often and often had he heard himself giving expression in passionate language to the thoughts filling his soul, and he was seized with a dreadful terror that he was possessed of a demon who spoke out through him.

Fasts and prayers brought no solution to him, nor did solitary strolls. To rid himself of this terrible mental anguish he even thought of putting an end to his life. Then, all at once, there came to him the Call which set clearly before him what he was to do.

How did this Call present itself? Tabari, 1, 1153, has the following tradition. Abu Kuraib has related to us that Waki has said on the authority of Ali Ibn-ul-mubarik, on the authority of Yahya Ibn Abi Kathir, who said: I asked Abu Salama as to the first that was revealed of the Qur'an. He said: the first that was revealed was "O, thou Enwrapped One" (Sura 74). I said: People say, however, that the first words revealed were: Read in the name of thy Lord who has created thee (Sura 96). He replied: I asked Jabir

Ibn Adbullah who said : I shall only relate to thee what the messenger of God has related to us. I had retired, said the Prophet, for devotion, to Hira, and when I had finished, I came down, and lo ! I heard a voice. I looked to the right and I saw nothing, I looked to the left and I saw nothing, I looked ahead and I saw nothing. I looked backward and I saw nothing—then I lifted my head and I saw something. Then I came to Khadija and said : Wrap me up and pour water upon me. She covered me up and poured cold water upon me. Then was revealed—O thou enwrapped in thy mantle. (See note 3 to p. 3 of Rodwell's translation of the Qur'an.)

The 'something' which Mohamed saw, is described in another tradition, which is also to be found in Ibn Ishaq, and which, adorned and embellished as it is with other legends, yet retains the main outline of the original tradition. I borrow from it the following words put into the mouth of the Prophet : I came rushing down, out of a rock, with the determination of putting an end to my life and thereby securing peace at last. But when I was about midway I heard a voice from heaven saying, O Mohamed ! thou art the messenger of God, and I am Gabriel. I raised my head towards heaven, and I saw Gabriel in the form of a man (at prayer). He said ; O Mohamed ! thou art the Prophet of God, and I am Gabriel. I remained standing looking at him--altogether forgetting what I had resolved upon, and moved neither backward nor forward.

I began to turn my face in various directions, and indeed to whichever side I turned I saw him. Neither advancing nor retreating, I stood fixed to the ground until Khadija sent out her messenger to look for me, and the messenger came to Mekka and returned home, while I stood rooted to the spot. Then he (Gabriel) disappeared, and I returned home to my family (at the foot of Hira).

Two passages in the Qur'an prove that this account rests in the main on truth. Sura 81, Verses 15 *et seq.* : " And I

swear by the stars of retrograde motion, which move swiftly and hide themselves away, and by the night when it cometh darkening on, and by the dawn when it clears away the darkness by its breath, that verily this is the word of an illustrious Messenger, Powerful with the Lord of the throne, of established rank, obeyed by angels, faithful also to his trust, your compatriot is not one possessed by Jinn ; *for he saw him in the clear horizon* : nor doth he keep back heaven's secrets, nor doth he teach the doctrine of a cursed Satan."

And Sura 53, Verses 1 *et seq.* : " By the stars when they set, your compatriot erreth not, nor doth he go astray, neither speaketh he from mere impulse. Verily the Qur'an is no other than a revelation revealed to him : One terrible in power taught it him, endued with understanding. With even balance stood he, and he was in the highest point of the horizon : then came he nearer and approached closely, and was at the distance of two bows, or even closer,—and he revealed to his servant what he revealed—His heart falsified not what he saw : will ye then dispute with him as to what he saw ? "

In reviewing Dr. V. Pautz's. "*Muhammeds Lehre von der offenbarung quellenmassig untersucht*" in *theologisch tijdschrift* 1899, I wrote : " Dr. Pautz and many with him have looked upon this phenomenon as an hallucination. But the simple, straightforward manner in which this event is related in the Quran and in the tradition alike throw a great deal of doubt upon the correctness of the view set forth by Dr. Pautz. I hazarded an opinion long ago that Mohamed saw a hazy shadow of his own self, similar to the phantom seen on the ' Brocken.' If the observer finds himself between the low-standing sun and a bank of clouds he sometimes finds his own shadow projected upon the latter enormously enlarged and generally surrounded by a coloured circle which we call an aureole or a halo of glory.' It appears that Mohamed noticed

¹ Compare Symonds' *Life of Cellini*, p. xxi, note.—Tr.

this apparition early in the evening—a fact which would explain the anxiety of Khadija. It would also explain how the man who was timid by nature and who only slowly and gradually became conscious of his mission, and who was wellnigh on the point of despair as to how he was to fulfil his destiny—how, such a man, suddenly stepped courageously forward, strengthened and fixed in his innermost conviction that the voice which urged him onward to announce, with becoming dignity, the revelation of God, was the voice which came from above.”

A colleague of mine to whom I had sent a copy of this article wrote to me: “There is much to say in favour of your explanation of Mohamed’s hallucination, and it appears to me to be a very good account of the various versions of the story. If I still entertain any doubt it is to be ascribed to the fact that your argument fails in one important element; namely, in the proof that such phenomena, as are observed in the misty Brocken have been observed in the sunny neighbourhood of Mekka. Perhaps such is the case in the ‘land of mirage.’ My doubt is due, to a certain extent, to my want of knowledge.”

I regret that I am unable to supply the desired element. As for the “phantom seen on the Brocken” (*Brockengespenst*) I find the following in Badeker:—

When the rising or setting sun stands at the same altitude as the Brocken, and on the opposite side down in the valleys mists gather which rise along the Brocken, whilst the Brocken itself, free from the mists, stands between the mist and the sun, the sun will throw the shadow of the Brocken, with all that may happen to be on it, on this bank of mist, on which gigantic figures are formed which soon grow smaller and smaller as the mist comes nearer or recedes further and further. The phantom is rare, and it occurs about once every month.

In the description of the hazy figure in the Qur’an we find the nearest approach to the phenomenon just described. Probably this phenomenon is of extremely rare occurrence at

Hira. It may also have taken place in the morning, which would better fit in with the story, according to which Mohamed saw it while wandering about in the hills after a dream that had frightened him overnight.

Mohamed could have had no idea of such optical illusion. For him what he saw was a divine phenomenon which announced to him what he had already in his heart : he was the messenger of God to his people. In great excitement he returned home. Wrap me up ! wrap me up ! he called out to Khadija and then he had one of those overpowering nervous fits with which he was henceforward attacked each time that he was supposed to have heard the voice of God in his heart. Unconscious, in this condition, he never was. The fits were the outward manifestations of inward, mental struggle antecedent to spiritual revelation. No sooner was the struggle over than he recovered himself and uttered the revelation. The first revelation in all probability is Sura 74 : O thou enwrapped in thy mantle ! Arise and warn ! And thy Lord—magnify him ! And thy raiment—purify it ! And the Abomination—flee it ! And bestow not favours that thou mayest receive again with increase ; and for thy Lord wait thou patiently.

With the belief in the certainty of his divine mission—a heavy load was off his mind. He was rid for ever of the thought that he was possessed of the devil. Certain it is that the attacks with which Mohamed suffered were not of the nature of epilepsy (*Cf.* Müller, *Der Islam*, p. 56, note 1). It is also very much to be doubted whether he had these attacks before his prophetic mission. I cannot accept Sprenger's assertion that Mohamed was hysterical.¹ The picture of the Prophet, such as we know it, with his more than twenty years of unresting activity, is certainly not a picture which corresponds to that of one suffering from neurasthenia.

¹ Compare Krohl's *Mohamed*, pp. 52 et seq.—*Tr.*

We find in him that sober understanding which distinguished his fellow-tribesmen : dignity, tact, and equilibrium ; qualities which are seldom found in people of morbid constitution : self-control in no small degree. Circumstances changed him from a Prophet to a Legislator and a Ruler ; but for himself he sought nothing beyond the acknowledgement that he was Allah's Apostle, since this acknowledgement includes the whole of Islam. He was excitable, like every true Arab, and in the spiritual struggle which preceded his call this quality was stimulated to an extent that alarmed even himself ; but that does not make him a visionary. He defends himself, by the most solemn asseveration, against the charge that what he had seen was an illusion of the senses. Why should we not believe him ? ¹

S. KHUDA BUKHSH

¹ Nicholson, *Loc. Hist. of the Arabs*, p. 173 ; Cambridge Medieval History, Vol. II, p. 327.—Tr.

A GARDEN OF POMEGRANATES

Said the Caliph turning to the royal mason "build me a wall around my garden, and see that it be not as the wall of a prison that shuts out light and air, but as a garden wall should be, light and low—for I would have the stars to shine and the winds of Heaven to play around the fairest lady that walks therein." But the three Viziers who reclined amongst silken cushions on the outer edge of the carpet, wrung their hands and cried, "O Caliph stay thy commands, ere evil come of them, for thou art young and we be old, and thy words are as of a young man—spoken heedlessly and without wisdom. For over a wall not high thieves may leap—and over a low wall eyes may see. Lo! hath the sage not written, 'he who wears a jewel must guard it zealously.'"

And the first Vizier prostrating himself thrice in front of the Caliph said, "O my Sovereign, they learn best who learn from the mistakes of others. I pray thee hearken to my tale and the foolishness of one, Menelaus, King of Sparta. A valiant king, O Caliph, who had for wife Helena, a lady so fair that even the Goddess of Beauty hailed her as fairest of women on earth. So, was the Spartan king famous and blessed—till he planted him a garden of pomegranates wherein the queen walked daily. A low-walled garden, for there it was a stranger youth men called Paris beheld her first. And after that, alas Sire, who can say—perchance he had a guileful tongue, perchance she bade him enter and gather the pomegranates that grew therein—but sure it is they fled together. A fatal flight, that caused a war one hundred years to wage, before the walls of Troy. And the joy of the Spartan king was turned to sorrow and his life was void and dark, as a dawn that knows no morrow—and a singer without a song—

“Caliph a honeyed word may win a lady’s heart, but on a brick wall it hath no effect—”

And the second Vizier prostrating himself thrice before his sovereign said, “Sire, I pray thee hearken to my tale and the heedlessness of one Onnes, mighty captain of the still more mighty army of Ninus, King of Nineveh. For Onnes had for wife Semiramis, a lady like unto himself courageous, and lovely withal, the red gold of whose hair still shines in song and story. So was the valiant captain renowned and blessed. Till for an act valorous of the lady Semiramis he planted him a garden of pomegranates wherein she walked daily, a low-walled garden for there it was Ninus beheld her first. After that, alas Sire, who can say? Mayhap her brave deed dazzled the mighty king. Perchance he had a gracious charm—perchance she bade him enter and gather the pomegranates that grew therein—but sure it is they sought together the royal gardens which men say hung in mid-air in Babylon. And the joy of Onnes was turned to sorrow and his life was void and dark, as a gem without a lustre—and a temple without a shrine.—Caliph! a winning air may gain a lady’s heart, but on a brick wall it hath no effect.—”

And the third Vizier prostrating himself thrice before his sovereign said, “Sire, I pray thee hearken to my tale for it bears me back to the dawn of all time, to the carelessness of Adam, father of mankind. For Adam dwelt as all know with the dark-haired and amber-eyed Lilith who was his first wife, in the Garden of Eden. Ah me, the walls of Paradise methinks were over-low, for there it was Lilith beheld and was beholden, of one of those fabulous creatures who then inhabiting the earth were lower than angels yet far superior in beauty and power to mankind. Mayhap this being had a spell of magic grace—perchance the lady Lilith bade him enter and gather the golden pomegranates that grew within—but sure it is they fled together to the fair far gardens that bloomed on the borders of Persia. And the joy of Adam

was turned to sorrow and his life was void and dark, as a rose without a perfume—and a night without a moon—Caliph, a tender glance may melt a lady's heart—but on a brick wall it hath no effect.”

Said the Caliph turning to the royal mason:—“Sirrah, forget the commands I gave thee but a little while ago—O son of a slave, make not thy wall light and low, but as the height of three men multiplied by three, and gird it top and bottom with the ninety coils of barbed wire which I shall send thee.—”

M. KHUNDKAR

THE STUDY OF KÖL¹

The languages of India belong to four great linguistic families—Indo-Aryan or Aryan, Dravidian, Austrie (Köl and Mön-Khinër), and Tibeto-Chinese. It is not necessary to discuss the Aryan and the Dravidian languages. Since the dawn of history, these have been the speeches of civilisation in India, and as such have been studied from very ancient times—the oldest extant literary remains of Aryan, the Vedic hymns, going back to c. 1200 B.C. at the latest, and those of Dravidian, the oldest Tamil compositions, dating from about the second century after Christ. The Aryan speech is accepted almost on all hands to have been introduced into India from beyond the north-western frontier. About Dravidian, opinion is divided, but most scholars regard it also as being originally extra-Indian, having been brought to India in pre-historic times, before the advent of the Aryans. The Tibeto-Chinese languages, which are spoken in the north and north-east of India, fall into two groups, Tibeto-Burm in (including Tibetan and dialects, the various Sub-Himälāyan speeches, the dialects of the Bolo group in North-eastern and Eastern Bengal, the various groups of Assam and Burma frontier speeches, and Burmese), and Siamese-Chinese (of which group one language, Ahom, was introduced into India in 1228 when the Tai or Shan people from North-eastern Burma conquered Assam, and this speech is now almost entirely extinct). The original homeland of Tibeto-Chinese seems to have been in Western China, and Tibeto-Chinese speakers came to India through the eastern and north-eastern frontiers in very late times, compared with Dravidian and Aryan,—at a period probably not much anterior to Christ. There remain the languages of the Austrie family, namely, the Köl languages (like Santālī, Munjārī, Kūrkū, Gadaba, Savara and Juang), and Khasi: these, now spoken by less than 3·5 millions (Köl about 3·2 millions, and Khasi, nearly 1·8 millions), alone have a right to be regarded as representatives of the autochthonous language-family of India.

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¹ *Hôrkorôn Mare Il'p'ramto reuk' Katha: The Traditions and Institutions of the Santals.* (Collected by the late Rev. L. O. Skrefsrud. Second edition, revised by the Rev. P. O. Boddling.) Published by the Santal Mission of the Northern Churches. Benagaria, 1916.

Materials for a Santali Grammar: I—Mostly Phonetic: by the Rev. P. O. Boddling. Pages 167: with 5 plates. Published by the Santal Mission of the Northern Churches. Dumka, 1922.

The Kōl people at present are confined to a comparatively limited tract, in Central India and Eastern India—in the Central Provinces, in Chota Nagpur, in Orissa and in West Bengal. At one time they were spread all over Northern India, and may be in Southern India as well. Traces of a Kōl substratum have been found in some of the Tibeto-Chinese speeches of the Sub-Himālayan tracts, in the so-called ‘pronominalised languages’ like Kanawari and Darmiyā, Khambu and Dhimal. These dialects look like being Tibeto-Burman modified by original Kōl speakers who have adopted it. Then, there is the language called Buruṣaskī, which is spoken to the north-west of Kashmir, in the districts of Yasin and Hunza-Nagar; this language is a puzzle, and it has not yet been possible to affiliate it to any known family of speech. But a recent theory about Buruṣaskī is that it is connected with Kōl; which theory, if proved, would possibly extend the vista of Kōl, or of Primitive Kōl, further beyond the Sub-Himālayan limits. Kōl traditions have dim memories of a period of Kōl settlement and rule in Northern India, and isolated tribes like the Cheros of South-eastern United Provinces were originally Kōl speakers. The Bhīl people of Rajputana and Khandesh, now speaking dialects of the Aryan Rājasthānī, are in all probability of Kōl race; and the ‘Kōlis’ are another aboriginal tribe in these tracts. The Kōl area thus extended to Gujarat in the west.

The Aryans, when they first came in touch with them, seem to have called them *Niṣādas*. (Cf. Ramā-prasād Chanda, *The Indo-Aryan Races*, Rajshahi, 1916: pp. 6 ff.) After the establishment of the Aryans in the Gangetic plain, most of the Kōls were Aryanised, and became transformed into the lower orders of Hindu society, and so lost their separate linguistic and cultural identity. Those who retreated into the hills and forests, and kept up their primitive ways, continued to be called ‘wild men’ (*Niṣāda*, *Śakara*, *Palinda*, etc.) by the Aryans; and with increased knowledge of their life and manners, on the part of the Aryan speakers, the names *Bhilla* and *Kōlla* came to be given to them, probably by the middle of the first millennium after Christ. From these Middle Indo-Aryan words, our New Indo-Aryan terms *Bhīl* and *Kōl* are derived. The meaning and source of *Bhilla* is not known: the word *Kōlla* is equally obscure, but the suggestion that it is only an early Aryanised form of the old national name of the Kōl people of the east, which at the present day is found in the various Kōl dialects as *hōṛ*, *hōṛò*, *kū*, *koro*,¹ etc., (= ‘man’), seems to give the true explanation.

¹ NOTE.—In the transliterations of the Kōl and other words made here in italic letters, ð, ð indicate the open sounds of e, o; i.e., sounds approaching the a of *hat* and o of *hot* of

As numbers of Kōl speakers became Aryanised, it is natural to expect that some of their words and their habits of thinking would be introduced into the new language of their adoption, and a few of these would persist even to the present. That a similar thing happened with regard to Dravidian has become one of the commonest hypotheses in Indo-Aryan linguistics. The habit of counting by twenties, so persistent in Bengal, Bihar and the Upper Gangetic plain, is probably to be traced to the influence of Kōl, in which the highest unit of computation is twenty. Some peculiarities of the Bihārī (Maithilī and Magahī) verbal forms are also perhaps due to Kōl. A French scholar has recently shown (J. Przyluski in the *Memoires de la Société de Linguistique*, Paris, 1921) that the Sanskrit words *kalulī* 'plantain,' *kumbala* 'blanket,' *śarkarā* 'sugar' are in origin Kōl words. It has also been suggested (by Prof. Jules Bloch of Paris, in a private communication) that the word *mayūra* 'peacock' is Kōl, rather than Dravidian; and *tāmbulā* 'betel leaf,' as M. Przyluski told me, seems also to be Kōl; the root of the word is probably to be found in Khasi *bal* 'betel leaf': cf. Bengali বরই, বরই *bār-ai, bār-ai* 'cultivator of the betel vine.' The word *utpala* 'lotus' seems to be Kōl as well: cf. Muṇjārī *upul-bā* 'floating flower.' The Aryan name of the *mohca* tree, Skt. *madhuka* = New Indo-Aryan *mahnā*, looks like being based on the Kōl *madkam* or *ma(n)dukam*. There must be many more words, which are sure to be found out on investigation. Stray words in the modern Aryan languages, like Hindi *jim-nā* 'to eat' (cf. Kōl *jom*), Panjābī *kurī* 'a girl' (cf. Santālī *kurī*), dialectal Bengali *kāñṇā* 'buffalo' (cf. Hō *kerā*), Hindi *ciriyā, cīñṇiyā* 'bird,' which is usually connected with Sanskrit *caturka* 'sparrow' (but cf. Kōl *cāñṇāññ* 'bird'), Bengali *mēṇā* 'ram' (cf. Kōl *mēṇom* 'goat'), Bengali *mēñī* 'cat, female cat' (cf. Kōl *mīñu*), and possibly many more, seem to be of Kōl origin.

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Unfortunately, there was not much curiosity felt in ancient times for the language of foreign or barbarous peoples, although their peculiar ways often attracted men. If a few Old Dravidian or Kōl sentences or words were preserved as such in some early Sanskrit text, how very precious they

Southern English, or the Bengali sounds of 'ajj' and ʌ; and ñ means the nasalisation of the preceding vowel. In the *phonetic transcriptions* [within square brackets, followed by an *], the alphabet of the International Phonetic Association has been used, in which [a*] stands for the sound of a in *hat* as pronounced in North England (i.e., an ʌ sound approaching the 'ajj' a sound), and [a*] for a back vowel, like the Southern English a in *father*.

would have been for the student of language! Kumāṛila Bhaṭṭa in the 7th century A.C., in his *Tantra-rārttika* quoted casually a few Tamil words, apparently as they were spoken in his time; these, side by side with the forms actually preserved in the Old Tamil of literature and of inscriptions, have opened up a new line of argument about the phonetics of Old Tamil and of Primitive Dravidian (Jules Bloch, *The Intervocalic Consonants in Tamil*, in the *Indian Antiquary* for 1919, pp. 191 ff.). A stray Iranian word in Herodotus, or a Gallic word in some classical writer, is as valuable to the philologist as a rare coin or inscription is to the historian. For Kōl, even such stray words are absent in the oldest literary remains of India, in Sanskrit. The Kōl or other non-Aryan speaker came under the spell of the superior culture of the Aryan, and he quietly gave up his own language, and accepted that of his master or civiliser. Only here and there, in place-names, in expressions not entirely ousted by Aryan, that relics of his old speech have survived, and that too in a hopelessly mutilated form. And with such non-Aryan speakers as remained faithful to their old life and old speech, the language continued to have its normal development. There was never among the Aryans in Northern India the necessity of learning a non-Aryan language, and generally no terms or expressions would be borrowed from non-Aryan, except those which insinuated themselves by the back-door, as it were; and they often were altered beyond recognition in order to be accommodated to Aryan phonetic habits (such terms being names of objects previously unknown to the Aryan speaker, or of ideas and customs which surreptitiously or in a transformed shape were retained among Aryanised non-Aryans). But where it was the question of a great civilised and ruling race like the Persian or the Greek, whose languages many Indo-Aryan speakers had to learn, and whose material and intellectual cultures influenced that of India, we have borrowings by the dozen.

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It was the scientific curiosity of the 19th century that first began to enquire into apparently unprofitable subjects like the customs and languages of uncultured peoples, which no one would be sorry to let die. This curiosity of course was brought to India by the European scholar. The Kōl languages were taken up by about the middle of the last century. B. H. Hodgson first studied them, and he thought they were allied to Dravidian, a view in which he was followed by other scholars (among whom the Rev. F. Hahn is the latest, although this view has been given up by most students); and Max Müller in 1854 first dissociated the Kōl languages from Dravidian, and classed them as an independent group, which he named *Mundā*.

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This name, *Muṇḍā*, has become a sort of official appellation for the family. I prefer, however, with many others, the good old term *Kōl*. It is applied to the particular people speaking Kōl languages and dialects like Muṇḍārī, Hō, Asuri, Bhumij, etc. The Santals are admitted by all Aryan speakers, Bengalis, Oriyas, and Biharis, who are uninformed in ethnology or philology, but who know both the Santals and the Muṇḍārīs, etc., as being a Kōl people. The term is never used with regard to the Oraons and other Dravidian neighbours of the Kōls. The word Kōl is, as has been mentioned above, probably an Aryan modification of an old Kōl word meaning 'man.'

Among primitive peoples, the national name very often is the common word for 'man' in their languages; and it has been accepted almost on all hands that in the absence of a well established word, the national word for 'man' is perhaps the best name to give to a race or group of tribes, especially where such a word survives in common in all or most dialects. A conspicuous example of such a name being given by philologists to a speech family is the name *Bantu* (cf. Zulu *Abantu* 'men'), by which the Negro speeches of Central and South Africa, forming members of one great family, are indicated. Instances are numerous. Following this principle, recently Professor P. Giles has proposed (in the *Cambridge History of India*) to call by the name of *Wiros* the people who were the original speakers of the Primitive Indo-European language (**wiros*=Skt. *vīras*, Lat. *vir*, Old English *wer*, etc., being the hypothetical Indo-European word for 'man').

Muṇḍā (=Skt. *muṇḍa-ka*) means a 'head-man,' and is a term of respect among the tribe known to Hindus and Europeans as Muṇḍās and Kōls, but calling themselves simply *hōṛōko* or 'men.' This tribe numbers barely half a million. The corresponding term of respect among the Santals, by far the largest Kōl tribe, 1·7 millions, is *māṇjhī*, which is an Aryan word='man of the middle' (from *madhya*+*ika*). Kōl is thus in every respect a better name than *Muṇḍā*: it is an accented term, an ancient term, and a term which includes the distant Kūrūs as well: only the tribes of Orissa, the Juangs, the Gadabas and the Savaras, could not strictly be brought under Kōl, as they seem to have lost the word corresponding to the Santal *hōṛ*: but their speeches show sufficient agreement with the Kōl speeches to sanction their inclusion within the group. The term Kōl, further, is near enough to the word *Kolarian*, which is a third name for this group of speeches. *Kolarian* has been employed for over half-century, and *Muṇḍā* has not entirely ousted it; it is perhaps equally in vogue with *Muṇḍā*.

Kolarian is most objectionable, as being unmeaning, and suggesting a sub-division into *Köl* + *Aryan*, which is absurd, or a connection with Kolar in Mysore, with which the Köls have had nothing to do.

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So much for the term *Köl*. Meanwhile other languages, of South-eastern Asia and Indonesia, as well as of the Pacific islands, both of civilised and barbarous peoples, were being studied. There is the *Mön* people in Burma, numbering over 220,000, now confined to a small tract round about the Gulf of Martaban, and in the part of Siam adjacent to it. The *Möns* differ both in race and language from the Burmese, who are now the dominant people of Burma. At one time the *Möns* were spread over the greater part of Burma. In the early centuries after Christ, and possibly earlier, they had received Indian culture and Indian religion, Buddhism and Brahmanism, from the people of the Kalinga country, and possibly also from those of Bengal and Upper India, who used to go to Burma as merchants and adventurers, and established themselves as the dominant race there. The ancestors of the present-day Burmese were at that time wild Tibeto-Chinese speaking tribes living to the north of Burma; and they poured down into the valleys of the country, established themselves first in the north, and after a protracted struggle with the *Möns*, lasting for centuries, at last forced them to the south, put an end to their rule, and entirely absorbed them in Pegu and in South Burma generally. The Indian culture of the *Möns*, with its Buddhist religion and its Indian script, was taken up by the Burmans. Now, it has been found out that the *Mön* language, which has epigraphical and other documents some thousand years old, presents such a striking similarity with *Köl*, that they must both be referred to a common origin.

The Khasi language in Assam, again, is an island of alien speech in a tract in which the non-Aryan languages are all Tibeto-Burman. Khasi agrees with *Köl* and *Mön*, and is thus apparently a link in a chain once extending from Central India to Burma, the other links in between being lost. This chain extends further to the east. In Cambodia live the *Khmërs*, now numbering over 1·5 millions, and their speech is a sister dialect to *Mön*. The *Khmërs* were once spread over Siam; and culture, religion, legends, art and letters, everything was brought to them by settlers from India. By the 6th century A.C., the land of the *Khmërs*, like that of the *Möns*, had become part of a Greater India. The history of the *Khmërs* presents a parallel to that of their cousins the *Möns*. Indianised in culture and religion and in general mentality, though not in language, they were overwhelmed by the Tibeto-Chinese speaking Siamese, coming down

to the south like the Burmese. The Siamese forced the Khmërs to Cambodia, where they are now confined; but, like the Burmese, they obtained their Buddhistic religion, their Indian culture, their writing, from the people they conquered.

In Indo-China, there are other isolated speeches, like the Palaung, the Wa, the Stieng, the Bahnar, etc., which are allied to Kōl-Khasi-Mōn-Khmër.

We can very well think of a period when one type of speech extended from Gujarat, the Ganges Valley, and the Himālayan slopes, through Bengal, right up to the Mekhong basin. We can imagine that about the beginning of the Christian era, and during the first five hundred years after Christ, when Indian influences were actively working among the Mōus and the Khmërs, all this was of the nature of civilising the Kōl peoples in India itself. Aryanised Kōls, welded into one people with Aryanised Dravidians from the Ganges Valley and the Central Indian tracts, undoubtedly had some share in the work of bringing civilisation to their kinsmen in Indo-China, side by side with the true Aryans, Brāhmans and Kṣatriyas, and mixed groups from Upper India.

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Further studies have shown that the languages of some primitive tribes in the Malay Peninsula, like the Sakai and the Semang, and the speech of the Nicobar Islanders, are members of the same Kōl-Mōn-Khmër group. The story of the development of this branch of linguistic studies has been told lucidly in the *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. IV. Embracing all these languages, this group has been very well named Austro-Asiatic or 'Southern Asiatic' by the German scholar Father W. Schmidt. Further, the Malayan speeches of the islands of the Indian Archipelago, like Malay, Javanese, Battak, Tagalog of the Philippines, Malagasy of Madagascar, which have been studied so brilliantly by Brandstetter, and the Melanesian and Polynesian languages have been found to be connected with Austro-Asiatic. The researches of Father Schmidt have been of the most far-reaching results: a new family of speeches has been established in all its wide extent, taking its place beside the already well-known families like Indo-European, Semitic, Hamitic, Ural-Altaic, and Bantu: namely, the *Austrie* family of languages, extending from Central India to the Hawaii Islands and Easter Island in the extreme east of the Pacific, and embracing a number of languages which have been vehicles of a high type of Indian colonial culture, namely, Mōn and Khmër, and Malay, Javanese and Balinese. (See P. W. Schmidt, *Die Mōn-Khmër-Völker, ein Bindeglied*

zwischen Völkern Zentral-Asiens und Austro-nesiens: Brunswick, 1906; the map at p. 70 giving the extent of the Austric languages).

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Since the days of Hodgson, systematic study of the Kōl dialects was going on apace. English civilians, officers and others, in some instances helped by Bengali and other Indian assistants, were publishing papers on Kōl language, ethnology and folklore in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* and other periodicals, and in the *Gazetteers* and other official publications. Above all, the various Christian missionary bodies have been doing conspicuous work. The Scandinavian missionaries among the Santals, and the German missionaries, Protestant and Catholic, among the Muṇḍās, are to be specially mentioned in this connection. The more important works on Kōl ethnology and linguistics which can be named are Sir George Campbell's *Ethnology of India* (JASB., 1866), E. G. Man's *Sonthalia and the Sonthals* (London, 1867), E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal* (Calcutta, 1872), the Rev. L. O. Skrefsrud's *Santali Grammar* (Benares, 1873) and *Collection of Santal Traditions and Customs*, in Santali (Benagaria, 1887), A. Campbell's *Santali-English Dictionary* (Pokhuria, 1899), the Rev. A. Nottrott's *Kōl or Muṇḍārī Grammar*, in German (1882, later translated into English), the Rev. Father J. Hoffmann's *Muṇḍārī Grammar* (Calcutta, 1903), and the Rev. John Drake's *Kūrḱū Grammar* (Calcutta, 1903), besides some publications on Santali linguistics by E. Kuhn (in German) and E. Heuman and Vilhelm Thomsen (in Danish), and Sir George A. Grierson's *Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. II, Muṇḍā and Dravidian Languages* (Calcutta, 1906), prepared with the assistance of the Norwegian orientalist Dr. Sten Konow; and one of the latest and most comprehensive books on the ethnology and history of a Kōl tribe, the Muṇḍās, is *The Muṇḍās and their Country* (Calcutta and Ranchi, 1912), by Mr. Sarat Chandra Roy, which is a pioneer work by an Indian, and one of the best works too, on the study of the life of a primitive tribe. All these and other works have placed the study of Kōl language and ethnology on a sound basis; although we still lack detailed studies of the speech and life of some of the lesser known Kōl tribes of the southern Kōl area—the Juangs, the Savaras and the Gadabas, who seem to have differentiated from their cousins to some extent, and who now are numerically insignificant.

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The most important Kōl language, from the point of view of number and extent, is unquestionably Santali. The Rev. Bodding thinks, in his most

valuable work on the phonetics of Santali (a notice of which is made the occasion for these remarks), that it is more faithful to its native Kōl character than its sister-dialect Muṇḍārī, which has been studied so brilliantly by Father Hoffmann in his Grammar, and which is sometimes regarded as the purest dialect. Santali is spoken by a larger number than the Aryan Assamese, for instance, and also many other better known languages of the world. The difference between Santali and other Kōl speeches is very small indeed. The Santals were originally in Hazaribagh district, where some 5 centuries ago they and the Muṇḍas formed one people. They are now found in the Western Bengal districts of Midnapore, Bankura, Burdwan and Birbhum, and in the Santal Parganas, in Manbhum and in Morbhanj; and scattered communities of Santals are found elsewhere. They came to Bengal, within the Bengali-speaking area, only very recently, mostly in the 18th and early 19th centuries. There were in West Bengal other Kōl-speaking tribes, brothers and cousins of the Santals, who have long been Aryanised: possibly the Suhmas and the Rājhas, about whose barbaric character the Jaina texts dating from about 3rd century B. C. testify, and who have given their names to West Bengal, and have long since merged in the lower ranks of a Bengali-speaking nation. The ancestors of Hindu castes like the Bāḡdis, the Bāurīs, the Hājīs and the Dōms were in all probability Kōls. Some of the customs of the Hājīs and Dōms in and about Calcutta seem very much like Kōl: witness their cult of Bir-Kālī, who is propitiated by offerings of rice-beer and sacrifice of pigs, and who is called Bir-Kālī 'because she roams about in the forests,' as one Dōm once explained to me; and we may note that the Kōl word for 'forest' is *bir*. And perhaps also there was another tribe, the Chuhāḍas, whose name has given the Bengali word for 'a wild fellow, a ruffian,' চোহাড়, চোহাড় *cō(h)āḍ*. The following couplet from the *Camli-kāvyā* of Kavi-kaṅkaṇa Mukunda-rāma, who flourished during the last quarter of the 16th century, would be interesting. The hunter Kālākētu, a man of the lowest caste, living on the outskirts of the village, says of himself to the goddess Durgā (Bangabāsi Press edition, p. 73):

অতি নীচকুলে জন্ম আভিত্তে চোহাড়। কেহ না পরশ করে, লোকে বলে রাড় ॥

ali-nica-kul-ē janma, jāti-tē cōāḍ(a), kēha nā paraś(a) karē, lōkē balē rāḍ(ha): 'Birth in a very low caste; by caste, a *cōāḍ*; none touches (me); people call (me) a *Rāḍha*.'

The caste-name Chohāḍ! recalls the Chuhṛās, a sweeper caste in the Panjāb.

Some of the Kōl speakers, when they were of the ruling classes, even became Kṣatriyas within the Hindu pale. The Santals must have

been living to the west of the Bengali or Aryanised area, and must have been known to the Bengali Hindus of pre-Moslem times, as an important border-tribe: the very name by which the Hindus (and following them the Europeans) know them means 'borderers': সাউতাল *Sāuṭāl*, from Old Bengali *সার্বভূমাল *Sāraṇṭhūla-ā/a*, earlier *সার্বভূমাল *Sāraṇṭhūla-rā/a* = Skt. *Sāmanta-pāla*.

Next in importance to the Santals are the Muxās, numbering over 400,000, and the Hōs, over 300,000, and allied tribes of Chota Nagpur and Central Provinces. They possess the same traditions, their religious practices and beliefs are the same, and their ways of life are identical.

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The Kōl tribes, as represented by the Santals and the Muxās and the Hōs, are thus among the most primitive peoples in India, possibly the oldest people in our country, after the Negroid stocks found in South India. And they are among the most lovable of peoples. In their primitive and unsophisticated state, they are like big children; frank and sincere, and honest and straightforward even when 'civilisation' has penetrated among them and has sought to spoil them in every way; gentle and peaceful by disposition, hardworking enough to meet their simple needs, loving flowers, loving mirth and music, loving dance and song, generally with strong family attachments, living a clean and healthy life in the midst of nature: a picture of life almost idyllic in its charm for the over-civilised mortal in the cities. The poetry underlying much of the life of the Kōls, where they have not been spoiled, has been felt and appreciated by people of culture in Bengal. The Kōl figures already in Bengali fiction, in a number of short stories, full of pathos, full of sympathy. His life has been viewed and studied here and there by people who have come in touch with him. The new national Indian School of Painting in Calcutta has given us some beautiful paintings of Kōl life,—Santal girls, Santal couples, and above all, that glorious picture by Nandalal Bose, *Dancer in the Forest*, a group of Kōl girls dancing to the sound of the drum (*ḥumung* or *māḍak*) in the flowering forest—a vision of colour and of throbbing life.

The religion of the Kōls is animism, or worship of invisible nature spirits, called *bongas*, with a supreme spirit *Sing-bonga*, who is identified with the Sun or Day-light. *Sing-bonga* is the invisible creator of everything, the ruler of all, the utterly great or supreme one, the god who is appealed to in distress, the solemn witness of men's deeds, who tells men how to propitiate the lower spirits when they

bring about sickness (Hoffmann's *Mupjārī* Grammar, p. vii). We have here a conception of the deity which is quite lofty, and which is not much removed from that of the average man in a civilised community. In addition to these *longus*, the Köls believe in the spirits of the fathers, and the ritual of worship connected with this cult has a poetic aspect too. It is now difficult, however, to dissociate from the current Köl beliefs and religious and other observances the genuine Köl elements from those adopted by the Köls from their Hindu neighbours. It must also be noted that a great many ideas, cults and practices of popular Hinduism owe their origin to the Köls and other non-Aryans who have long ago been brought within the Hindu fold; nay, in philosophic Hinduism too, some notions, e.g., that of transmigration, which cannot be traced to Indo-European, are essentially of the Indian soil, and had their origin undoubtedly in the animistic religion of the non-Aryans absorbed in the Hindu people.

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The Köls do not have a civilisation, but like all peoples, primitive or savage—and the Köls emphatically are not a *savage* people—they have a culture, which is bound up with their language and their life. Köl life with its socio-religious institutions, its periodical festivals and gatherings, its songs and dances, its rude style of ornament, its sense of wonder for the life around, in the passing on of its tales and traditions from generation to generation, has kept up this culture as a living thing. It is this culture and these traditions that make life beautiful. When these are destroyed, with nothing to take their place except a material civilisation that looks only to the body, men become savages in the midst of civilisation; and such civilised savages are not uncommon in Europe and America, both among the richest classes who only worship Mammon, and among the inhabitants of the slums in big cities. Köl life, however, cannot keep up much longer its primitive outlook, which is that of the forester and hunter. The times and outside influences are too strong for it. There is influx of *dikhs*, or Hindu and Musalman outsiders, into the heart of the Köl country: and outside influences in the shape of Hinduism and Christianity are modifying profoundly the life of the Köl, and undermining his national culture, making it lose its special features, and so destroying it.

Hinduism has spread among the Köls without any organised propaganda; the changes brought about through contact with Hinduism have been gradual, and unconscions, and, it seems, without any antagonism from the Köls. Whole communities have accepted Hindu notions and practices in their religious and social life without there

being any appreciable disturbance of the *milieu* in which the Kôl lived and thought. This, of course, has been impossible with Christianity. As a militant religion, which claimed to have the truth all to itself, it rejected all ideas and notions which were not in conformity to itself, and instead of seeking to transmute them gradually to something higher, it sought to sweep them away to make room for another world of ideas totally incomprehensible to a primitive people, a world evolved in a society entirely different. Of course, this was done with the best of intentions and the deepest of convictions. But this has brought about in those cases where it has been successful, a total dislocation of the old life with its own standard; and, while substituting many of the amenities of civilisation, and bringing in the outward triumph of a nobler faith, it has seriously impaired the stability and often the self-respect of those who have been overwhelmed by it. After all, our religion is our inner life which is intimately connected with our material life; and uniformity in matters of religion and philosophical notions is a thing which is impossible. Each man creates his own religion; and each community establishes a type, which has deviations with individuals. Within the same civilised society, the religious ideas of the most enlightened communities are bound to differ from those of the lowest. So, too, the religion of a primitive people from that of a civilised one, even when the latter is super-imposed on the former. A compromise there is always; otherwise attempts to endow a barbarous or uncultured people with the complicated theological and other notions, evolved through a long period among a highly civilised people like the Europeans, with their complex life and history, to the entire exclusion of the proper notions current among the former, have often proved to be grotesque in their result, frequently tragi-comic, and sometimes disastrous: as we see in the case of the Pacific Islanders and the Africans.

I do not mean in the least to disparage the message of the God-man Christ. But what I mean to say is, that in the days gone by there has been too often, on the part of the average missionary, a blindness to all that is good and noble and beautiful in 'heathen' or barbarous culture, an inability to appreciate the good points in a primitive or non-Christian society. This was ordinarily due to a vulgar pride in European material civilisation wrongly regarded as the outward expression of Christianity. When this attitude is accepted as a matter of course by the disciples of the missionary in any non-Christian community, civilised or primitive, it cannot be conducive to any self-respect. It must be said that there was no lack of missionaries from time to time, who could

rise above the ordinary prejudices. Happily for the world, for both the Christian missionaries and their disciples, this attitude of uncompromising contempt is passing away. The missionary outlook with regard to things non-Christian generally is changing from what used to characterise the publications of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge to that found in the recent works inaugurated by a missionary body to bring to the Indian youth the heritage of his national culture, for a better understanding of it and for feeling a legitimate pride in it.

I have digressed a little. I brought in all this only to pay tribute to the work done by certain enlightened missionaries, who, actuated by a broader humanity and by a scientific curiosity, have recognised the value of native culture, and sought to preserve the best elements in it, and have studied and systematised it, while endeavouring to bring the nobler spiritual life according to the teachings of Jesus. We are grateful to missionaries like the late Rev. L. O. Skrefsrud and the Rev. P. O. Bodding, to the Rev. Father J. Hoffmann, and the Rev. A. Nottrott, and others, for enabling us to add another world to our domain of study and sympathetic understanding of our brother-man—the world of the Köl.

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The Köls lacked intellectual life ; they never had any system of writing, and they could not as a consequence have had any literature as a conscious production of their cultural life. But they have a rich store-house of traditional tales and songs. Story-telling and song-craft are common to all Köl peoples, like music (playing on the deep-toned drum, called *qumang* by the Köls and *mūdāl* by Bengalis, and on the bamboo-flute) and dancing. The outside world has been enabled to taste the beauty and sweetness of this fountain-head of primitive nature and love-poetry through the monographs of the Rev. Nottrott (*Mundari-Köl Lieder*, in the *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde*, iii, pp. 381 ff., referred to by Grierson in the *Linguistic Survey of India*), of the Rev. Father J. Hoffmann (*Mundari Poetry, Music and Dances* in the *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1907, Vol. II, No. 5, pp. 85-120), of Mr. Sarat Chandra Roy, the eminent Bengali anthropologist, now Professor in the University of Patna (in his *Mundās and their Country*, Calcutta, 1912, pp. 508 ff., and in the pages of the *Hindustan Review* subsequently), and of a few other gentlemen. Stray songs from the Santali have appeared in the Bengali periodicals ; and a collection of Santali songs seems to have been made by the Rev. P. O. Bodding (cf. pp. 100-105 of his *Materials for a Santali Grammar*). It seems that the Santal, although he possesses a musical soul, has expressed himself better in narrative than in

plain, literal, English translation. This certainly will have a scientific value for the ethnologist and student of language. But this will have a wider appeal for the general reader as well—the lover of poetry, and of primitive life and experience, which is having a growing fascination as we are advancing in material culture. Father Hoffmann regrets that the Kōl young men everywhere are forgetting their beautiful old songs; the old spirit is passing away; new songs are rarely made now; and possibly the old ones are being fast forgotten. Even now, it seems these songs could be culled by the hundred. A collection is urgently necessary. It may be hoped that at a near future this collection will be for the Kōl people, if they survive the present insidious onslaught which is threatening their very existence, and are enabled to attain to an adult age in their national life, a source of national pride—like the mass of national lyrics among most peoples. In any case, it will be a *possession for ever* for civilised man, as the record of unsophisticated human sentiment in one of its primitive, but most peaceful, almost idyllic, settings.

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The traditional tales and narratives of the Kōls have been partially collected. In 1870-71 the late Rev. L. O. Skrefsrud had fortunately got an old Santal sage named Kōlèan (= Kalyāṇa) to narrate to him the traditions of his people and accounts of their social life and institutions, which he faithfully took down and published in the original Santali in 1887. This book—*Hôṛkorèn Mare Hapṇamko-reak' Katha*—is the great classic in their language, which, thanks to this enlightened Christian Missionary, the Santals have been enabled to possess. The language of this prose Purāṇa and Gṛhya and Dharma Sūtra of the Santals is in its purest form, such as it was spoken half a century ago, when Santal life was much more self-contained. But it already shows a large number of Aryan (Bihārī and Bengali) words; and there are interspersed Bengali and Bihārī songs, showing invasion of Hindu ideas into their domestic and religious life. Unfortunately, this book has not been translated, and so it remains almost a sealed book to those who do not know the language. But there must have been a slight demand for it among educated Santals: since the book has been published in a second edition by Mr. Bodding. Mr. Bodding as a Christian missionary who has dedicated his life to the service and uplift of the Santals, is their most sympathetic friend, and, as he states in the preface to the Rev. Skrefsrud's book, he has himself collected another large mass of material from among the Santals, folk tales and songs and customs and traditions, of great ethnological value, and undoubtedly of very great

human interest. It is hoped that all this will be published later on with English translations. It is pleasing to note that as an appendix to the second edition of the Rev. Skrefsrud's book, Mr. Bodding prints the resolutions which a number of representative Santals passed at Dumka in February, 1916, expressing 'what they would wish to become the law of inheritance of women among Santals:' a fitting pendant to a collection, of national importance for the Santals, of their social institutions and traditions, which, it would be hoped, they would not let die wherever they are beautiful and poetic, and not in autagonism to the spirit of the Christian religion which they might be receiving.

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A portion of Mr. Bodding's collection of Santali folk-tales has been translated into English and published by Mr. Cecil Henry Bompas of the Indian Civil Service (*Folk-lore of the Santal Parganas*, London, David Nutt, 1909). This is one of the most entertaining books on Indian folk-lore. Mr. Bompas mentions another collection of Santal stories by the Rev. Dr. Campbell, made in the district of Maubhum and published in 1891. A great many of these tales, as Mr. Bompas notes, are not purely Santal in origin; they form part of the common stock of Indian folk-lore, and the Kōls probably got them from their Hindu neighbours. The Indian animal stories, however, might be pre-Aryan, and were transformed by the literary genius of the Aryan, in the *Jātaka Book* and in the *Pañca-tantra*. In addition to the traditional stories, and stories relating to witch-craft, the tales dealing with the *bongas* and their relations with men and women are specifically Kōl. These last are not many. But some at least among them are very beautiful, and they certainly ought to be better known. Some of these deal with the old theme of the love of a mortal youth or maiden and a sylvan spirit or godling. There are only two or three representative *genres*. A typical story is of a girl who goes to the forest to pluck leaves with her companions, meets a forest spirit or godling, a *bonga kora*, who generally lives in a cave, stays with him, and is happy, but her friends and parents do not like this connection, and they try to kill her *bonga* lover, and bring her home; but the *bonga* does not give up the girl, her head aches and aches, and she dies in a short time, apparently to join her lover in the world of the *bongas*. Or it is of a young herdsboy tending his buffaloes or cattle and playing on his bamboo-flute in the woody hills, and he is loved by a *bonga* girl, who comes to him, looking like a pretty human maiden. This is the Kōl version of the myth of Aphrodite and the herdsman Anchises, and other Greek stories, and

is no less charming. The *bonga* girl inhabits a spring, 'on the margin of which grew many *ahar* flowers,'—a little detail which the Santal narrator gives. The herdsboy goes into the waters of the spring to pluck flowers for the girl, and she casts some sort of spell on her lover, and takes him down along the spring to her people in the *bonga* world. There the seats are coiled snakes, and tigers and leopards crouching there are the watch-dogs. The *bongas* sometimes go out hunting with their tigers and leopards, and men cutting wood in the jungle are their quarry. Sometimes the young man comes out and lives as a man among men, but meets secretly his *bonga* wife in some underwater place in the forest, and his affairs prosper exceedingly, and he becomes a *jan guru*—a man of oracles. This part of the story reminds one of the old Roman legend of King Numa and the nymph Egeria. The *bongas* are sometimes mischief-making beings, thievish and clever, who can be non-plussed by cleverer men. These Kōl stories of the *bongas* resemble more than anything else the Celtic (Irish) stories about the fairy folk—the *sidhe* or *shee*, and their loves with mortals, and the *brownies* and mischievous *elves* of Northern European popular mythology. Ethnology might see traces of a pre-Kōl race in these *bonga* stories, just as the *shee* are but pre-Irish dwellers of Ireland translated into the domain of legend; but in the meanwhile, we can enjoy them as the embodiment of the mystery and romance of forest life such as it impressed the untutored Kōl. The Vedic Aryan peopled the forest and the waters and the hills with the goddess Aranyāṃī, with wood-nymphs and with gods, with the Apsarases and the Gandharvas; the Greek with wood and water nymphs, the Dryads and the Nereids, and the Satyrs, and with Pan; and the Kōl saw the *bonga tora* and the *bonga kuri*—fairy youths and maidens—in the deep virgin woods of India that encompassed his hamlet or homestead.

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The study of Kōl—language, ethnology, folk-lore,—has thus its important aspects. A great part of India has never been predominantly the Ārya's country. In the making of our people, at least among the masses of the lower ranks, there has been undoubtedly a Kōl element, and a strong one too. Certain tracts, *e.g.*, the Central Indian plateaux, are overwhelmingly Kōl. We shall be guilty of gracelessness and of national snobbery if in Northern India, in the pride of our Aryan language and culture, we ignored our humble non-Aryan relations—the Kōls, and the Dravidians, as well as the Boḍos and others. The study of the Kōl speeches as a discipline, like all scientific studies, has a unique value. And

this discipline has some reference to the study of our Aryan mother-tongues also. To unfold the grammatical structure of Santali or Mundārī of course would be pleasure only for the specialist. But there should be people with even a slight knowledge of Kōl while studying Modern Indo-Aryan philology, to find out the points of contact, if any are to be found, between Kōl and Aryan, where Aryan has assimilated to Kōl. The ordinary Aryan speaker, with a certain amount of culture, and interest in his mother-tongue, cannot fail to feel curious about that.

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Mr. Bodding's study of the Phonetics of Santali is unquestionably one of the works of first class importance in the field of Indian linguistics—Aryan, Dravidian, Kōl or Tibeto-Chinese—that have appeared within recent years, and is deserving of careful study, even by those students of language who are not directly interested in Kōl. The work is a conspicuous example of a thorough and sincere study of the sounds of a speech which is peculiar in some respects, and it shows how fruitful such a study is.

Santali is typically Kōl in preserving in their purity all the Kōl sounds. In addition to the common sounds of New Indo-Aryan, Kōl has some special phones of its own. The special modified vowel sounds, which Mr. Bodding rightly calls 'resultant,' are described in detail, in pp. 8-11. The resultant quality is due to the slight modification which the vowels undergo through the contiguity and influence of a high vowel, *i* or *u*, in the same word. It seems a low vowel like *a* becomes slightly raised, so as to produce the acoustic effect of the English sound in *but*, the [a*] being drawn up as it were to the [ɶ*] position in *but* by the following high sound of *i* or *u*. *e* and *o* similarly are raised towards *i* and *u*, and perhaps the low *ɛ*=[ɛ*] and *ɔ*=[ɔ*] are raised to the high *e* and *o* position. This is clear, so far as one can judge without hearing the sounds. The resultant *i* and *u* are apparently tense, if their resultant quality is insisted upon: Santali has the lax and retracted (and advanced) *i* (and *u*) as original sounds. It is not mentioned by Mr. Bodding whether the *i* tends to make a resultant vowel derived from *a* slightly more advanced in pronunciation, while it draws the latter up. If it were slightly advanced too, in connection with an *i*, we would be able to find a parallel in Santali to what we notice in Bengali pronunciation. In Calcutta Bengali we say কাল [ka:l *], with a low-back ㄞ ā, to mean both (i) 'tomorrow' or 'yesterday' (= Middle Bengali *kāil*, *kāili*, *kāli*, Prakrit *kallim*, Skt.

kalya) and (ii) 'time,' 'death' (=Skt. *kāla*). In many dialects, the Middle Bengali pronunciation with the epenthetic *i* still obtains for (i), and the two words are so differentiated; in some dialects, the first word is pronounced as [kail*], with a frankly low-back [a*] followed by an [i*]; but in others, the [i*] has entirely disappeared, but the quality of the low-back [a*] has been not only slightly drawn up, but also advanced a great deal, by the following [i*] which once existed, resulting in a low-front lax vowel, of which the phonetic symbol is [a*]—[ka:l*]. Thus we have, for Calcutta Bengali and Dialectal Bengali groups like the following, differentiation being due to the presence of an [i*] :

Skt. (i) *jāta* 'born.' (ii) *jāti* 'nation, tribe, caste' : Calcutta Bengali both=[ʃʒa:t*], but in Dialectal Beng. (i)=[ʃʒa:t, dʒa:t*], (ii)=[ʃʒa:t, dʒa:t*] (besides many other forms).

(i) Prakrit *galla* 'cheek'; (ii) Old Beng. *gāli* 'abuse' : Cal. Beng. both=[ga:l*], but Dial. Beng. (i)=[ga:l*], (ii)=[ga:l*].

(i) *cāla* 'gait, style' (ii) Middle Beng. *cāula*, *cāila* 'rice' : Cal. Beng. both=[ɕa:l*], Dial. Beng. (i)=[ɕa:l, tsa:l*] (ii)=[ɕa:l, tsa:l*]

Skt. *rātri*, Pkt. *ratti*, Old Beng. *rāti* 'night' : Cal. Beng. [ra:t*], Dial. [ra:t*]. ([i*] after [a*] sometimes occurs slightly *monillé*).

In certain forms of Bengali thus we have what may be called a resultant *ā*=[a*] through the influence of *i*; whether there is a similar modification, *i.e.*, combined raising, and, in this case, a retracting, in connection with *u* (*i.e.*, whether the *ā* in *মানুষ mānuṣ* 'man' differs in quality from the first *ā* in *মনি māni* 'prohibition') can only be seen with the help of instruments : acoustically there is none, but this point is worth investigating, even for Santali. I confess I cannot make out the difference of the acoustic quality of the *a* resulting from *u* : *i* from the *a* resulting from *a* : *u*, excepting that it is in the frontal nature of the former.

The harmonic sequence of vowels (pp. 16 ff. in Mr. Boddington's book) is connected with this 'resultant' characteristic, and in this respect there is a remarkable agreement between Santali and Bengali. The Bihārī dialects and Hindi keep themselves aloof from this. If *bhāṛī* 'sheep' becomes '*bhāṛī*' in Santali, in the Calcutta colloquial we say *দেহী dēhī* for *দেশী dēṣī* 'country-made, country-born'; in dialectal (West) Bengali, the word for 'daughter' is *বিতী biṭī* rather than *bēṭī*; just as in Santali the Sanskrit-Bengali word *dēvī* 'goddess' becomes *dibi*. The Bengali equivalents of Hindi and Bihārī *rōṭī* 'bread,' *jhūṭī* 'bag,' *pōṭhī* 'book,' *cūrī* 'theft,' etc., are *roti*, *jhuli*, *puthi*, *curi*. Vowel harmony is an established thing in Bengali: and regular rules can be laid down for it : *e.g.*,

$\bar{o} : \bar{a} > \bar{o} : \bar{a} : \bar{o}\bar{o}-\bar{a}$ ঢালা = $\bar{o}\bar{o}\bar{a}$ ঢালা 'lying down.'

but $\bar{o} : i > u : i : \bar{o}\bar{u}-i$ ঢাই = $\bar{u}i$ ড়ই 'I lie down.'

$\bar{e} : \bar{a} > \bar{e} : \bar{a} : \bar{d}\bar{e}-\bar{a}$ দেলা = $\bar{d}\bar{e}(w)\bar{a}$ দেওয়া 'giving.'

but $\bar{e} : \bar{e} > e : e : \bar{d}\bar{e}-\bar{e}$ দে = $\bar{d}ee$, $\bar{d}ey$ দেয়, দায় 'gives.'

$\bar{e} : i > i : i : \bar{d}\bar{i}-i$ দিই = $\bar{d}ii$, $\bar{d}i$ দিই, দি 'I give.'

There is influence of a preceding high vowel as well, and Sanskrit and foreign words when they are naturalised are no exceptions: e.g., Skt. *pratyāṣā* 'expectation,' in Medieval Bengali pronunciation '*prittāṣā*,' whence colloquially we have *পিত্তে* *pittēṣ*; Skt. *vinā* 'without' = *binā*; *pūjā* 'worship' = *pūjō*; *kavirāja* + *i* = *kavirājī* 'profession of a Kavirāj' = *kob(ī)riji*; Perso-Arabic *xiḷāyatī* = *biḷāṭī*, *biḷēṭī*, *biḷīṭī* 'foreign, European,' etc.

Harmonic sequence is found in Indo-Aryan since very early times. Is it that Santali developed it by coming in touch with Aryan, or Aryan (Bengali, etc.) harmonic sequence is due to contact with Kōl? Harmonic sequence is found in the distant Kūrkū, and is present in all Kōl dialects: probably it is a native Kōl tendency, as it is also Dravidian, and Ural-Altaic; certainly, it is not Indo-European. Here and there we have traces only of it in the Prakrits, e.g., Old Indo-Aryan (Skt.). *duhitā* 'daughter' > **dihitā* > Pali *dhītā*; Old Indo-Aryan (preserved in Pali) *supinam* 'sleep' > **siṭinam* > Prakrit *siriṇam*, etc.; but Sanskrit influence was too strong to let it have full play in the Prakrit of literature.

Then, Santali is rich in vowel-combinations: and Bengali is scarcely less so: some 25 diphthongs can be noted in Bengali. The Bihārī dialects perhaps have a good number, certainly more than in Hindi, Eastern and Western. In the matter of triphthongs, Bengali seems to be richer than Santali.

Santali possesses the usual stops and aspirates of Indo-Aryan. The aspirates *kh gh ch jh th dh* etc., are wanting in some forms of Kōl, e.g., Muṇḍārī, and Hō, and perhaps also in Kūrkū. Authorities differ whether aspirates were original sounds in Kōl. Father Hoffmann (for Muṇḍārī) thinks they are foreign to Kōl, and Mr. Bodding believes they are original, at least so far as one can judge from Santali. Mr. Bodding notes that Santali does not tolerate two aspirates following one another in the same word: a sort of Grassmann's Law for Santali.

The special consonants of Kōl, namely the 'checked' consonants [*k*, *e*, *t*, *p*'] which are not found in other Indian languages (though they occur in Burmese, for instance, at a final position), are described in great detail.

The Santali *c*, *j*, according to Mr. Bodding, are pure stops,— 'a quite unaspirated explosive with no hiss;' and he says that it is the same

sound as the Hindi (and apparently also the West Bengali) *c, j*. Now these sounds in the Aryan languages, so far as my observation goes in a large number of dialects, Hindi (Western Hindi as spoken by people of Western United Provinces) included, are compound sounds made up of an alveolar [*t*'] formed by the tip of the tongue, or a palatal stop [*c* *] formed by the spread-out blade of the tongue, *plus* a forward kind of *sh* sound, [*ʃ**], the hissing *sh* being more or less prominent. One may say, however, that in most Indian languages, including Santali, the sibilant element in these affricates is welded with the stop element more closely than in English. But it is certain that in the Santali checked form of the *c*, there is no scope for the *sh* off glide, and it is a pure palatal stop: witness the ordinary Bengali way of writing this sound of Santali—*খিঁ*: *āh̥ = ic*'. (The palatal stop occurs as a long sound in the (West) Bengali group *cc*, *e.g.*, *দিত্ত* 'is giving' = [die:ʃ̌e, die:ʃ̌e*]).

Can any secondary character of [*ʃ̌*, *c*₁*] as derived for an earlier [*k*, *k*₁*] or [*t*, *t*₁*] be established from Santali itself?

It can be questioned whether cerebrals are original sounds in Kōl. There is no cerebral checked consonant.

Santali forms of English and other foreign words are practically identical with what obtain in Bengali. This may be explained as being really borrowed by Santali speakers, not from English or Persian, but from Bengali, and folk Bengali as spoken by the masses. In this connection the word *botam* 'button' may be noted. It is a Bengali loan-word from the Portuguese *botão* = [butãũ*], written in Bengali *বোতাম*, for *বোতাম*, *বোতাম*, *বোতাম*: it is not the English word *button* = [bʌtʌn*].

Various other points connected with pronunciation are described fully. The very illusive question of vowel quantity is tackled with great knowledge and skill, and rules are formulated about length. Here it is interesting to note some points of similarity with Bengali, *e.g.*, monosyllabic base words are always long in Bengali, and so in Santali. Something of the dimetric habit of Bengali seems to obtain in Santali also: *i.e.*, preference for words of two *morae*, made up of a long syllable, or two short ones, or one very short (= ½ or ⅓ *mora*) and the other slightly long (1½ or 1⅓ *mora*). Also, as in Bengali, a monosyllabic base-word loses its length when a suffix is added to it, making it a word of two short syllables.

The stress system is treated with great thoroughness, and a number of nice laws are deduced. Neither word-stress nor sentence-stress are strong in Santali, and it does not bring about polysynthetic groups like what one sees in English and Bengali. Stress in Santali, unlike that of standard

Bengali, is not fixed, but is free and variable. It seems remarkable, however, that in polysyllabic words two consecutive syllables should both be stressed to the same degree. Perhaps the use of the figures 1, 2, 3, etc., to indicate the degrees of stress might have been made to advantage in cases where it might be ambiguous. The stress system of Santali is treated fully with reference to Grammar.

There is an interesting section on intonation.

The five plates of X-rays photographs of the mouth of a Santal pronouncing the peculiar vowels of his language are a specially valuable feature of the book. Complete sets of photographs for the vowels are now felt to be absolutely necessary before an accurate study of these can be made and they can be relegated to Prof. Daniel Jones's vowel-figure (*cf.* G. Noël-Armfield's *General Phonetics*, 2nd edition, Heffer, Cambridge), and their places visualised for practical purposes of learning or teaching them.

It would thus be seen that Mr. Boddling's book is a most useful production and should interest all students of language and phonetics, who can be congratulated on finding so excellent a guide. We hope it will be possible for us to welcome soon further parts of this erudite work, dealing with equal fulness with the facts of Santal morphology and syntax.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY,

June, 1923.

SUNĪTI-KUMĀR CHATTERJĪ

ANGLESEY

(From a steamer, approaching Liverpool)

Bald Holyhead wades into sea,
With shoulders lifted high;
The turquoise hills of Anglesey
Come stumbling, tumbling by.

Stonehedges wantonly ascend
To cross haze-hidden crests;
Through undulating fields they wend,
All on idyllic quests.

Beyond arc woods where I would know
If white-robed Druids dwell,
Searching for sacred mistletoe,
To work some magic spell.

Oh, would that it were mine to till
A field in Anglesey;
I'd set my house upon a hill
That went to meet the sea.

All day I'd labour on the soil,
Beneath a foamy sky;
In eventide at close of toil
I'd see great ships go by.

I'd wonder whence their rudders tracked
And whither were they bound ;
I'd laugh at travellers who lacked
The quiet I had found.

Would I ? Or would I feel an urge
To quit the tranquil shore,
To breast the ever-roaring surge,
A wanderer once more ?

WAYNE GARD

SLUMP IN THE COAL TRADE OF BENGAL

The present depression in the coal trade of Bengal and Bihar is ascribed to the fact that the markets of Western India and of the Far East, which were, before the Great War, to a large extent, served by the Coal Fields of Bengal and Bihar, are now being supplied with coal from Natal. A large number of collieries in Bengal have been shut down, principally collieries that are responsible for second class coal. To remedy this evil it is asked that a duty of Rs. 5 per ton should be imposed on imports of Natal coal and the Railway freight should come down on coal to Bombay by Rs. 2 to Rs. 2-8 per ton. The Indian Mining Federation and the Indian Merchants' Chamber, Bombay, have been asking for this in order to counterbalance the subsidy of Rs. 7 granted to Natal coal by the Natal Government by reduction in Railway freight to this extent from the collieries to the port.

(1) FROM RAILWAY POINT OF VIEW.

Let us first deal with the question from Railway point of view. Now the existing railway freight on coal from the Jherria Field to Bombay is as follows (on public coal and loco-coal) :—

Rs. 15-6-0 per ton.

Rs. 13-14-0 per ton.

On public coal—

On Railway Locomotive coal—

Besides, the rate for carriage from the collieries to Bombay there is included in the lump sum rate of Rs. 15-6-0 for public coal, the following terminal and Ghaut charges. The latter represents the charge payable to the G. I. P. Railway, over and above the mileage rate, for heavy working

expenses of hauling the traffic and wagons over the Western Ghauts (Thull Ghaut incline in this case) :

B. N. Railway terminal	Rs. 0-4-0	per ton
G. I. P. Railway terminal	Rs. 0-4-0	do.
Ghaut charge ...	Re. 1-0-0	do.

Total Rs. 1-8-0.

So that the actual mileage rate comes to Rs. 13-14-0 which is as follows :—

Deduct Rs. 1-8-0 from Rs. 15-6-0 = Rs. 13-14-0 (or 2,664 pies) which on the distance of 1,151 miles from Bhaga (Jherria Field) to Bombay *via* Nagpur gives a rate of 2·31 pies per ton per mile, or ·085 pie per maund per mile. And the same rate is applied *via* Jubbulpore, in which case the mileage rate per ton comes to 2·25 pies per ton per mile (Rs. 13-14-0 = 2,664 pies ÷ 1,182 miles—the distance from Jherria to Bombay *via* Jubbulpore—E. I. Railway 566 miles + G. I. P. Railway 616 miles) or ·080 pie per maund per mile.

Next, let us see what is the statistical cost of haulage from the Jherria Field to Bombay, both *via* Nagpur and Jubbulpore, over the Railways concerned.

The statistical cost of working of the B. N., E. I., and the G. I. P. Railways was as follows :—

Average cost of hauling traffic (one ton for one mile).

	1920-21 Pies.	1921-22 Pies.
B. N. Railway	2·62	3·01 ($\frac{1}{4}$ pie or ·11 pie per maund per mile).
E. I. Railway	1·98	2·71 (or say ·10 pie per maund per mile).
G. I. P. Railway	4·26	5·48 (or ·20 pie per maund per mile).

Of course, these figures of statistical cost of working do not represent the actual cost of carrying traffic like coal, which is cheap to carry owing to full train and wagon loads and regularity in despatches, but in this connection it may be best to make certain comparisons, as it is so very difficult to work out the cost of carrying any particular traffic.

Before the War, the rate on coal from Jherria to Bombay was Rs. 11-4-0 per ton (or 2160 pies), which worked out to 1·87 pies (or ·067 pie per maund per mile) per ton per mile on the distance *via* Nagpur (1151 miles), and 1·84 pies per ton per mile (or ·065 pie per maund per mile) on the distance *via* Jubbulpore, whereas the statistical cost of working of the railways concerned was as follows:—

Average cost of hauling one ton one mile.

	1907.	1915.
	Pies.	Pies.
B. N. Railway	2·26	1·59 (·059 pie per md. per mile).
E. I. Railway	1·55	1·21 (·045 pie per md. per mile).
G. I. P. Railway	2·93	2·51 (·093 pie per md. per mile).

From the above figures we find that the rate earned on coal and the statistical cost of Railway traffic in 1915 and in 1921-22 were as follows:—

	Rate earned.		Average Statistical cost of working.	
	1921-22.	1915.	1921-22.	1915.
	Pie per maund per mile.		Pie per maund per mile.	
B. N. Railway ...	·085	·067 (<i>via</i> Nagpur)	·11 pie	·069
E. I. Railway ...	·080	·065 (<i>via</i> Jubb.)	·10 pie	·045
G. I. P. Railway ...	·090 and ·085 without the ghat charge and termi- nal.	·065 and ·067 (<i>via</i> Jubb. and Nagpur respec- tively.)	·20 pie	·093

It will thus be seen that in the case of the B. N. Railway and the E. I. Railway in 1915, when the average statistical cost of working was about $\frac{1}{16}$ th pie per maund per mile for the former and less than $\frac{1}{20}$ th pie for the latter, they carried traffic at rates of $\frac{1}{16}$ th pie per maund per mile, so that even at the statistical cost of working there was a margin of difference, and at the actual cost of working this particular traffic (coal), which cost must have been much below the average, there was a reasonable profit for the two railways, but in the case of the G. I. P. Railway, it must be taken that its margin of difference between the cost of working and the rate charged was much smaller than that of the E. I. Railway or the B. N. Railway. Taking the average statistical cost the traffic was carried by the G. I. P. at a rate lower than the statistical cost, by 27%, but as coal costs much less in hauling than the average statistical cost it may be assumed that there was some margin of profit. The high rates of the G. I. P. Railway on cotton, grain, etc. (compared to those of the E. I. Railway), enabled the G. I. P. Railway to carry the coal traffic at such low rates and left, on the whole, a fair margin of profit between the total earnings of the Railway and the total working expenses. The margin has now been very greatly reduced and the profits have dwindled down to very low figures on the G. I. P. Railway:—

	Percentage of working expenses to gross earnings.		Percentage of net earnings on total capital outlay.	
	1915	1921-22	1915	1921-22.
B. N. Railway ...	50.43	71.46	5.07	3.67
E. I. Railway ...	39.42	62.81	8.80	5.52
G. I. P. Railway ...	62.67	91.02	4.71	1.31

It is, therefore, a matter for grave consideration whether it would be advisable to force the G. I. P. Railway to accept

traffic at very low rates, especially when such traffic involves a very large amount of empty running of wagons. The conditions, under which the Railways can transport traffic, ought to have a large influence in determining the rates. If there were, however, plenty of wagons available and the facilities of the railways were such that the railways could turn round the wagons quickly, there would be no harm in accepting traffic at low rates. When wagons go in large numbers to Bombay it means that they are locked up for days, which not only denudes the railways of wagons but deprives the public from having an adequate supply not only for coal but for other traffic. Even at the rate of 100 miles a day and taking two days in Bombay, the total time for which each wagon would be away from the coal district with only one consignment would not be less than 26 days (12 days at the rate of 100 miles per day, which is a very high average, on the outward journey and 12 days on the return empty journey and 2 days in Bombay). Even at the present rate of railway freight the G. I. P. Ry. is not able to earn even $1\frac{1}{2}\%$ nett return on its capital outlay, and it is doubtful whether traffic at very low rates, involving empty haul of at least 6 days per trip on the G. I. P. Ry., would benefit that railway in any way so far as nett earnings are concerned. The G. I. P. Ry. present rates give them a return of '10 pie per maund per mile *viâ* Nagpur and '09 pie per maund per mile *viâ* Jubbalpore, when the terminal and the Ghaut charges are included in its proportion for purposes of seeing what money the G. I. P. Ry. actually gets, whereas its statistical cost of haulage is '20 pie per maund per mile or nearly double the rate. So that even at present the G. I. P. Ry. are carrying traffic at 50% lower charge than the average cost of haulage. Compared with the rise in the total working expenses the increase in the rates has been less.

The railway freight has risen from Rs. 11-4-0 in 1907 to Rs. 15-6-0 or the increase in the rate has been 37 per cent.,

whereas the rise in the cost of hauling traffic or working the traffic has been as follows :

On the B. N. Ry. from '059 to '11 or 50 per cent.

On the E. I. Ry. from '045 to '10 or 55 per cent.

On the G. I. P. Ry. from '093 to '20 or 55 per cent.

It is admitted that the average cost of haulage shewn herein is not the cost of hauling coal but the comparative figures show what has been the rise in the working expenses.

It is very doubtful whether under such circumstances a reduction in the railway freight, under existing conditions would be justifiable.

It may be pointed out that the rate on Loco coal is less, *viz.*, Rs. 13-14-0 against Rs. 15-6-0 for public coal, but it is to be borne in mind that if railway coal is not carried cheap the cost of working railways would become still higher and there would be necessity for further increase in the rates and fares on the western railways.

Then there is another point. Would it be possible for the reduction in the rate, if it were at all made, to be divided between the E. I. Ry. or the B. N. Ry. on the one side, and the G. I. P. Ry. on the other, in the ratio of 70 per cent. to the former and 30 per cent. to the latter, so as to save the burden of reduction to the non-paying line? Or, in other words, out of the proposed reduction of Rs. 2-8-0 or 40 annas, let 28 annas be borne by the E. I. Ry. or the B. N. Ry. (as the case may be) and let the G. I. P. Ry. bear the balance of 12 annas. The average statistical cost of haulage per mile on the G. I. P. Ry. is '20 pie against about '11 pie on the B. N. Ry. and '10 pie on the E. I. Ry. It is true that this method of division would be opposed to the decision of the Secretary of State in the matter of division of through rates:—

“the principle of mileage division under clearing house arrangements may be fairly applied to Indian lines,

whatever their original cost of construction or their present cost of working."

But the acceptance of the principle of allowing Re. 1 per ton extra to the G. I. P. Ry. on account of their expensive Ghaut working has already meant deviation from this principle.

But there is a better solution. It is better to encourage traffic to Bombay by rail and sea route, *viâ* Calcutta, and the railway freight from Jherria to Calcutta, on traffic to Bombay, *i.e.*, for shipment, may be reduced to 1¹/₁₀th pie on the distance *viâ* the B. N. Ry. (200 miles) and applied also *viâ* the E. I. Ry. (170 miles); the freight would come to Rs. 2-13-0 against Rs. 4 0-0 now levied, *i.e.*, exclusive of the dock dues and the Ry. terminal of 4 pies per maund. And further suppose if the rate is made at 1¹/₁₀th pie on the distance *viâ* the E. I. Ry. the rate would work out to Rs. 2-6-7 per ton or Rs. 2-15-6 including terminal, etc. The present rate including terminal from Jherria to Calcutta in Docks, being Rs. 4-8-6 the reduction would be Rs. 1-9-0 per ton, but the Port Commissioners of Calcutta ought to come down in their Dock dues, which would be a much better arrangement from all points of view compared with carrying traffic to Bombay by rail all the distance at Rs. 12-14-0 (*i.e.*, less than the present rate of Rs. 15-6-0 by Rs. 2-8-0 per ton). The results of herein-suggested reduction of rates, to Bombay, *viâ* Calcutta, in Railway Revenue are given below:—

Rate to Calcutta, say Rs. 2-6-0 per ton or 1¹/₁₀th pie for 170 miles Jherria to Calcutta (excluding terminals of 0-9-0 per ton at the Docks).

Rate 1¹/₁₀th pie per maund per mile \times weight per wagon say 500 maunds \times distance 170 miles = Rs. 44-4-0. 170 miles would mean two days in transit at the average speed of 85 miles per day on the outward journey and 2 days on the return empty journey, and 2 days for loading and unloading = 6 days. Therefore 365 \div 6 days gives 61 trips per wagon

in a year, hence $61 \times \text{Rs. } 44-4-0$ would give say Rs. 2,700 (in round figures) per wagon in a year (to Calcutta).

Now, for 1,181 miles Jherria to Bombay (*via* Jubbulpore over E. I. Railway and G. I. P. Railway). Rate Rs. 12-14-0 per ton or $\frac{1}{13}$ th pie per maund per mile. $\frac{1}{13}$ th pie \times 500 maunds \times 1,181 miles = Rs. 237 (*via* Jubbulpore).

Say 1,200 miles at 100 miles per day would mean 12 days on the outward journey and 12 days on the return empty journey, *plus* 2 days in loading and unloading would give a total of 26 days:

$365 \div 26 = 14$ trips \times Rs. 237 per trip = Rs. 3,318 per year per wagon (to Bombay) in a year.

Nett Results.

Taking the cost of hauling wagon per mile we find the following results:

(1) To Calcutta:

E. I. Railway 22 pies per wagon per mile $\times 170 \times 2 = 340 \times 22 = 7,480$ pies or Rs. 39-0-0 \times 61 trips = Rs. 2,379. But assuming the actual cost in the case of hauling coal wagons at $\frac{1}{3}$ of this figure we come to Rs. 793, which deducted from Rs. 2,700 (gross earning at $\frac{1}{13}$ th pie per wagon of 500 maunds to Calcutta) gives a net return of Rs. 1,907 per year per wagon per annum.

(2) To Bombay:

E. I. Railway 22 pies \times 566 miles \times 2 = Rs. 129-11-0
 G. I. P. Railway 56 pies \times 616 \times 2 = Rs. 359-0

Total 1,182 miles = Rs. 488-11-0.

Rs. 488-11-0 \times 14 trips = Rs. 6,842-0-0 against an earning of Rs. 3,318 only. However, taking

one-third of the above statistical cost (*viz.* Rs. 6,842) as the cost of carrying coal it would come to Rs. 2,280 and again assuming the figure was still less or say Rs. 1,500 only the nett earning would be (Rs. 3,318 *minus* Rs. 1,500) Rs. 1,818 per wagon per year.

The difference between the nett gain in a year per wagon to Calcutta and to Bombay will be Rs. 89 in favour of Calcutta. So that on every wagon there would be a gain of Rs. 89 which on say 10,000 wagons would mean a gain of Rs. 8,90,000; this latter amount represents a nett gain on the above number of wagons to Calcutta as compared with those to Bombay.

Under the circumstances, from Railway point of view, it would be 'uneconomic' to reduce the freight to Bombay, and if at all a reduction is made it should be made in the export rate to Calcutta. As it has already been seen at the present moment even with the high rate of freight on coal over the G. I. P. Railway to Bombay the working expenses of this Railway came to over 90 per cent. of gross earnings and the return on the capital outlay was but 1½ per cent. This being the position any further reduction in the rate to Bombay would not be justified, especially as there will be tremendous empty running of wagons and the time the wagons would be out of use from carrying actual traffic in a year must be very considerable, thus affecting the trade and traffic of India as a whole. If, therefore, any reduction is to be made it should be in the direction of Calcutta.

It is said that at present the prices of coal at pit's mouth are close upon following figures :— *

<i>1st Class Coal.</i>		<i>Per Ton.</i>
Raneegunge (Kajora Seam)	...	Rs. 9-0-0
Jherria (No. 14 Seam)	...	„ 9-8-0
Do. (No. 15 Seam)	...	„ 10-8-0 to 11-0-0

<i>1st Class Coal.</i>		<i>Per Ton.</i>
Jheria	(No. 17 Seam)	... Rs. 11-0-0
Deshergarh Seams		... „ 12-8-0 to 14-0-0

<i>2nd Class Coal.</i>		
Jherria 10 to 12	Seams	... „ 4-0-0 to 5-0-0
3rd Class Seams and downwards		„ 2-6-0 to 3-6-0

It is said that while the prices of second and third class coal are at low figures the cost of raising is not less than Rs. 5-8-0 to Rs. 7-8-0 per ton, the rate varying according to the conditions under which collieries are worked. With the present railway rate of Rs. 15-6-0 per ton to Bombay and supposing that a price of Rs. 9-0-0 per ton was paid for at pit's mouth the total would come to Rs. 24-6-0. Taking quality for quality and weight for weight the price of good second class Bengal coal in Bombay should not be more than Rs. 26-6-0 or Rs. 27-0-0 against Natal coal price of Rs. 29-0-0 at present, but it is said that Bengal coal of second class quality, when compared with Natal coal, is subjected to a reduction of 10 per cent. in weight by the buyers.

It is said, however, that first class Bengal coal has its demand elsewhere, if not in Bombay, even under present circumstances, with a margin of profit.

But apparently higher price than Rs. 9-0-0 is asked for first class Bengal coal, and second class coal does not come quite up to the standard of Natal coal, *i. e.*, it is more economic for the consumers to pay a higher price for the same weight of Natal coal than for Bengal coal of second class quality.

To enable second class Bengal coal to reach Bombay and to compete with Natal coal it is asked that the railway freight to Bombay should be reduced by Rs. 2-8-0 per ton and that a duty of Rs. 5-0-0 should be imposed, in addition, on Natal coal, which would raise the difference in price between Bengal and Natal coal more in favour of Bengal coal, in Bombay, by

Rs. 7-8-0. It is to my mind not very economic to reduce the railway freight on coal to Bombay, carried by all-rail route, for various reasons already stated, but there is no reason why a reduction could not be made in the rates to Kidderpore Docks (Calcutta) for exportation of coal to Bombay and other places, if reduction in railway freight is considered necessary. Such an action would be the most natural course to adopt, because before the Great War the major portion of this traffic used to be carried *viâ* Calcutta Port, partly by rail and partly by sea, and the Railway facilities for this traffic to Bombay are better by the rail-cum-sea route *viâ* Calcutta than by all-rail route. In the first place, the nett gains in the railway earnings per wagon per year would be better if the traffic is carried to Bombay (*viâ* Calcutta) by the rail-cum-sea route. This has already been shown. Secondly, each wagon would make 61 trips in a year to Calcutta against 14 to Bombay, or, in other words, if the coal is carried *viâ* Calcutta to Bombay each wagon will account for roughly 30,500 mds. of coal within a year against 7,000 mds. per wagon per year if the traffic is carried by all-rail route to Bombay (these figures have been arrived at by taking the average load at 500 mds. per wagon per trip). Thus there would be a large saving in wagon capacity by carriage of coal by the rail-cum-sea route to Bombay (*viâ* Calcutta).

If it is not advisable to reduce the railway freight now and if Natal coal price does not go up and the consumers do not find it economic to give preference to Bengal coal (second class), then it may be time to consider either the proposal of imposing a duty on Natal coal or of reducing the freight to Kidderpore Docks on coal exported.

It may, however, be argued that if Natal Government Railways can encourage their export coal traffic in order to cut out the Indian coal from Indian coal-consuming markets, why cannot the Indian State-owned railways do the same thing to cut out the Natal coal from Bombay. This is a very important point. The fact that although the East Indian Railway,

the Bengal Nagpur Railway, and the Great Indian Peninsula Railway Companies work the State-owned lines they could not be expected to carry traffic at what may be non-profitable rates, (even if these were State lines worked by the State), as the policy adopted by the Government of India in the matter of all State-owned railways is different to that of the South African Government railways. Sir W. W. Hoy, General Manager of Railways and Harbour, South African Government, in his evidence before a Commission of Enquiry in South Africa (1916) summarised the policy of South African Railways as follows:—

“I am satisfied having regard to local conditions and experience that South Africa can best develop its resources and build up a sound national prosperity by having its railways under State control. * * Broad features of the tariff policy of the South African Railways are low rates for exports, raw materials for manufacture, agricultural produce, minerals, and other raw products of the country, with a view to stimulating agricultural and industrial development. Internal * * commercial development has also been stimulated by low distribution rates designed to afford internal traders equality of opportunities as regards railway tariff in competing with coastal merchants for the internal trade.”

Even the South African Act of 1909 prescribes that “all profits after providing for payment of interest, depreciation and betterments are to be utilised in the reduction of tariff.”

As a contrast to the South African Railway policy, the policy of State Railways in India is to earn money for the public Treasury and to exist as commercial concerns, pure and simple, and as such they cannot be expected to reduce the railway rates simply to counteract the effect of the subsidy granted by the Natal Government Railway on the export coal, which has the effect of affecting Bengal coal in the Bombay market, unless the rates (that the Indian Mining Federation and Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau,

Bombay, ask for) are paying. But the facts and figures given above do not show that with the present cost of transportation, at least of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway, the reduced rates (by Rs. 2-8-0 per ton) would be paying to this line.

II. FROM COAL CONSUMERS' POINT OF VIEW.

From the consumers' point of view there is one important point to be taken into consideration. Let us recall the conditions of 1909-10, when there was a slump, and in this connection I wrote as follows in my book entitled "Indian Railways and Indian Trade" (1911):—

"There does not appear to be any great necessity for any further rapid development in coal mining in second class coal, as the evils of over production have already been keenly felt and it is said that out of the raisings every year the lower grade of coal known as the second class quality only came to sight but did not find purchasers."

The period preceding this was one of high prices for the Bengal coal and writing on the conditions prevailing during that period I remarked as follows in the book mentioned above:—

"It will be seen that high prices prevailed in the years 1907-08, the effect of which is so well known that it does not require much recapitulation beyond the remark that the markets in the Far East, Ceylon, and the railways in Western India were compelled to turn their attention to Natal and Australia for their coal. The large profits, made by the colliery proprietors in India, did not satisfy them, and they were so expectant of prices going higher and higher that they were reluctant to make forward contracts, which drove their customers, principally railways, to buy far in excess of their actual requirements, although this course meant blocking up of enormous sums of money without interest, but even this they were ready to risk as the fear and

the serious consequences of rapid increase in the prices was great. The mills in Ahmedabad, which had been taking Bengal coal, were compelled to use wood from the Godhra and Rutlam forests. Besides, the smaller collieries which were, perhaps aware that they would not survive in the long run, and were, therefore, most anxious to make as much profit as possible to bring quick and large returns on their capital, did not take so much care to keep to the quality of coal they contracted to supply. Thus Bengal coal got a bad name. This is, however, not said of respectable miners. Such a condition can never succeed in establishing the prosperity of any trade on a sound basis, nor can it be considered beneficial to the country.

“ Even the colliery proprietors who in their short-sighted policy raised the prices to almost impossible figures, had to suffer in the long run, for the slump in the coal trade, the result of the loss of some of the important foreign markets, and the overstocking of the coal depots of Indian railways, causing supplies to be in excess of the demand, affected the colliery people seriously towards the beginning of 1909. Some idea of the rise in the prices at the consuming markets can be formed when it is shown that Bengal coal was available in 1905 in Bombay at prices varying between Rs. 10-0-0 to Rs. 12-0-0 per ton, against the price of English coal at Rs. 12-8-0 to Rs. 18-6-0 per ton, but during 1907-08 Bengal coal was selling in Bombay at Rs. 16-0-0 and Rs. 17-0-0 per ton respectively.”

Therefore, suppose a duty of Rs. 5-0-0 is imposed on Natal coal and it is shut out of India, Bombay will have to fall back upon Bengal for its coal supply, and it will thus be open to Bengal collieries to charge fancy prices, if not in Bombay but on despatches elsewhere in India, which have not the benefit or advantage of foreign coal competition. This is a contingency which requires to be guarded against.

III. FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF BENGAL COLLIERIES.

Those collieries, which have been shut down, are deserving of every sympathy, for considered from their point of view it is not right that Natal coal should be in a position to compete in Bombay and oust Bengal coal. Above all money paid on Natal coal goes out of India, whereas money paid on Bengal coal remains in India. Moreover, the shutting down of Indian collieries raising second class coal means that there would be more consumption of first class coal for purposes for which second class coal would have done. This is harmful, from economic point of view, to a country, which is not said to possess abundance of first class coal. From these points of view a protective tariff, with a condition that it should be subject to control of prices by the Government, should that be necessary, would seem essential, but the best course would be to refer the matter to the Tariff Board for enquiry.

IV. HOW ECONOMIC RAILWAY WORKING CAN BE INTRODUCED BY REGULARISING THE ROUTINE OF TRAFFIC.

In the matter of coal traffic and coal traffic transportation the first and the foremost point is to avoid wastage in wagon capacity, as far as practicable, in view of the wagon shortage, and limited carrying capacity of different sections and block sections of railways. To attain this object the best must be got out of the existing wagon capacity and facilities (until adequate number of wagons are available and proper facilities afforded) and, particularly, cross movement of empty wagons and unnecessary long time in transit are to be avoided. Now to send coal to Agra, Delhi and the Punjab, from collieries in Bengal and Behar (situated on the B. N. Railway) *via* Bilaspur, Katni, Bina, Jhansi, Agra and Delhi is wastage of wagon capacity indeed, for loaded wagons as

well as empties traverse a 46 per cent. longer route. Of course in times of pressure, such as was the case during the Great War, any route available should and must be used, as the object then is to get the traffic through, but it is different at other times, when most economic methods of working should be devised, taking India's State Railways as a whole.

Besides wastage in wagon capacity there is another factor. The shortest route from Jherria to Delhi is *via* E. I. Railway direct—the distance being 740 miles, and the rate at say 1¹/₁₀th pie on this distance would be 74 pies. This rate is allowed to be charged by the longer route *via* Bilaspur, Katni, Bina, Jhansi, and Agra—the distance being 1,084 miles, and on this latter distance the rate of 74 pies would work out at '069 pie. The statistical cost of working of the G. I. P. Railway is '20 pie, it was so at least in 1921-22. Even if the cost of carriage of coal is taken at $\frac{1}{4}$ this figure or at '05 there would hardly remain any margin for profit when the empty haulage of all wagons used is taken into account.

All coal traffic from Bengal and Behar for the Punjab and the United Provinces ought to be carried by the E. I. Railway route whether booked from E. I. Railway or B. N. Railway stations in Bengal and Behar coalfields, and the amalgamation of the E. I. Railway and the O. & R. Railway will make matters somewhat easy in this respect.

I wrote in this connection in July 1921 suggesting that the B. N. and the G. I. P. Railways should give up this circuitous route, in my note on Coal Traffic Transportation, and make over the N. W. Railway traffic to the E. I. Railway at Gomoh and so also the traffic for Agra, Delhi. Copies of this printed note were sent both to the Railway Board, and to the Agents of the E. I. and B. N. Railways at the time. This note now is reproduced as Appendix IV of Indian Railway Economics, Part III, published lately. Attention is hereby drawn to pages 8 and 9 and paras. 18 and 19 of the said Appendix.

Now let us examine the position as to the facilities by the routes to which the traffic is proposed to be diverted.

Doubling of the line from Allahabad to Tundla has been pressed for years. As the traffic is routed and carried at present this doubling is a necessity in the near future.

My rough idea is that if an account is taken of the traffic arriving at Moghalserai from east thereof (from the directions of Gya and Dinapore, *i.e.*, from the Grand Chord and the Main lines of the E. I. Railway), it would perhaps be seen that more than 67 to 70 per cent. of it goes past Moghalserai over the E. I. Railway in the direction of Allahabad and that it is only about 33 to 36 per cent., or less, that drops at Moghalserai for carriage by the O. & R. Railway route. For the carriage of traffic up to Moghalserai from the eastern direction there are the double line of the E. I. Railway Main or Chord line, and the partly double and partly single line of the E. I. Railway Grand Chord line, which it is believed, will be doubled ere long.

Moghalserai to Allahabad is also double line. At Allahabad about 33 of the traffic, which leaves Moghalserai on its onward journey over the E. I. Railway in the direction of Delhi, drops and goes to the Allahabad-Jubbulpur (or rather the Naini-Jubbulpur) line. The balance of 67 per cent. (out of traffic leaving Moghalserai *via* E. I. Ry.) goes beyond Allahabad and the quantity remains intact up to Tundla more or less. The up loaded traffic hauled on the section Cawnpore to Tundla is about the same as on the length Allahabad to Cawnpore.

On the section Tundla to Ghaziabad, however, the traffic is nearly 66 per cent. that hauled from Cawnpore to Tundla, the reason being that great bulk of traffic (nearly 33 per cent.), principally coal for the R. M. Railway and beyond, is sent *via* Agra and thus goes off at Tundla. It is this quantity (that is carried from Tundla and above, *i.e.*, the traffic that is now carried over the E. I. Railway from Tundla to Ghaziabad

and beyond) that can be divided and a portion diverted from Moghalseraï to the O. & R. Railway, and thus a relief afforded to the Moghalseraï-Allahabad-Tundla Section, so that Punjab coal from collieries on the B. N. Railway can take the E. I. Railway, or the E. I. Railway and the O. & R. Railway combined route.

The O. & R. Railway has two lines between Benares Cantt. and Lucknow, *viz.*, (i) the Loop line *viâ* Fyzabad and (ii) the Chord line *viâ* Partabgarh. And if one looks at the map carefully he will find that there is another route from Benares Cantt. to Phaphamau and Phaphamau to Unao.

From Lucknow to Balamau the O. & R. Railway has only one single route; but from Balamau to Shahjahanpur there is another line, *viz.*, the loop *viâ* Sitapur. And again from Shahjahanpur to Bareilly the O. & R. Railway route is single. From Bareilly, however, there are two alternative routes,—one goes *viâ* Rampur to Moradabad and the other also goes to Moradabad *viâ* Chandausi (the point of junction for the Chandausi-Aligarh branch). From Moradabad one line goes to Ghaziabad and the other to Saharanpur. Thus a portion of the traffic for the Southern Punjab and *viâ*, for Delhi itself, *viâ* Delhi, B. B. & C. I. Ry., the D.U.K., for the Ghaziabad-Meerut line, can take the Moradabad-Ghaziabad route and the traffic for the N.W. Ry. beyond Ludhiana (north and north-west) and beyond Ferozepore (north and north-west), can take the Saharanpur-Amballa route.

But the stumbling block is the section from Lucknow to Bareilly. One would suggest double line from Lucknow to Bareilly would meet the difficulty. But to my mind, as the Benares-Janghai-Phaphamau-Unao route is the shortest and would avoid congestion in Lucknow yard, it would be much the best thing to link up Unao with Balamau, and between Balamau and Shahjahanpur advantage should be taken of the alternative O. & R. Ry. second route *viâ* Sitapur, and thus if the section from Shahjahanpur to Bareilly only is doubled it would be all that

is wanted unless the Rosa-Hapur line is made. If this latter line is constructed then all that is required is to link up Unao with Balamau.

The position should be carefully examined with a view to ascertain whether (i) Cawnpore-Tundla doubling would be the best, or (ii) the Unao-Balamau link combined with Shahahanpur-Bareilly doubling would meet the requirements, or, (iii) the Unao-Balamau link combined with the proposed Rosa-Hapur Railway (if not abandoned) would suit all requirements. It should also be seen at the same time which of the three would be the cheapest to provide.

It is not only that diversion of coal traffic from collieries on the B. N. Ry. to the Punjab, from its present route (*via* Bilaspur, Katni, Bina, Jhansi, Agra and Delhi), to the E. I. Ry., or to the E. I. Ry. and the O. & R. Ry. combined route is needed, but it is also necessary to get as much grain traffic as possible from the O. & R. Ry. and the N. W. Ry. stations (such as are in U. P.) to the Calcutta port for further economic working.

When the Agra-Kurrachee (broad gauge) connection is made Kurrachee traffic would go this way *via* Agra, but coal traffic for the Punjab would go *via* the E. I. Ry. or the E. I. Ry. and O. & R. Ry. combined route.

We have also to consider how the empty running from the north and north-west to Bengal could be minimised even though to a small extent. The tendency of traffic in grain from the O. & R. Ry. to move to Kurrachee in any quantity is a development, within the last 10 years, and in view of the fact that the E. I., N. W., G. I. P. and O. & R. Railways will all be State Railways, it may be worth while renewing the question of minimum rates to Calcutta being fixed, on account of much cheaper working of the Calcutta line, on a lower basis than the minimum rates to the western ports in respect of traffic from O. & R. R. and E. I. R. railway stations, west of Lucknow and west of Cawnpore respectively, in the United Provinces.

Whenever the question of lowering the minimum rates to Calcutta was considered in the past the obstacle in the way was the loss to the G. I. P. and the N. W. railways, and gain to the E. I. Ry. but as in near future both the E. I. and the G. I. P. railways would be state-worked lines, same as the O. & R. Ry. and the N. W. Ry., this would enable the question to be considered from a broader point of view. But it is the case of the B. B. & C. I. Railway that remains to be considered; it would be seen that even though this line were allowed to quote the same rates it would be no gain to that line to carry the traffic at such low rates; on the other hand, their loss will not be much as most of the traffic is carried *via* Cawnpore to Bombay or *via* Agra (over the G. I. P. Ry.) to Bombay from the O. & R. Ry. and the traffic from the N. W. R. (rather north of Gaziabad) goes to Kurrachee *via* N. W. Ry. mostly.

It is, of course, taken for granted that when the E. I. and O. & R. railways are amalgamated the traffic in grain to Calcutta from the O. & R. Ry. would be carried in return empty wagons of coal, which on their return journey from the Punjab could be diverted from Delhi, Ambala and Saharanpur for loading on the O. & R. Ry. to the extent required for sending grains and seeds to Calcutta.

The chief thing is to arrive at the best net results in the Indian State Railway earnings taken together, without increasing the cost of India's produce in the consuming markets of Europe.

The diversion of grain traffic from U.P. to Calcutta would tend to increase the net profits of the Government from the State railways owing--

- (i) to this traffic being carried to a port which has the cheapest railway in the matter of working expenses,
- (ii) to the carriage of such traffic to Calcutta involving no extra wagons to haul (as wagons returning to Bengal after discharging coal on the O. & R. Ry.

and N. W. R. stations would carry traffic in grains as return loads), and

- (iii) to saving in both loaded and empty haulage on the N. W. R. of grain wagons to the extent to which traffic would be carried to Calcutta instead of to Kurrachee.

Then next to come to Bombay traffic in coal. This traffic would be better carried from the coalfields in Bengal and Behar to Calcutta by rail and then from Calcutta to Bombay by sea, until there is appreciable decrease in the railway working expenses of the G. I. P. Ry. This would mean a greater net gain to railway earnings of the Government of India, as the same number of wagons would clear four times more traffic *via* Calcutta (to Bombay by sea) than the all-rail-route. Wagons would make at least four round trips to Calcutta against one to Bombay during the same period of time.

And in respect of such coal traffic as must continue to be carried by rail to Bombay, a compromise might be arrived at. In return for the B. N. Ry. giving up the Punjab traffic to the E. I. Ry. from its collieries, the B. N. Ry. to be allowed to carry the traffic in coal to Bombay (out of what is carried from the E. I. Ry. collieries *via* Jubbulpore) to the extent the B. N. Ry. gives up the Punjab traffic or even to the extent its route can cope with. At present, by far the largest amount of coal traffic to Bombay, when carried all the way by rail, is conveyed over the E. I. Ry. *via* Jubbulpore. The following comparative figures of three financial years by the two routes will conclusively prove the statement :—

Coal traffic to Bombay.	Year ending March 31st		
	1913-14.	1919-20.	1920-21.
	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.
<i>Via</i> E. I. Ry. Jubbulpore.	10, 22, 437.	1, 93, 35, 427.	1, 49, 37, 737.
<i>Via</i> B. N. Ry. Nagpur.	3, 59, 140.	70, 18, 976.	39, 41, 074.

The routing of the Punjab traffic entirely by the E. I. Ry. or *via* Moghalserai will avoid cross movement of a large number of empties on the G. I. P. Ry. over a long length (350 miles), *viz.*, between Delhi-Jhansi and Jhansi-Bina. At present, B. N. Ry. wagons that are returning empty after discharging coal in the U. P., Delhi, Agra and the Punjab, meet the empty wagons that are coming back from Bombay to Cawnpur, Agra and Delhi after discharging grains and seeds at that port. Two strings of empty wagons pass one another in opposite directions all the way from Bina to Delhi. The Agra, Delhi and the Punjab coal traffic originating on the B. N. Ry. collieries and diverted to the E. I. Ry. route *via* Gomoh or Asansol, will avoid this cross movement of empties over a distance of 350 miles (Delhi to Bina) if this has not already been done.

The B. N. Ry. despatch a large amount of traffic in coal to the north-west *via* Bilaspur, Katni, Jhansi, Agra and Delhi from collieries on their line. The pre-war and post-war figures of coal traffic from the B. N. Ry. to the Punjab are given below :—

Traffic for	Year ending March 31st		
	1913-14. Mds.	1919-20. Mds.	1920-21. Mds.
<i>Via</i> Delhi			
E. I. Ry. and beyond ...	98, 489	1, 23, 265	2, 67, 859
N.W. Ry. ...	14, 49, 499	13, 91, 962	14, 87, 217
Total ...	15, 40, 988	15, 15, 227	17, 55, 076

Taking the average carrying capacity of a wagon to be say 540 maunds and the average number of wagons on a train to be 40 the following result shows the total number of wagons employed to carry the traffic during the periods mentioned above :—

	1913-14.	1919-20.	1920-21.
Number of wagons need...	2,850	2,800	3,250

So in 1921, say 3,000 loaded coal wagons were hauled over a circuitous route and were again hauled back empty over the same route. Over and above this there was cross return of empties, because at the same time the G. I. P. Ry. carried loaded wagons of grain and other traffic on the entire distance from Delhi and Bina (350 miles) for Bombay in 1920-21 to the extent of 3,75,732 mds. and hauled empty wagons back for this traffic. Besides this grain and other traffic from Agra to Bina (*en route* to Bombay) with back haulage of empties to the extent of 77,493 mds. was added at Agra, and 17,86,725 and 4,21,127 mds. at Jhansi arriving there from Cawnpur and Manikpur respectively for Bombay. This busy section of the G. I. P. Ry. had thus to account for 17,55,076 mds. of coal and empty haulage of wagons (for this coal traffic) in one direction, entailing the use of 3,250 wagons, and 26,62,077 mds. of traffic in grains, pulses, seeds, cotton, etc., using say 1,200 wagons in another direction; in both cases very great majority of wagons went back empty. This was in addition to the local traffic on the G. I. P. Ry. Bina to Delhi—all on single line of railway.

Therefore, it is most essential (i) first to avoid wastage haulage of about 3,000 wagons loaded in one direction and empty in another direction by a circuitous route which is *46 per cent. longer than the E. I. Ry. direct route*, and (ii) to prevent avoidable congestion on the length Bina to Delhi; especially between Bina-Jhansi, (iii) to prevent cross haulage of empties, and this is why it is proposed that the B. N. Ry. should give up the Punjab and the U. P. Coal traffic, entirely to the E. I. Ry. to be carried either *via* the E. I. Ry. direct or *via* the O. & R. Ry. And to compensate the B. N. Ry. for this traffic and to relieve the Moghalserai-Allahabad section and the Allahabad-Jubbulpore single line, the B. N. Ry. might be allowed to carry a share of the coal traffic to Bombay out of what is now carried *via* Jubbulpore.

What India wants is cheap coal. Cheap coal is as essential to the Railways as to the industries. And any step that will tend to increase prices should be discouraged.

Summary.

That Indian coal should as far as practicable replace Natal coal is recognised by all in India; but the point is how this should be done, without increasing the cost of coal to industries and Railways. Of the total quantity of coal mined in India during 1919, 1920, and 1921 more than $\frac{1}{4}$ th and sometimes $\frac{1}{3}$ rd was used by railways.

The total coal mined in India and the Indian coal consumed by railways was as follows :—

Coal Mined in India.			Indian coal consumed by locomotives on Indian Railways.
		Tons.	Tons.
1919	...	22,628,037	6,055,492 (1919-20)
1920	...	17,962,214	6,257,068 (1920-21)
1921	...	19,265,916	5,478,902 (1921-22)

The quantity of foreign coal imported and proportion consumed by railways were as under :—

Coal imported.			Foreign coal consumed by railways.
		Tons.	Tons.
1919-20	...	39,657	860
1920-21	...	86,996	586
1921-22	...	1,878,560	710,066

It was the rise in cost of Bengal coal and also shorter output that enabled foreign coal to come into India but even the quantity of Natal coal is not much compared to Indian coal raised.

Rise in the cost of coal can only mean increase in the cost of production of manufactures and of railway transportation—

the latter again will affect every one because of consequent rise in railway rates and fares. One of the reasons for rise in the working expenses of the Western, North-Western and Southern Railways, situated far away from the coalfields of Bengal—as compared with the cost of operation of the Bengal lines—was the cost of coal. Compared with 1914-15, the cost of fuel per engine mile on the North Western in 1920-21 was more by say 2 annas per engine mile, annas 6·02 in 1914-15 against annas 8·04 in 1920-21, which on a total of 1,550 engines and taking 45 miles per engine per day amounted to over 31 lakhs of rupees in a year. It is the rise in the price of coal that we have to contend with, which is principally in Indian coal.

The cost of raising coal in Bengal and Behar has become higher, firstly, on account of rise in cost of labour and, secondly, on account of deeper mining operations. And India wants cheap and steady supply of coal for her railways and rising industries. During recent years the Indian output of coal has been supplemented by foreign productions, *e.g.*, Natal coal. Such coal has been able to compete successfully in Bombay, Kurachee and some places, not very far away from the Western and Southern ports of India, because of—

(1) Low railway freight granted by Natal Government railways on Natal coal for export.

(2) Rise in cost of Bengal coal.

(3) Rise in railway freight in India, due to heavy rise in railway working expenses.

(4) What is said to be, high port dues.

The points now for consideration are :—

(i) Will Natal coal be a sure, cheap, abundant and safe source of supply.

If steamer freights rise or if Natal coal gets a better market elsewhere it must fail to be a sure and cheap source of supply. Even if Natal coal is a sure and safe supply it is far from being an abundant supply.

Is it right that Natal coal should oust Bengal coal from some of the markets of India.

Even if Natal coal was a safe, abundant and sure source of supply it is necessary to revive the coal industry of India, for demand for coal will go on increasing, provided of course in favouring Indian coal unduly high prices have not got to be paid.

And yet the problem as to how to afford this relief is not an easy one to solve. The cost of railway operation, particularly of the G. I. P. and of the N. W. Railways is high; wagons if used for long distances, *e.g.*, with Bombay coal, mean wagon shortage because of the very long time taken in turning them round, mainly because of railway facilities to move the wagons to and from the north and the west to and from the coalfields not being adequate, and, moreover, this again means less nett earning per wagon per year and less traffic carried by the same number of wagons within a given time, as compared with the number of trips a wagon can make if it carried traffic for distances varving from 150 to 250 miles.

Suggestions

Coal rate for distances from 150 up to 250 miles to be reduced up to the level of 10th pie per maund per mile if necessary, particularly in the way of rebate. This will enable Bengal coal to find a cheap outlet by sea from Calcutta to Bombay, Madras, Kurachee, etc., and again, if a similar rate is also granted on the other side, *viz.*, from Madras, Kurachee and Bombay for distances of 150 to 400 miles, the two combined would afford some relief. This reduction in the rate for distances of 150 to 400 miles is suggested because coal from Bombay and Kurachee to the interior will be carried in wagons that return from these ports after discharging grains, seeds and cotton. And as these wagons have now to be hauled back (empty) in any case any freight that they earn even for a part of the

return distance, would be a gain. And in this connection a limit of 250 miles for the low rate might be withdrawn, it may be extended up to say 400. But for the safeguarding and fostering of the Indian coal industry it is most essential that the suggested reduced rates from the ports of Bombay, Kurachee and Madras should be confined to Indian coal (or in other words Natal coal must pay the existing rates and should not get the same benefit as the Indian coal from the ports to the interior). Unless this were done the reduced rates from the ports to the interior would be harmful to the Indian coal industry. The Central Provinces coal people have rightly pointed out that reduction in the coal rates by the G. I. P. Railway for distances beyond 400 miles would not help them. Therefore if reduced rates on Indian coal are applied to distances 120 or 150 to 250 miles from the coal-fields, and 150 miles to 400 miles from the western ports it would meet the case.

It has already been shown that reduced rates (up to 1½th pie per maund per mile) from the Jherria Field to Kidderpore Docks (Calcutta) are not non-paying and will in the long run tend to increase nett earnings of Railways. And it has also been pointed out that it practically costs nothing to carry coal from Bombay and Kurachee to the interior in return grain wagons. So in these two directions the railway rates may be reduced, but this remedy in the matter of railway rates would not be effective unless wagons are supplied freely for downward traffic to Kidderpore Docks, from the Jherria and Raniganj Fields. There are more facilities in the downward direction than in the upward direction. From Burdwan the traffic is divided; that to Howrah takes the Burdwan-Howrah Chord and that to Docks takes the Main line to Naihati and from Naihati the E. B. S. Railway line is quadruple. And both the Burdwan-Howrah Chord and the line from Burdwan to Naihati have double lines. It is the bit from Asansol to Burdwan that requires to be quadrupled. So that it is more

easy to carry traffic to the Docks than to Bombay or to Kurachee, by all rail routes, over many miles of single track (*e.g.*, from Adra to Nagpur and Cheoki to Itarsi, *via* Jubbulpore which are single lines). During the period from 20th July to 15th of November the capacity of railway lines is not fully used and wagon supply is also better, as the grain, seeds and pulses traffic slackens down and cotton despatches to any appreciable extent do not start till about middle of November. It is during this period only that reductions in rates for long distances might be given. It would be the means of earning some money for wagons lying idle, and the lines being more free the wagons could be turned round comparatively sooner than in busy seasons and thus at a lesser cost.

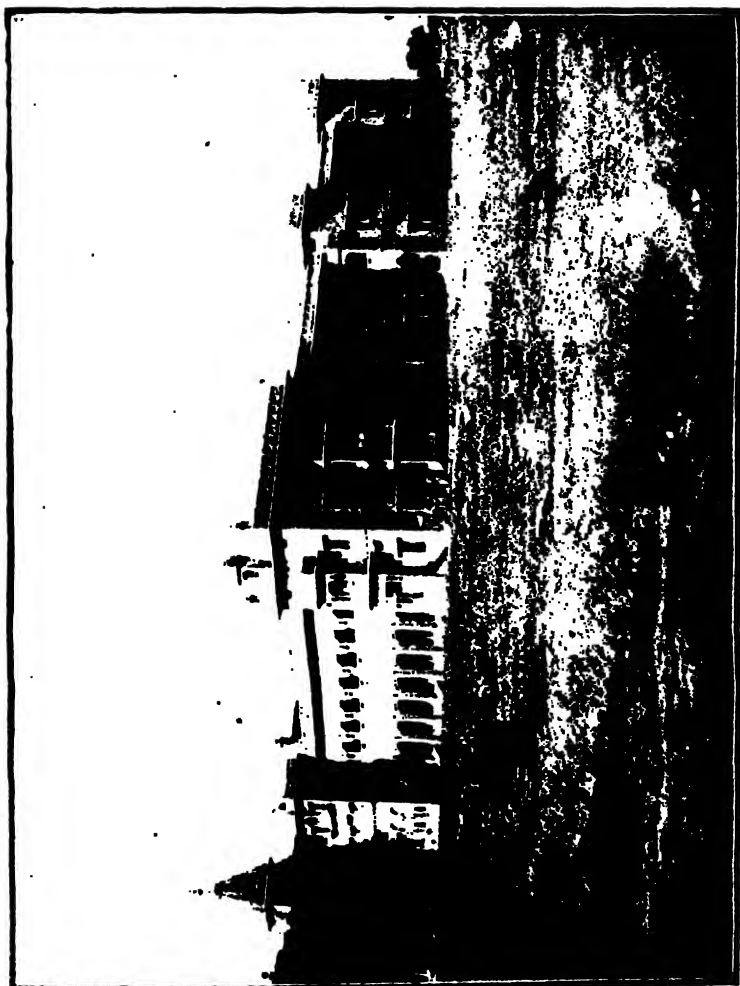
The Port Commissioners should come in next, with reduction in port dues, as the Khidderpore Docks are nothing like full. And the question of protective duty should certainly be taken before the Tariff Board with a view to see whether a protective duty should or should not be imposed, if the suggested reductions in the railway rates and in port dues may not be considered sufficient. Now that there is a Tariff Board and as they are having sittings in Bengal, there is no reason why an application by the Coal Industry to the Tariff Board should not be allowed. Coal is most important to all industries and since the main object of the Tariff Board was to give protection to Indian industries, where necessary, it is but reasonable that the case should be referred to them. Even if a protective duty is not allowed it would be a satisfaction to the Indian Coal Industry to know that their case was fully considered. But before anything is done it is most essential that the colliery people in Bengal and Behar should do their utmost to reduce the price of coal. There is one thing, *viz.*, there are a large number of middlemen, who earn commissions, sometimes varying from six annas to one rupee and more per ton. This can be avoided by direct purchases from the collieries, and the coal industry and the milling industry and the railways

should take action in this direction, and further as the cost of raising coal varies from Rs. 6 to Rs. 8 per ton and since it is said to cover managing agency and supervising charges over and above labour cost, it can also be reduced by reducing managing agency, allowance and commission, etc. Some such action in these directions are essential; before the collieries take their case to the Tariff Board or ask for reduced rates they should do what is required of them, and the mill-owners and the railways should make it a point to purchase direct from collieries. Before the coal industry can expect any consideration and help from the public and the Government, they have to show that they are doing their best. Every colliery should be given the chance to sell direct and told to reduce its overhead charges. And small colliery proprietors must not have to sell coal through bigger coal companies.

Time will come when the railway lines, that have been projected or will be under construction soon (such as the Hesia-Chandil, the Talchir, the South Karanpura), will be opened, and with the State-owned railways having their own collieries (which the Government are acquiring and have acquired for them), and when these are worked, more coal would be available and reduction in cost will come. And above all, when in addition the connection from Hesia to Katni is made, through the Central India and the Central Provinces coal-fields, there would be a reduction in the distance to the west and north-west not only from the Bengal and Bihar coal-fields, but the Central India and the Central Provinces coal-fields themselves would be nearer still, meaning lower rates and with cheap labour becoming available, by the opening out of the hitherto undeveloped tracts of Central India, the cost of Indian coal in the markets of India at least must become less, but in the meanwhile some action to meet the present situation seems essential.

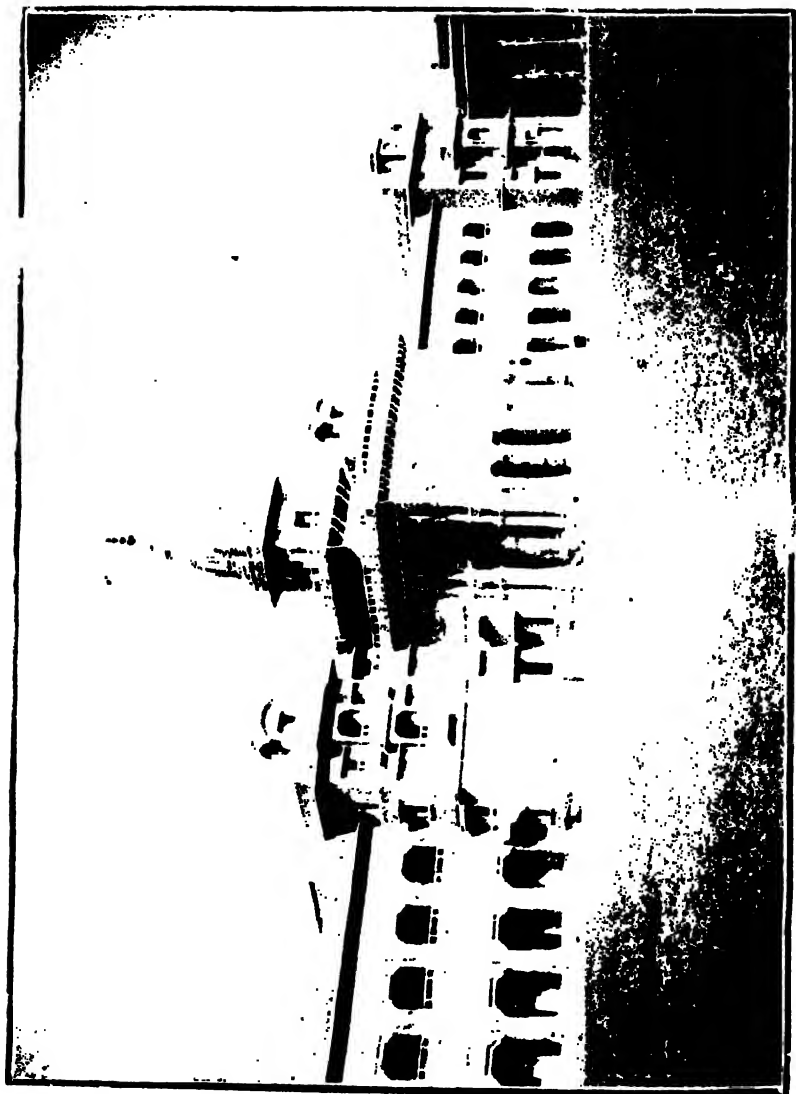
S. C. GHOSE

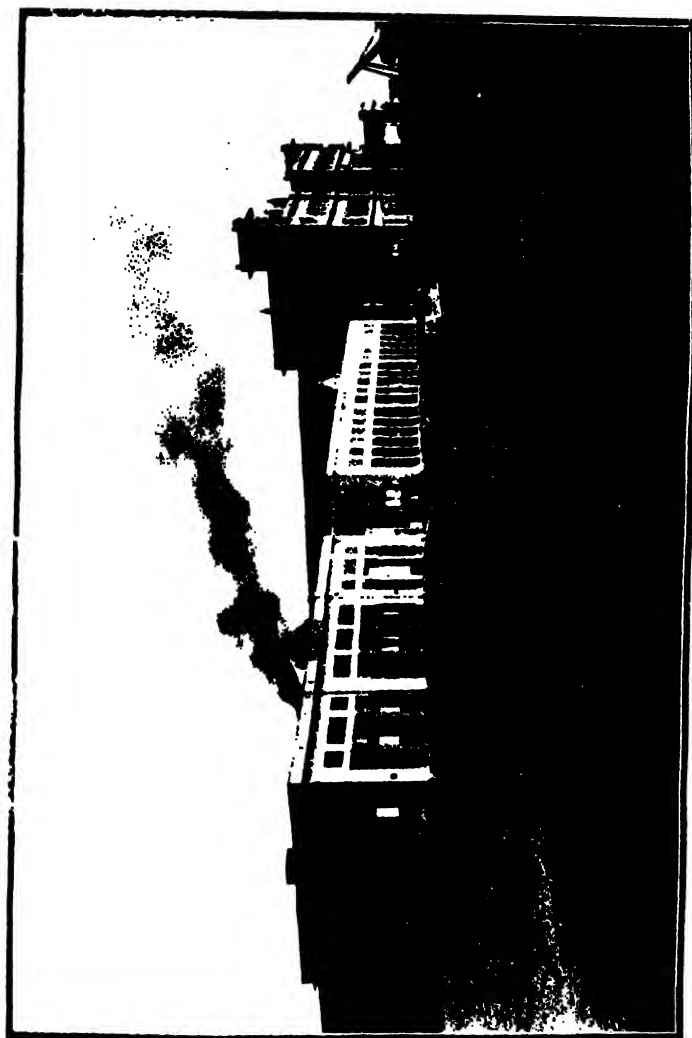
THE HINDU UNIVERSITY, BENARES



The College.

By courtesy of the Bharati





The Engineering College with the attached Workshop



The Power House.

On the Sand-Dune, by K. S. Venkataramani (Ganesh & Co., Madras).

Another fleet of "paper boats" is welcome. About the same size as its predecessor this one touches the deeper problems of our common humanity. What the world thirsts for to-day amid all the welter of strife and hatred and feud is a reinterpretation of the Divine message which from time to time the great Teachers had brought. This same message—the message of Love and Brotherhood—is being poured into the ears of the World to-day. The world has been made too deaf by the din of strife to listen or to catch the full message. But the din shall cease ere long, and our friend strives to do his share in the stilling of the noise. This little book is clearly full of the message, both to the East and the West, and undoubtedly it will do its share in bringing near the Day of Peace. For the message will find an echo in many a heart all the world over.

BOOKWORM.

"The Monarch of the Fenland and other Poems," by Francis Arthur Judd (the Faith Press, 1919), is a collection of poems with illustrations some of which are remarkable for their simple and yet deep piety and in many of which Christian legends skilfully selected are rendered into charming and ennobling poetry with great success. Mr. Judd possesses the true poet's "raptured gaze" and in "vision deep his spirit reads high mysteries of blessedness and praise." The volume before us is rich in melodious verse of which the diction is really poetic and also in metrical variety. We are specially attracted by the beauty of such pieces as "The Shrine of St. Cuthbert," "The Sacred Fire," "Phillippos," "Per Crucem Tuam," "Hyde Park in May," "A June Day Reverie" and the Swedish poet Levertin's "A Young Poet's Song" in English paraphrase.

J. G. B.

"Secret Shrines"—by Helen Donovan (Hodder and Stoughton, London, 7s. 6d. net).

The story is well conceived bringing vividly before us mid-eighteenth century England with its courtly costume and manners and holding our attention fast till the end. It is full of highly interesting situations and incidents, some of which are romantic, through which the strange disguised figure of Prince Charles Edward ("the King's enemy") flits enhancing considerably the interest one feels in the plot development which at times becomes quite fascinating by its intricacy (c.g. in Ch. IX).

The shadow of an awful tragedy hangs over the whole story from its very start in the weird scene at the Wayside Inn in that fatal night of Sir Harry Raymond's nondescript legal marriage with Jennifer contrived by his friend Robert Brand, the family solicitor, to its almost tragic finish. The adventurous prince's leave-taking in Mademoiselle Stéphanie's Paris boudoir is deeply affecting in its artless simplicity and the scheming but defeated siren-like Stéphanie redeems herself by her sincere love and devotion to "*mon Prince*."

The central theme is the tragic fate of Sir Harry who falls a victim to the diabolical machinations of his enemies and is unjustly condemned of high treason, after being treacherously murdered by Stéphanie's brother, Jérôme, for harbouring the Pretender in his London residence without an opportunity to clear his good name or save the family heritage from the cupidity of his intriguing cousin George Raymond. There is something sublime in the touching tragic episode of Jennifer's sudden and weird discovery in an unexpectedly strange place—a miserable Streatham inn—of the dead body of Sir Harry on her way from Cradley Hall to London, taken there as a reluctant witness in Sir Harry's trial under the charge of the Sussex Magistrate Mr. Thurles, who, by the way, is a kindly soul full of sympathy for the overwhelming misfortunes of the Raymond family in which poor Jennifer finds herself entangled. This is a sombre and pathetic scene of horror into which the story skilfully leads the reader showing wonderful craftsmanship in the writer so full of inventiveness.

Jennifer's life history is one long tragedy through which this poor woman passes with a firm and quiet fortitude that never fails to appeal to the reader's heart. Fate drags her along life's thorny path to her doom but the patient sufferer draws to herself the dowager Lady Raymond, Thurles, Brand and last but not least the honest servant girl Kitty. Another redeeming feature is her grateful attachment to her protectress Lady Raymond whose dignified kindness is worthy of her high rank and sense of duty.

True that "too tired for further strife" Jennifer can hardly refuse "safety, honour and love" proffered at last by the penitent Brand, yet this happy ending does not wholly commend itself to us even though we feel that Brand having made amends to her for the wrong done by him doubtless deserves from her something more than mere forgiveness.

Chapters XII and XVIII are a bit sensational but VI or XI narrating Jennifer's encounter with Brand, VII her encounter at midnight with her betrayer George, XV relating to George's diabolical scheme with the aid of the vile Captain Thomas to ruin Sir Harry and specially XIX revealing to Brand the tragic history of the injured Jennifer are very powerfully written. The authoress has skill in minute description of natural scenery, of the countryside, of the interior of an old aristocratic house, of the back-streets and shady corners of London and Paris and even of the dresses worn in the age to which the story belongs. But (to quote her own words) "a good deal of ingenuity has been expended on detail."

The characters are well defined and varied. We have George Raymond the malicious villain of the piece and his adversary Sir Harry young,

gay, pleasure-loving and a bit selfish, Captain Thomas a dirty rogue, cardsharp and despicable spy, Mary Shore a ruthless London harpy, Robert Brand a trusty friend of Sir Harry keen about Raymond family honour, Lady Raymond the dignified personification of immovable aristocratic courtesy and polished manners,—and Jennifer the unfortunate ill-used woman ever under fortune's powers thrown in between. Young Stéphanie is a scheming beautiful coquette who plays a deep political game as a worshipper of the fallen Stuart in which Sir Harry, bewitched by her charms, is used as a pawn to his utter undoing. Stéphanie's idealistic vision to which she sacrifices her adorer Mr. Quillion is indeed a secret shrine where she ensconces herself against her prudent consumptive brother Jérôme's ferocious upbraidings.

We have noticed one or two printing mistakes (on pp. 14, 85 and 272).

J. G. B.

History of Jessore and Khulna, Vol. II. by Prof. Satischandra Mitra, pp. 885, Price Rs. 6.

Prof. Mitra has rendered a distinct service to the Bengali Historical Literature. Although he deals mainly with the history of Jessore and Khulna, the volume under review is by no means of parochial interest. It should find its way to the shelf of every Bengali student, for what Bengali is there who will not like to know as much as he can about Pratapaditya and Sitaram. With uncommon industry Prof. Mitra has tapped all the available sources of information and brought together all that is known about Pratap and Sitaram. Unfortunately, however, his work leaves an impression that after all we know very little about these two heroes. For lack of absolutely reliable historical materials Prof. Mitra has often to depend on local traditions, the main value of his work lies in the results of the field work done by the author. He has, often at the risk of his life, visited all the historical places in the two Districts and his observations therefore about old sites demand a respectful consideration. Prof. Mitra's work is entirely free from patriotic bias, he has critically examined the evidence at his disposal with an unprejudiced mind. If he has failed to believe many unfounded charges against Pratap and Sitaram he has not hesitated to point out the real drawbacks of their character. We congratulate Prof. Mitra on his brilliant achievement and we are eagerly awaiting the third volume of his History.

SURENDRANATH SEN

A History of Hindu Political Theories, By U. N. Ghosal, M.A., Ph.D., Professor, Presidency College, published by the Oxford University Press.

It is a handy volume of about 300 pages, in which the learned author has traced the development of political theories in ancient India. The author proceeds systematically and has taken chronology into account. The book is divided into seven chapters. The first chapter is devoted to a consideration of the political concepts of the Aryan people during the age of the Vedas and the Upanishads. In the second chapter which deals with the political ideas found in the Dharmaśāstras and the Buddhist canon the author gives us an idea of political speculation during an age which he calls an "epoch of growth and development." The third chapter sets forth the political thought of the Arthaśāstra, that remarkable treatise on the art of government attributed to the celebrated Kautilya. In the fourth chapter we have a consideration of the various political theories which are found in the various chapters of the Śāntiparva, and the Manusmṛiti. In three subsequent chapters the author gives us a summary of the views of later authors pointing out their relation to earlier thinkers. Moreover in these he has traced the beginnings of decline as far as Indian political speculation is concerned.

All these chapters show his grasp of the subject, and present to us a comprehensive survey of the history of Hindu political genius. They bear testimony to the author's scholarship and industry. He has practically ransacked the whole of Hindu and Buddhist literature, and has utilised all the material at his disposal. Moreover his treatment of the subject is not only accurate and scholarly, but shows the true spirit of historical enquiry. His comparative illustrations add to the value of his account. In many places he has come to the assistance of his reader by giving parallel illustration from European history, thereby enabling him to make his ideas clear and well defined. Lastly, the author deserves the fullest amount of credit for his ably-written introduction, attached to the book. Within a short compass, he has given us a clear idea as to the nature and type of political evolution in Ancient India, and has established the originality of the Indo-Aryan political ideas and of those cultural ideas which arose out of it. He deserves moreover the congratulation of his countrymen for having exposed the fallacy of an argument, which while it extolled the superiority of Hindu speculation denied India "a place in the political history of the world."

While the author deserves nothing but praise for his treatment and his method of enquiry, his views on particular topics leave much room for difference of opinion. To quote a few such instances—the author's exposition of the Divine nature of Vedic royalty shows that the author's mind is obsessed with corresponding theories of Royalty in Ancient and Medieval Europe or elsewhere. There is indeed no denying the fact, that Vedic royalty was lauded,—the holder of the office often identified with the gods—nay, he was often regarded as the "part taker of the gods"—yet there is nothing to prove that the office of king or the holder of that office was in essence divine. The above identification with the gods—was nothing but a reflexion of the

idea of a universal order—The king performing services on earth, similar to those with which the divine powers were entrusted. Later on, indeed, veneration for the holder of royal office increased and he was regarded as the incarnation of the eight great gods. This again does not establish a divine theory of kingship which gained in the west. Again when we consider the Hindu theory of social contract we find nothing which justifies us to hold the king as a divine personage. The contract was a true bilateral contract with rights and obligations on both sides. Lastly, the fiction of a divine king falls to the ground, when we bear in mind that the moral right of revolution resided in the people—who could destroy or depose an unrighteous king.

His views on another such topic call for a difference of opinion. (See pp. 65-66 note.) Thus the author has tried to refute the views of Dr. Banerjee and Dr. Bhandarkar, that "the conception of the king as the servant of the State was one of the basic principles of political thought in Ancient India." In the face of express texts which regard the king as the servant of the people, the author shows his leanings towards the acceptance of the view "implied rather than expressed" that the king was the servant of God, and practically rejects the value of the texts cited as being of too exceptional a character to be accepted."

Other such instances may be cited. His date of the *Sukraniti* is far from being acceptable. Similarly, his views as to the *Arthasāstra* being older than the *Santiparva* is again doubtful and requires a discussion. Lastly, the author's attention may be drawn to the fact that the concept of the state has not received the amount of attention it deserves.

In spite of room for difference of opinion, Dr. Ghosal's book is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of Ancient India.

NARAYAN CHANDRA BANERJEE

Indian Teachers of Buddhist Universities, by Phanindranath Bose, M.A., published by the Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras.

This is a little book, which is sure to serve as a faithful book of reference, and can be safely placed in the hands of the students intending to be initiated into the study of Tibetan Buddhism developed chiefly on the basis of the writings of the Professors of different Buddhist Universities at Nālandā, Vikramasīlā and other places. The book claims no originality of material gathered by its author. It brings together the results of previous researches and presents them in a very charming and readable form. The freshness with which an old tale that was getting otherwise stale and dull has been retold is certainly the most redeeming feature of the book.

B. M. BARUA.

Science of Living—a booklet of about 110 pages, by Harimohan Banerjee, is a thoughtful treatise intended mainly for the Christian World. The author calls upon his reader to give up false hopes and vanity, to purify life and to rest his hopes in Jesus, who stands for his Saviour. The book is written in a clear style, and speaks well of the author and his original thoughts on the subject.

N. C. B.

India's Flag by C. Rajagopalachar and published by Ganesh & Co., Madras, is a booklet which records the struggle of India for her flag, which symbolises her honour and her very life. It contains an article by Mahatma Gandhi and also quotes several others from his "Young India". It tries to impress upon Indians the seriousness of the struggle and the principle involved therein and calls upon us to take all penalties which we ought to prefer to dishonour.

N. C. B.

True Love : by S. M. Michael, 2nd Edition, Madras, 1922.
Price Re. 1.

We have here a series of twenty poems, the theme being, as the title of the collection indicates, love. The author's lines run smooth, and his English has a genuine English ring, unlike that of many an aspirant after poetic fame in country seeking the help of the imperial tongue. Some of the poems are beautiful, and some have a mystic ring, which is one of the modern notes in love-poetry—a note which is inherited and modified from the eroticistic symbolism of mediæval devotional poetry. The book seems to have been well received, for it is in its second edition, and on the whole, we can say that Mr. Michael's muse has pleased us.

S. K. C.

Correspondence

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

I was so long merely reading or hearing of the insidious influence which environments exercise on the mind of man. But never did I realise it so well, I should say, so dangerously, as when I was re-searching some researchers. The atmosphere of my room then smelt so much of half-truths, untruths, carelessnesses and inaccuracies that I did not then know that it was to some extent causing mental aberration and throwing me actually into one blunder and one exaggeration. On p. 313 of the last issue of the 'Calcutta Review,' while appraising the critical value of Mr. Chanda's work, I have made the assertion that in his 'Indo-Aryan Races' he nowhere shows his indebtedness to the 'Vedic Index.' This assertion is unwarranted, and I very much regret the blunder into which I have fallen. Whatever else I have said about his work is, I think, well-founded. The exaggerated statement to which also I have to plead guilty has occurred with reference to MM. Haraprasad Sastri. I have said I have not yet found any paper of his which contains footnotes. As a matter of fact, there are a few papers with such footnotes. But they are so few, and so far between that the role of the *āpta* that he wants to play cannot for a moment be a matter of doubt.

I express extreme regret for the inaccuracies into which I fell. I can well imagine some of my critics making great capital out of it and trying to show to the world that all my criticism is thus valueless. Let me, however, wait and if these are all the points on which they assail me. They ought to ask Mr. Chanda to produce the manuscript of *Dānasūgara*, which has *Farendre* instead of *Farendro*. Above all, they should induce Mr. R. D. Banerji to finish off his 'crushing' reply to Prof. Luders' damaging criticism against him, which, they say, is very nearly ready. Unless these replies are forthcoming, my critics' attempt to run me down is of no avail.

On p. 316 occurs a misprint. In l. 16 instead of "three 'Bengali' scholars" there should have been "'three' Bengali scholars." A well-wisher of mine fears that persons belonging to the camp of the 'Modern Review' will purposely misinterpret it and spread the rumour that I

imply that when Prof. Bhandarkar came to Calcutta in 1917, there were no good scholars in Bengal. I submit that, in the first place, this does *not* follow from what I have said. Secondly, this is not a fact at all. If the quality, and not the quantity, of work is to be taken into consideration, by far the best scholar Bengal has produced since the time of Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra is the late Babu Mon Mohun Chakravarti. But he contributed all his articles to the learned Journals, and never mixed himself with the politics of the literary sphere. He is therefore known to very few of his countrymen. Nevertheless, it is perfectly true that he was a first-rate scholar. But he was a Bengali, and was living when Prof. Bhandarkar was appointed to the Carmichael Chair. Another first-rate Bengali scholar was the late Dr. Satishchandra Vidyabhushana. But he too like Prof. Bhandarkar committed the sin of connecting himself with Sir Asutosh Mookerjee and was therefore run down in certain quarters. There was also a third first-rate scholar in Bengal when Prof. Bhandarkar came. He is Babu Bijaychandra Mazumdar. Happily he has yet been spared for us, and the whole of Bengal is looking forward to the day when he, possessed of philological acumen, will bring out a critical edition of *Bauddha gāṇa o dohā*.

DHABALA GIRI

THE STUDY OF LAW¹

MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR, TEACHERS, AND STUDENTS,

Let me assure you at the outset that to me it is a great pleasure and privilege to address an audience in this great University whose progress and development are objects of solicitude to every Indian, whatever his race or creed. Had not such a feeling animated me, I would have respectfully declined the difficult and delicate task which has been imposed on me, namely, to discourse to young aspirants for admission to the field of law on the study of their subject.

In order that you may not misunderstand my purpose, let me tell you at once that I shall not take upon myself the responsibility to advise you, my young friends, on the choice of a profession. The selection of what will be the vocation for life is about the most difficult task that presents itself to a young man, his guardians, friends and advisers; for, on the one hand, the choice is generally irrevocable; on the other, a mistake may be fatal. I am a believer in the doctrine that that is done best which is done gladly and with feelings of pleasure. If a man is compelled to follow a calling which is distasteful, because unsuited to his powers and inclination, he is liable to court failure from the start. Let me read to you the words of wisdom of John Ruskin :

“We are not sent into this world to do anything into which we cannot put our hearts. We have certain work to do for our bread, and that is to be done strenuously; other work to do for our delight, and that is to be done

¹ An address delivered by Sir Asutosh Mookerjee on the 4th August, 1923, on the occasion of the inauguration ceremony of the Department of Legal Studies in the Benares Hindu University.

heartily ; neither is to be done by halves or shifts, but with a will, and what is not worth this effort is not to be done at all."

A young man should consequently look into his own heart before he chooses his profession. It is not for others to dictate whether he will serve the community better if he selects one path rather than another, for instance, if he goes into law rather than into medicine. But, let me give an emphatic warning that there is no royal road to success in law. Law is not easy as a profession ; its field is enormous ; its boundaries are ever widening. The period of study and self-instruction never comes to an end in the department of law ; even the most assiduous amongst us have realised from experience that the frontier of the domain of knowledge of law steadily recedes before each new step in advance.

You will not expect me, on the present occasion, to embark upon so perilous an adventure as the framing of a definition of the term " Law " which has baffled generations of jurists and publicists. I shall content myself with an extract from the famous opening passage of the Digest of Justinian :

" Law is the art of what is good and equitable, of which lawyers are deservedly called the priests, for they cultivate justice and profess a close knowledge of what is good and equitable, separating the equitable from the inequitable ; distinguishing the lawful from the unlawful ; desiring to make men good, not only from fear of punishment but also the influence of rewards ; maintaining, if I err not, a true, not a pretended philosophy."

Law is thus coeval with society and society cannot exist without law ; there is nothing higher or nobler, open to human effort, than the administration of justice and right between man and man, between the individual and the State. It is consequently the paramount duty of the lawyer to promote reverence for law. Laws may be unjust or unsuited to the times ; but so long as they stand unrepealed, it is the

high office of the lawyer to see that they are respected and obeyed. Reverence for law makes for social order, which, in the words of an illustrious lawyer, must be the political religion of every progressive nation. Thus the opportunities of the lawyer for public service and social advancement are of no mean order. His natural opposition to absolute power makes him invaluable as a minister of justice, so that the forces for good government should be maintained everywhere in full and constant action. It is this aspect which makes the lawyer an object of dread to the class known as persons in authority. Let me remind you of a story of Peter the Great, who travelled far and wide with a view to ascertain by personal observation what had been accomplished by modern governments. The great Emperor was so forcibly struck by the numbers and privileges of the English Bar that he told one of his informants that there were only two lawyers in the Empire of Russia and he proposed to hang them on his return. From the standpoint of the mighty Monarch that was no bad policy; the lawyer is by nature and by training unfriendly to absolute power; for his activities are conditioned on the existence of a government of laws rather than of men. The story of Peter the Great may or may not be apocryphal; but its moral is reflected in a celebrated passage of an oration by the profoundest political thinker of the eighteenth century. Edmund Burke traced the untractable spirit of the American Colonists as the growth and effect of their system of education which included an extensive study of law:

"In no country, perhaps, in the world is the law so general a study. The profession itself is numerous and powerful; and in most provinces takes the lead. The greater number of deputies sent to Congress were lawyers. But all who read, and most do read, endeavour to obtain some smattering in that science. I have been told by an eminent bookseller that in no branch of his business, after tracts of popular devotion, were so many books as those on the law exported to the

plantations. The colonists have now fallen into the way of printing them for their own use. I hear that they have sold nearly as many of Blackstone's Commentaries in America as in England. This study of the law renders men acute, inquisitive, dexterous, prompt in attack, ready in defense, full of resources."

De Tocqueville emphasised the same conclusion from a different standpoint:

"By birth and interest lawyers belong to the people; by habit and taste to the aristocracy; and they may be looked upon as the natural bond and connecting link of the two great classes of society. They are attached to the public order beyond any other consideration, and the best security of public order is authority. If they prize the free institutions of their country much, they value the legality of these institutions far more. They are less afraid of tyranny than of arbitrary power."

You will not be surprised to find that this ideal of the fighting quality of the lawyer—this fighting for other men—appealed to the Roman jurist as his true title to public regard. Listen to this passage from the Code of Justinian:

"Advocates who decide the doubtful fates of causes and by the strength of their defense often set up again that which had fallen, and restore that which was weakened, whether in public or in private concerns, protect mankind not less than if they saved country and home by battle and by wounds. For, in our warlike empire, we confide not in those alone who contend with swords, shields and breast-plates, but in advocates also, for those who manage others' causes, fight as, confident in the strength of glorious eloquence, they defend the hope and life and children of those in peril."

We must not, however, lay stress on this fighting aspect of the public service of the lawyer and disregard another function which is not only no less valuable but is indeed far

more worthy of admiration. The lawyer as the peacemaker is by no means a rare phenomenon in the ranks of the profession, and there are many who take to heart the eloquent injunction of Abraham Lincoln when he urged lawyers to keep their clients out of Court whenever they could: "Discourage litigation. Persuade your neighbours to compromise whenever you can. Point out to them how the nominal winner is often the real loser in fees, expenses and waste of time. As a peacemaker, the lawyer has a superior opportunity of becoming a good man. There will always be enough business. Never stir up litigation. A worse man can scarcely be found than one who does this." The lawyer has thus ample and diversified opportunity to shape the course of others in the conduct of life and through them the conduct of the community.

Let me next emphasise that law is neither a trade nor a solemn jugglery, but is a true and living science, and it is open to each and every one of you to love law as a science and to feel the full dignity of being a minister at its altars. We have opened a new chapter in the history of world and there has undoubtedly been no period during which the study of the law, in the broadest and most enlightened spirit possible, has been of equal importance, not only to the profession but also to society at large as it is constituted to-day. We are face to face with novel problems of diverse kinds, beyond the reach of the imagination of our ancestors; these problems require for their adequate solution a deep and wide knowledge of the principles of law. No true friend of our people will at this critical stage of the development of our national life decri, much less retard, the study of law, which, when rightly pursued, has the most liberalising effect. It is calculated to call into exercise the highest powers and capacities of the human mind; it is capable of that critical, historical and comparative treatment which is the glory of modern science, and surely it deserves a high

rank in the curriculum of University studies along with political philosophy and sociology.

I have already indicated that a serious student of law must for ever abandon all hope of a life of ease ; for no method has yet been discovered that will relieve him of the necessity of close applications and serious study which must continue during the whole period of his active connection with his profession. In this domain of knowledge, at any rate, no true gospel has been found save that of hard labour. We cannot overlook that though books have multiplied and the bounds of human knowledge have been vastly extended, the human mind has made no corresponding improvement, if, indeed, it has not, as some maintain, lost its primitive vigour. It is not for me to judge, whether in every single department of learning the acquisition of accessible knowledge will exhaust the labours of the longest life. This, at any rate, may be affirmed that of all the branches of learning, none is more extensive or more complex than that of the law. Law had its origin in remote antiquity, and on the principle that law was made for man and not man for law, it has adapted itself, notwithstanding all the imperfections of its mode of development through ages, to all the wonderful complications of modern life. Trace its history, and you will discover, as others have done before you, that it embodies the constant longing of men for an ideal system of justice and bears within itself the marks, however obliterated by lapse of time, of long-forgotten social customs, conflicts and revolutions. The story of this ever continuous struggle must be recalled by all who seek a proper understanding and interpretation of the law and harbour the honourable aspiration to associate themselves with its future development. Believe me, I do not thus refer to the vast extent and intricacy of the law with a view to cool your ardour or to paralyse your ambition. I desire to urge you to devote yourselves to a life of unrelenting study and labour. This applies with special force to the

Indian student of law, who must undertake, even if he desires to attain only a tolerable measure of success, a far more comprehensive course of study than is customary for the student of law brought up under other systems. No Indian student of law can afford to avoid a close and critical study of Hindu Law and Mahomedan Law, which constitute monuments of Asiatic genius of two fundamentally different types. The Indian student must, at the same time, acquaint himself, to the best of his ability, with the products of ever active Indian Legislatures—Provincial and Imperial. The imperfections of our codified law make it obligatory upon our students to acquaint themselves with that elusive body of rules, known as the principles of justice, equity and good conscience, which, it was wisely ordained a century and a half ago, should be invoked whenever the matter in controversy was not completely covered by a specific provision of the law. These principles of justice, equity and good conscience have naturally meant the importation, often without careful scrutiny, of the analogies of English Law whenever deemed applicable to Indian society and circumstances. The Indian student cannot thus escape an intelligent study of the principles of English Law, which further permeate many a legislative enactment. If he is wise and industrious, he will not be content with exploring its foundations in its native soil but will also study its wonderful development, amidst novel and progressive surroundings, in the United States and in the British Colonies and Dependencies. He will master the monumental institutes and commentaries of Coke and Blackstone, of Kent and Burge. But, beyond and above all this, the Indian student of law must acquire a competent knowledge of the principles of the Roman Law which has pervaded the jurisprudence of every civilised nation. The Roman Law, as Prof. James Bryce asserted, is perhaps the most perfect example, which the range of human effort presents, of the application of a body of abstract principles to the complex facts of life and society. The Roman jurists

assimilated theory and practice in a remarkable manner. Their theory was so thoroughly worked out as to be fit for immediate application, and their practice was uniformly ennobled by scientific treatment. In every principle, they saw an instance of its application, in every concrete case, the rule whereby it was determined ; and their mastery was incontestable in the facility with which they passed from the universal to the particular and from the particular to the universal. The study of law, it has been maintained by an illustrious German jurist, is from its very nature exposed to a double danger ; we are apt, on the one hand, to soar through theory to empty abstractions, and, on the other hand, to sink through practice into a soulless handicraft. Roman Law, if studied aright as a science, provides an effective remedy against both dangers. It holds us fast upon the ground of a living reality ; it binds our juristic thought, on the one side, to a magnificent past, and, on the other, to the legal system of many a civilised nation. Let me assure you that a discriminating study of the principles of Roman Law is of inestimable value, not merely as a mental discipline, but as a broad foundation for the full appreciation of comparative jurisprudence. You owe it to yourselves and to the great profession you desire to enter, not to be mere mechanics, but, so far as is possible, to be jurists, and, even to be reformers of that law, which is not an invention of jurists and legislators, but has grown and is blended with the social life of the people. When you thus realise the magnitude and nobility of the task which lies before you, you will not be surprised at the assertion that the study of law requires and deserves lifelong attention of the most exacting and undivided character. Let me read to you the testimony of one of the most accomplished workers in this field, Joseph Story, Advocate, Professor, Judge and Jurist :

“ The law is a science of such vast extent and intricacy, of such severe logic and nice dependencies, that it has always

tasked the highest minds to reach even its ordinary boundaries. But eminence can never be attained without the most laborious study united with talents of a superior order. There is no royal road to guide us through its labyrinths. These are to be penetrated by skill, and mastered by a frequent survey of landmarks. It has almost passed into a proverb that the lucubrations of twenty years will do little more than conduct us to the vestibule of the temple; and an equal period may well be devoted to exploring the recesses."

Be not, however, appalled by the magnitude of the task which lies before you. It is not inconceivable that after a quarter of a century of diligent study of the science to which you propose to devote yourselves, you will have a more profound and abiding sense of ignorance than oppresses you at the present moment. But you should realise, at the same time, that the last enemy we have to conquer is ignorance, the foe that meets us on the threshold, at our entrance into life, and ceaselessly attends us at every step of our career. Fortunately, though art is long and life is short, though the immense body of the law may profoundly impress us with a sense of despair if not helplessness, there is this encouraging factor that law is essentially a science of principles. The chief purpose of legal education is to impart to the student a knowledge not of practical details but of fundamental principles, to teach him to draw the right conclusions from the premises. If the student has thus been brought face to face with principles and conclusions, if his mind has been illuminated by an exposition of their relation to other necessary truths, if he has been conducted down the historic path of social and legal evolution until he has reached the present rules of law, he cannot have failed to absorb and assimilate the reason of the law. He will then have mastered law as the science which helps to eliminate and enforce right and to detect and punish wrong. Let then the student discover

these principles from the dry husks of text books, statutes and reports. Let him extract, master and retain the principles he has brought to light, for his success as a student of law will be measured by the success which has attended his efforts to pursue this process of analysis and assimilation. Let then the student avoid with scrupulous care that self-deception which is destructive of all sound knowledge. He may by artful cram delude his examiners and obtain admission to his degree; but let him rest assured that he will never delude the judge, much less his adversary who will not be slow to take full advantage of his profound ignorance. He will then realise, when too late, that if a man commences practice without a knowledge of the principles of law, he never learns them afterwards. Let him not seek solace in the example of men of ability, who may have, in exceptional instances, attained distinction, though without liberal equipment; their careers would have been still more distinguished, their mark on their generation graven still deeper and their contributions to the wisdom of the world still weightier, had they the benefits of scientific legal training before they entered upon the arduous and responsible duties that awaited them.

It is impossible for me within the time at my disposal to speak to you about other matters of vital importance, such as the unlimited opportunities of the lawyer for public service and social advancement, specially in the role of judges and legislators; but let me emphasise that the members of the profession have been held responsible for evils which they have neither brought about nor sought to perpetuate. It is frequently overlooked that law must be administered as it exists, though, as a result, a Court of justice may, in rare cases and for the purpose of a particular judgment, be upbraided as a Court of injustice. The remedy lies, in very many of such instances, with the legislature, which, though influenced, cannot, for manifest reasons, be dominated by men trained in the principles of legal, political and social

philosophy. Legislation, it may be conceded, must be in harmony with public opinion ; but it is often ignored that the products of the legislature have a strange vitality and survive on the statute book long after public opinion has altered its course. It is the duty of the lawyer, who has studied statutes as documents which set out the ideals of society that have been strong enough to reach that final form of expression, to assist in the change as the dominant will changes with the progress of the times from century to century.

Let me remind you finally of the famous estimate of the legal profession, made by Lord Bolingbroke, as "in its nature the noblest and most beneficial to mankind, and in its abuse and debasement the most sordid and the most pernicious." I shall not pause to consider whether this description may not be accurately applied to many a sphere of human activity. I shall only urge you to make an unhesitating choice of the only honourable of these alternatives. Read at large the biographies of illustrious lawyers, such fascinating works as Campbell's *Lives of the Lord Chancellors and of the Chief Justices of England* and Lewis's *Lives of the Great American Lawyers*. You will feel ennobled by the careers of men, who have risen from the ranks and consecrated themselves in the service of society, always striving to aid in the worldwide effort to make law and justice one and the same. Let me, in conclusion, place before you the ideal of the true ambition of the lawyer in the impressive language of an eminent judge :

"To serve man by diligent study and true counsel of the municipal law ; to aid in solving the questions and guiding the business of society according to law ; to fulfil his allotted part in protecting society and its members against wrong, in enforcing all rights and redressing all wrongs ; and to answer before God and man, according to the scope of his office and duty, for the true and just administration of the

municipal law. There go to this ambition, high integrity of character and life; inherent love of truth and right; intense sense of obedience, of subordination to law, because it is law; deep reverence of all authority, human and divine; generous sympathy with man and profound dependence on God. These we can all command. There should go high intelligence. That we cannot command. But every reasonable degree of intelligence can conquer adequate knowledge for meritorious service in the profession."

Ourselfes

CONFERENCE AT GOVERNMENT HOUSE

The 12th July, 1923.

We published in our last number (p. 347 *ante*) a report of the proceedings of the Conference held at Government House on the 12th July last under the presidency of His Excellency the Chancellor. We have now been furnished with the following report of the opening Address by His Excellency :

HIS EXCELLENCY THE CHANCELLOR : Before I come to the business of this meeting, there are two things which I want to say. The first is to express my personal regret at the absence of the Vice-Chancellor, Mr. B. N. Basu, and my sympathy with him for the indisposition which has kept him away. I feel sure that everybody in this room shares that regret and sympathy.

Secondly, I want at once, to clear away any suspicion that there may be in the minds of the members of the Senate regarding the object or possible consequences of this meeting. Professor Raman has been good enough to send me a copy of the letter which he has written to the Press. I have learned from that letter that Professor Raman and perhaps other members are a little apprehensive as to my object in calling this meeting. He fears lest I may give a version of the past events which may be unacceptable to the members of the Senate and which they may feel it necessary to contradict—thus leading to an unpleasant controversy. The learned Professor seems to think that I have invited you here in order to say to you, "Gentlemen, we have been quarelling for nearly a year; I propose to explain to you that in that controversy

we have always been in the right and you have been in the wrong, and since you are enjoying the hospitality of my house, I hope that you will not be so uncivil as to contradict me!" The second fear he has expressed in that letter is lest I may make some new proposal to you and ask you to express your opinions on it before you have had time to think the matter over, and carefully weigh your answers. I want to assure you at once that I have not the slightest intention of doing anything of the sort. My object is to allay controversy not to create it. I have no intention of going back at all. My object is to get on. I am very much indebted to Professor Raman for pointing out to me the dangers which lie in my path. I can assure you that I shall be scrupulously careful to avoid them. My only reason for saying what I have to say to you in person instead of in the form of a written communication, is that I have found by past experience that the meaning and substance of official communications are apt to be misconstrued. However careful one may be, there is always the danger of some word or phrase being misunderstood and conveying a meaning the exact opposite of what was intended. I am a great believer in a personal discussion of this character which enables one to say what I have to say to you and gives to my listeners an opportunity of saying whatever they may wish in return. If I say anything which is misunderstood or which gives an impression of the kind which I want to avoid, I hope it will be immediately taken up, explained and set right.

I now come to the point of this meeting. You will remember I had a discussion with some of you in December last. I gave an assurance on that occasion that Government had no intention of introducing their Bill until they had fully discussed it with you. I hoped that that meeting would have served to allay any misgivings you may have had regarding our intentions. I am obliged to confess that I was not very successful, because I find that the fears in the minds of the

Senate as to the intentions of Government have increased rather than diminished since then. Gentlemen, when you come to know me better, you will learn that I am a person not easily discouraged by failures of this kind. I am determined to make another attempt. It is with this object that I have invited you here to-day. I think perhaps it would have been wiser, if instead of being content with merely giving you an assurance, I had been more precise and given you an opportunity of discussing how that assurance could best be carried out. On account of that omission some controversy, you will remember, arose as to whether the Conference or discussion between Government and the University should take place before or after the Bill had been submitted to the Government of India. If we had discussed that question at the time, I feel almost sure this controversy would never have arisen. Be that as it may, it is not my intention to re-open it at the present time.

As you know the Bill, which was drafted by the Government about a year ago, has been considered by the Senate and their opinion presented to us in writing. That Bill has also been considered by the Government of Assam, and they too have sent to us their views in writing. All these views together with the comments of the Government of Bengal have been submitted to the Government of India. Considerable correspondence extending over several months has taken place between ourselves and the Government of India on the subject and I had the occasion of a personal discussion on this subject with His Excellency the Viceroy and the Hon'ble Member in Charge of Education. I am happy to say that there is complete agreement between the Government of India and ourselves regarding our competence to legislate and the objects we seek to attain by this legislation. The views of all the parties have been expressed, but there has been no opportunity as yet of bringing the various parties together with a view to securing a discussion of the points

at issue and, if possible, an agreement. That is the only stage which now remains to be completed. We have had correspondence. Conferences and Committees have been suggested. But no actual meeting has as yet taken place. Now it is my earnest wish that such a meeting should take place at the earliest possible moment. It is with the object of discussing with you the date and the manner of such a meeting that I have invited you here. Remembering what Dr. Raman has said, let me again assure you I have no intention of asking you to commit yourselves to-day to any decision with regard to the procedure which I am going to suggest. I only want to afford you an opportunity of saying anything you may care to say regarding the suggestions that I put before you.

As has already been indicated by a brief communique in the Press, we propose to invite the representatives of the Senate and the representatives of the Government of Assam to meet us at an early date. The Government of India have kindly consented to be present at that Conference and to assist us in the discussion. Of course their representatives will not take any side. They will be there to give friendly advice to both parties. I may say, and I am sure you will agree with me, that it will very materially assist us to have present at the Conference representatives of the Government of India with whom rests the ultimate decision of matters in dispute between ourselves and the University. With regard to the date which would suit me best, I propose the third week of August. As I have already said, I will ask you for no decision. But I shall be very glad to hear the views of those present with regard to the date. As regards the number and personnel of the University representatives, these matters can be settled in consultation with the Vice-Chancellor. Whatever date may be selected, I am anxious that the representatives of the University should come to this Conference

with authority to express the opinion of the University on the main points under discussion. The final decision, of course, will rest with the Senate, but we could not get on unless at the meeting itself those who represented the Senate were able to tell us what the University thought about this or that question which may come up for discussion. At this meeting we shall explain what are the objects of Government in the legislation which we contemplate. You will have an opportunity of saying how far you are in agreement or disagreement with those objects. I have every hope that when we have discussed the matter, we shall find that there is substantial agreement between us. The points on which we agree we can put into the Bill. When we have exhausted all the points on which we agree, there may be—I do not say there will be—some points on which we disagree. We will then discuss in the Conference itself the best way of dealing with those matters. I suggest that probably the best course will be for us to place at your disposal the services of a draftsman and for you to instruct him to put in the form of clauses the views you hold regarding either amendments of or additions to our Bill. When we reach that stage, we shall embody in the Bill the points on which we agree and shall omit those points on which we disagree. We shall then have before us an actual draft. This draft can be sent to the Senate and discussed by them. I suggest that we should then meet again with this draft and see whether we can come to an agreement and finally if there are points on which we fail to agree, the whole matter can be placed before the Government of India for their decision. We shall submit to them our Bill and you will, of course, be free to send up your alternative suggestions. Now I submit, gentlemen, such a procedure seems to me to be fair to all parties. I leave it to you. I ask no decision. I want you to consider the matter and to tell me if I have said anything with which you do not agree.

Let me conclude by expressing the hope that when we come to sit round a table and discuss fully and freely all the points at issue, it will be found that the differences between us are not so great as they have been represented. I have every hope that we shall be able to agree on the main points. If disagreement remains on some minor points, that disagreement should not be and I hope will not be such as to impair the friendly relations between the Government and the University, which ought, in the interest of both, to be preserved. It all depends on the spirit in which we come together. I can assure you that as far as Government is concerned, we shall meet you with the strongest desire to secure agreement. I shall spare no effort to achieve that end, I have every confidence that our meeting will be beneficial to the University if your representatives come in the same spirit.

My last word is this. In dealing with all questions concerning the University, I have no consideration other than what I conceive to be the benefit of the University. I have no concern either for my own personal reputation, or for that of anyone else. I may be right or wrong. But in the views which I hold I have no thought whatsoever except to promote, to the best of my abilities, the interests of the University, its teachers, professors and students.

* * * *

UNIVERSITY LEGISLATION.

Since our last issue the question of University legislation has made further progress. The Conference at Government House held on the 12th July last was followed by the following correspondence ;

FROM—SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL,

TO—THE REGISTRAR, CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY.

Calcutta, the 28th July, 1923.

With reference to your letter No. G-642, dated the 12th June, 1923, with which was forwarded copy of a resolution

adopted by the Syndicate at their meeting held on the 9th June, 1923, dealing *inter alia* with the appointment of a representative committee to investigate the various matters connected with the Calcutta University legislation, I am directed to refer the Vice-Chancellor and the Syndicate to the speech delivered by His Excellency the Chancellor on the 12th July last to the members of the Senate in Government House. The Vice-Chancellor and the Syndicate will perhaps agree with Government that in view of this speech it will be desirable to drop the committee suggested in the previous correspondence and to have a conference on the lines indicated by His Excellency the Chancellor. In accordance with the assurance given by him, I am now to communicate with you officially and invite your concurrence regarding the date on which the conference may be held and the procedure to be followed.

2. I am to inform you that the 20th of August at Government House at 9-30 A.M. would be a convenient date for His Excellency who desires to be present at the first meeting. It is proposed to invite representatives of the University as well as the representatives of the Government of Assam to this conference which will also be attended by two representatives of the Government of India whose function will be to help and advise, should any advice be sought. As regards the number and personnel of the University representatives, it is proposed that these will be settled in consultation with the Vice-Chancellor.

3. The Government of Bengal will place confidentially before this conference as a basis for discussion the two Bills dealing with Calcutta University and with secondary education, copies of which have already been submitted to the Senate. The representatives of the Senate and of the Government of Assam will then have an opportunity of stating whether they object to any legislation, what amendments they desire to make in these Bills, or what alternative proposals they desire to substitute for them. If, after discussion, agreement can be reached regarding the amendment of the Government Bills or the lines on which new Bills should be drafted, new drafts to carry out this agreement will be prepared and submitted to the Senate. Where there is disagreement regarding either amendment of the Government Bills or the substitution of alternative Bills, the conference will determine how to proceed, but I am authorised to state that the Government of Bengal would be prepared, should such a course be desired, to depute their draftsman to embody in the form of clauses the changes desired by the representatives of the University or of the Govt. of Assam. It is proposed that the conference should meet later in the year to discuss the revised drafts of the Government Bills and the clauses drafted on behalf of the University or of the Government of Assam. If then agreement is not reached on all points the Government of Bengal will submit their revised Bills to

the Government of India for the sanction of the Governor-General to introduce them into the Legislative Council. They will also forward to the Government of India, if so desired, the alternative proposals of the University and of the Govt. of Assam and the reasons why the Government are unable to accept them.

4. I am now to request that, with the permission of the Vice-Chancellor and the Syndicate, Government may be informed, at a very early date, whether the Senate have any suggestions to make with regard to the procedure and whether the date provisionally fixed will suit the University representatives.

FROM—OFFG. REGISTRAR, UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA,

To—

THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL,
EDUCATION DEPARTMENT.

Senate House, the 30th July, 1923.

Your letter No. 2173 Edn., dated the 28th July, 1923. Pending consideration of your letter by the Syndicate and the Senate, I am directed by the Vice-Chancellor to request you to be good enough to communicate to me the number and personnel of the representatives of the Governments of Bengal and Assam on the proposed Conference. This information will be very helpful in the selection of our University representatives as there are members who are common to the University, the Legislative Council and the Government. As the Syndicate will meet on Thursday next it is desirable that the information should reach this office on or before that date.

A meeting of the Senate will be held early next month and a further communication will follow.

FROM—SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL,

TO—THE REGISTRAR, CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY.

Calcutta, the 2nd August, 1923.

With reference to your letter No. G. 64, dated the 31st July, 1923, I am directed to say that as His Excellency the Governor is on tour, it is not possible to communicate to you the number

and personnel of the representatives of this Government on the proposed University Conference. A further communication will, however, be made as soon as these questions are settled in consultation with him. Meanwhile to facilitate matters, I am to request that the Vice-Chancellor and the Syndicate will be so good as to inform Government the number and personnel of the University representatives on the Conference.

2. The Government of Assam have already been addressed as regards their representatives.

On this correspondence the Syndicate on the 2nd August, 1923, recorded the following resolution.

That the correspondence be placed before the Senate with the recommendation that the views of the Senate, as recorded below, be communicated to the Government in reply to their letters :—

1. That, while welcoming the Conference for the discussion of fundamental principles regarding University Legislation, the Senate is convinced that it is essential that the Conference should be followed by a Committee for a detailed consideration of the very large mass of important and complex facts involved in the question of reconstruction of the University.

2. That, as the number and personnel of representatives of Government on the Conference have not been indicated, the Senate should be allowed to elect the same number of representatives on the Conference as the Government of Bengal.

3. That, while the Conference may be appropriately opened by His Excellency the Chancellor, the Conference should have a Chairman and it is desirable that the Vice-Chancellor of the University should be the Chairman.

4. That, in view of there being holidays from 22nd to 24th August, it will be convenient if the Conference commences its sittings on the 22nd instant

The Senate, on the 11th August 1923, passed these resolutions with modifications. The following motions were adopted :

Mr. Ramaprasad Mookerjee—

"That the Government be informed that if the Bills be treated as a basis for discussion in the Conference, the Senate Reports on the Bills should also be placed before that Body with the permission of His Excellency the Chancellor."

Professor Pramathanath Bannerjee—

"That, in the opinion of the Senate, it is desirable that the two bills dealing with the Calcutta University and Secondary Education together with the Reports of the Senate thereon be published at the time they are

placed before the proposed Conference and that an authorised report of the proceedings as well as the conclusions of the Conference be made available to the public."

Professor C. V. Raman--

"That the delegates of the University be requested to press on the Conference the views of the Senate as expressed below :

(i) The Conference should be free to consider the whole question of University reconstruction, in its various aspects including finance ;

(ii) The recommendations of the Conference should be based on the Report of the Sadler Commission with such modifications as may be rendered necessary by financial or other considerations ; and that no useful purpose would be served by taking the two Government Bills as the basis of discussion.

(iii) To make any reconstruction of the University of any use, it is absolutely essential that the Governments concerned should grant the University financial assistance on a reasonable scale."

The following letter was subsequently received by the Vice-Chancellor from the Secretary to the Education Department on the 14th August :

"I notice that at the meeting of the Senate held on the 11th August last, a resolution was carried recommending, *inter alia*, that, in view of there being holidays from August 22nd to 24th, it would be convenient if the Conference on University Legislation commenced its sittings on the 22nd. His Excellency is, however, particularly anxious that he should attend the first meeting before he leaves for Darjeeling. He trusts, therefore, that the Senate will be able to accommodate him and agree to the Conference being held on the 20th instant, the date suggested in my official letter No. 2105 Edn., dated the 25th July 1923. The Government of India and the Government of Assam have agreed to send their representatives on that date.

The representatives of Government at the Conference will be --

- (1) The Hon'ble the Minister.
- (2) The Hon'ble Maharajadhiraja Bahadur of Burdwan.
- (3) The Hon'ble Sir Abdul Rahim.
- (4) Secretary to the Education Department.
- (5) Director of Public Instruction.
- (6) Mr. Stapleton, Secretary.

The Syndicate on the 16th August adopted the following resolution :

- (i) That the following representatives be elected to the Conference :

The Vice-Chancellor.

The Hon'ble Justice Sir Asutosh Mukerjee, Kt., C.S.I.

Sir Nilratan Sircar, Kt., M.A., M.D., LL.D., D.C.L.

Rev. W. S. Urquhart, M.A., D.Litt.

Dr. A. Subrawardy, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt., M.L.C.

Prof. Praniathanath Banerjee, M.A., D.Sc., M.L.C.

(ii) That Rev. A. E. Brown, M.A., B.Sc., be also elected as a representative of the Mofussil Private Colleges on the Conference if the Government sees no objection to the University having six representatives on the Conference in addition to the Vice-Chancellor.

The Senate confirmed the above resolution on the same date.

The Conference met on the 20th and 22nd August, 1923. The proceedings of the Conference were not open to the public, and no authoritative information is available as to the deliberations. His Excellency Lord Lytton presided throughout. The members present were as follows :

I. Representatives of the Government of India :

1. The Hon'ble Sir Narasimha Sarma, K.C.S.I.,
Member for Education, Executive Council of
the Governor-General of India.
2. Mr. J. A. Richey, M.A., C.I.E., Educational
Commissioner with the Government of India.

II. Representatives of the Government of Assam :

3. The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur P. C. Datta, B.L.,
Minister to His Excellency the Governor of
Assam.
4. Mr. J. R. Cunningham, M.A., C.I.E., Director
of Public Instruction, Assam.
5. Maulvi Abdul Karim, B.A.
6. Mr. Kamini Kumar Chanda, M.A., B.L.

III. Representatives of the Government of Bengal :

7. The Hon'ble Sir Bijay Chand Mahtab, K.C.S.I.,
K.C.I.E., I.O.M., Maharajadhiraja Bahadur

of Burdwan, Member, Executive Council, Bengal.

8. The Hon'ble Sir Abdur Rahim, Kt., M.A., Member, Executive Council.
9. The Hon'ble Mr. P. C. Mitter, C.I.E., M.A., B.L., Minister for Education.
10. Mr. J. N. Roy, O.B.E., Secretary, Education Department, Government of Bengal.
11. Mr. W. W. Hornell, M.A., C.I.E., Director of Public Instruction, Bengal.
12. Mr. H. E. Stapleton, M.A., Inspector of Schools, Dacca Division, Member and Secretary.

IV. Representatives of the Calcutta University :

13. Mr. B. N. Basu, M.A., B.L., Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University.
14. The Hon'ble Justice Sir Asutosh Mookerji, Kt., C.S.I., M.A., D.L., D.Sc., Ph.D.
15. Sir Nilratan Sircar, M.A., M.D., D.C.L., LL.D.
16. Rev. Dr. W. S. Urquhart, M.A., D.Litt., Scottish Churches College, Calcutta.
17. Dr. Abdulla al Mamun Suhrawardy, M.A., Ph.D.
18. Rev. A. E. Brown, M.A., B.Sc., Wesleyan Mission College, Bankura.
19. Professor Pramathanath Banerjee, M.A., D.Sc.

It is understood that as a result of the discussions at the Conference, the Government of Bengal have asked the University Representatives to arrange to formulate provisionally proposals for reconstitution of the University. This is obviously the appropriate course to follow, and this is precisely what had been suggested on behalf of the Senate when the Government Bills were first sprung upon them.

The Syndicate on the 31st August, 1923, appointed a Committee to deal with the question.

The Committee has been constituted as follows :

Mr. Bhupendranath Basu, M.A., B.L.

The Honble Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, Kt., C.S.I.,
M.A., D.L., D.Sc., Ph.D.

Sir Nilratan Sircar, Kt., M.A., M.D., D.C.L., LL.D.

Mr. Herambachandra Maitra, M.A.

Mr. G. C. Bose, M.A.

Rev. Dr. G. Howells, M.A., Ph.D., B.Litt., B.D.

Rev. Dr. W. S. Urquhart, M.A., D.Litt.

Dr. Abdulla al Mamun Suhrawardy, M.A., Ph.D.

Mr. Pramathanath Banerjee, M.A., B.L.

Rev. A. E. Brown, M.A., B.Sc.

Professor Pramathanath Banerjee, M.A., D.Sc.

Mr. Pramathanath Banerjee will act as Secretary to the Committee.

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SIR RASHEBHARI GHOSE TRAVELLING FELLOWSHIPS.

The Board of Management of the Ghose Fund have nominated the undermentioned gentlemen for the Travelling Fellowships for 1923-24 :

- (1) Mr. Probodhchandra Bagchi, M.A., University Lecturer in the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture.

Subject—Chinese, Japanese and Tibetan.

- (2) Mr. Surendramohan Ganguly, D.Sc., University Lecturer in the Department of Pure Mathematics.

Subject—Higher Pure Mathematics.

- (3) Mr. Sahayram Bose, M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer in the Carmichael Medical College, Calcutta.

Subject—Botany.

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SIR HENRY HAYDEN.

We are deeply grieved to hear of the tragic death of Sir Henry Hayden who was for many years a Fellow of this University. In 1913 the University conferred on him the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Science in recognition of his valuable contributions to Indian Geology. It will be recalled that he was in our midst in December, 1921, when he revisited India as a member of the Committee appointed by the Government of India to report on the condition of the Tata Institute of Science at Bangalore. He had held out hopes of coming back to India to deliver a course of Readership Lectures embodying the result of his exploration of Tibet.

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DR. NIKHIL RANJAN SEN.

Information has just been received that the University of Berlin has conferred on Professor Nikhil Ranjan Sen the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy for a dissertation which has been approved *magna cum laude*.

JUBILEE RESEARCH PRIZE.

The Jubilee Research Prize for 1923 has been awarded to Mr. Jyotischandra Ghatak, M.A., who submitted a thesis on "The Dramas of Bhasa." The thesis was examined by Sir Asutosh Mookerjee and M.M. Ganapati Sastri of Trivandrum, both of whom commended it in high terms. The thesis will be published in the Journal of the Department of Letters. Mr. Ghatak is now a Lecturer at the Diocesan College. He had a distinguished career and took his M. A. Degree in Sanskrit, Group I, 1918, in Ancient Indian History and Culture, 1919, and in Pali, 1922.

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TAGORE LAW PROFESSORSHIP.

We are disappointed to learn that the Tagore Law Committee has reported that the theses and introductory lectures submitted by candidates for the Professorship for 1924 are not of sufficient merit to justify the appointment of any of the candidates.

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ANCIENT INDIAN CULTURE ASSOCIATION.

On the 31st August, the Post-Graduate Staff and the Post-graduate students of the Departments of Sanskrit, Pali and Ancient Indian History and Culture mustered strong under the presidency of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee to inaugurate the Ancient Indian Culture Association. Professor Bhandarkar and Dr. Barua explained the objects of the Association. We hope to place before our readers a fuller statement on the subject.

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NEW PUBLICATION.

The University Press has just published the first instalment of Typical Selections in Assamese prepared by Srijut Hemchandra Goswami in the series started some years ago in furtherance of the scheme outlined by Sir Asutosh Mookerjee for higher study of Indian Vernaculars. The Typical Selections in Bengali by Dr. Dineschandra Sen, in Uriya by Mr. Bijoychandra Majumdar and in Hindi by Lala Sitaram have been welcomed by scholars, and Assamese is now included in the list. The next volume in the series, we are informed, will be on Guzrathi.

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UNIVERSITY GRANTS IN ENGLAND.

Recently a large sum has been voted by the Parliament for the University of Cambridge. In England, women enjoy the full rights of citizenship, but Cambridge, still under conservative influence, refuses to admit women to full membership of the University. In this country such a grant would, therefore, have been saddled with conditions; but responsible members of the Parliament thought otherwise, for in England the public would not tolerate any interference with University affairs. The *Observer*, an influential Sunday paper in its issue of July 22, very pertinently remarks :

"Much as we regret that Cambridge has not yet seen fit to take the step, one day inevitable, of admitting women to full membership of the University, we are not sorry that the Commons declined to place them under the statutory duty of doing so. Only a week or two back Parliament voted money to the Universities without insisting upon the control of its expenditure, and wisely. The autonomy of the Universities is essential to the value and variety of the contributions they make to national life. They must remain responsible bodies. Parliament was well advised not to impose its wisdom upon Cambridge, especially in a matter where, in the fullness of time, Cambridge will come to wisdom by itself."

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MR. P. D. MOOKERJEE ON CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT.

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE,
GENEVA.

23rd May, 1923.

League of Nations.

DEAR SIR,

Your book on the Co-operative Movement in India has recently arrived at the International Labor Office and has been passed to me as Chief of the Co-operative Service. I am very glad of this opportunity of stating that I have read it with great interest and profit, and can assure you that it will be favourably mentioned in our *International Labour Review*.

I may say that we have always been very anxious here to contribute towards spreading in other countries the knowledge of the growing Indian Co-operative Movement, and have been very fortunate in securing from Mr. Henry Wolff an article on "the Co-operative Movement and Labour in India" which appeared in the *International Labour Review* (February,

1922). Your book, which of course possesses greater fulness of documentation, will, I am sure, serve the same purpose.

Although it seems intended mostly as a reliable guide for Indian practical co-operators and also for students of Economics it shows such a sound and sympathetic understanding of fundamental principles and supplies such accurate and up to date information on the efforts, development and needs of the Indian co-operative movement and even of the various co-operative movements in other countries, that in my opinion it places the general public considerably in your debt.

Yours faithfully,

G. FAUQUET,

Chief of the Co-operative Service.

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DR. GHOSAL ON HINDU POLITICAL THEORIES.

EDINBURGH,

4, CRAWFORD ROAD,

25th July, 1923.

DEAR SIR,

I am in receipt of your letter Misc. S258-XXVIII of the 27th of June forwarding to me a copy of Dr. Upendranath Ghoshal's work on A History of Hindu Political Theories.

I have read with much interest this work, and I am glad to be able to say that I think it is unquestionably one of the most considerable contributions yet made to this interesting topic. The author's information is extensive, and, what is more important in this matter, his judgment is normally extremely sound, and his views are effectively and clearly expressed. His acceptance of the traditional date of the Arthashastra is a matter on which I disagree, but fortunately comparatively little turns in this case on the date.

I have accordingly to ask you to convey to the Vice-Chancellor and the Syndicate my high appreciation of their courtesy in sending me this work, and my sense of the valuable service which they are rendering to the cause of Indian studies by the publication of scholarly treatises of this kind which are calculated to remove prevalent misconceptions regarding Indian political thought.

Yours very truly,

A. BERRIDALE KEITH.

The Registrar, Calcutta University.

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DR. BANERJEE ON HELLENISM IN ANCIENT INDIA.

Dr. Reinhart Muller of Harthau, the distinguished German critic, has recently noticed Dr. Gauranganath Banerjee's *Hellenism in Ancient India*, in the XXist Volume of *Mittheilungen zur Geschichte der Medizin und der Naturwissenschaften*, Berlin. We append below an English translation of the same :—

After an Introduction, the learned Indian Professor arranges his Book in these principal divisions : Greek Influence on the Art of India, Development of Scientific and Literary Culture in India and Greece, as also Independent Evolution of Religion, Philosophy, Mythology and Fables in these countries. In the middle portion, Chapters V and VI are devoted to Astronomy and Mathematics, the former in its relation to the Alexandrine School and the latter in its independent existence among the Hindus. The elaborate VIIIth Chapter deals with the discussion on Medicine. Regard being had to the present position of scientific research, the author has not anything very new to say, yet his presentation and handling of the subject are notable. After a survey of the Medical Sciences in India, the dispute regarding their age and the denial of any foreign influence on them, the Anatomy and Physiology among the Greeks and Indians are dealt with exhaustively. Hippocrates is dated with all plausibility before Susruta. The success of post-mortem system of the Alexandrians is perhaps rated too high, just as Anatomy among the Greek artists. There is a comparative disparagement of the Talmud Osteology. Next is discussed the Burning of the Dead among the two peoples and finally, the analogy between the Indian and Greek Medicine which is drawn from Jolly and which is quoted in original, as also ample use has been made of other German authorities on the subject. To each chapter a bibliographical register is attached. A good Index concludes the work.

In the May number of the "*Indian Antiquary*," the leading *Indian Journal of Research*, an illuminating review has appeared on Dr. Banerjee's book and we wish to quote it *in extenso*.

"It says much for Dr. G. N. Banerjee's handling of this important subject that his book has gone to a second edition in the year succeeding the appearance of the first. It is wide to a bewildering extent and demands for its adequate treatment a matured knowledge of many of those studies that make up the "humanities." Dr. Banerjee has shown himself to be not afraid of tackling any part of it.

Taking Hellenism to be the spread of Greek culture and the Hellenes to be the people who accepted the Greek mode of life, and contemplating

the story of the give-and-take conflict of centuries between Greece and the lands intervening between it and India, and also of the lands within their respective borders in ancient times, one cannot but say that *prima facie* the reciprocal influence must have been very great. How far that influence can be said to have been actually felt as regards India is the riddle that Dr. Banerjee has set himself to solve, so far as a solution is possible. He has not shirked his task and considers it from all points of view—architecture, sculpture, painting, coinage, astronomy, mathematics, medicine, writing, literature, drama, religion, philosophy, mythology, fables and folklore. The view is comprehensive enough in all conscience and its study is history in *excelesis*. Such a width of view demands an enormous amount of varied reading and what is more, an unusual capacity for absorption and assimilation of what is read. Dr. Banerjee has grasped his nettles with a firm hand and has honestly attempted to crush out of them all that they have to give him. He has his opinions, but he states his grounds fairly, and though experts may find what appear to them to be flaws in apprehension and deduction, yet he is so transparently honest and fair that his views and efforts cannot but command respect. He is not afraid of cross-examination and gives his authorities in a series of admirable bibliographies attached to each section of his work. These are not always as complete as they might be, but at any rate one does know exactly on what he bases the faith that is in him. *In this way he has produced a work that is a credit to him and his University.*

The results of his detailed study of his subject Dr. Banerjee sums up in a single sentence: "Greece has played a part, but by no means a predominant part, in the civilisation of ancient India." One is not disposed to quarrel with him in this general view. It is in the details that the interest lies, and here I would like to quote again and again from his pregnant pages; but obviously in a "review" one should leave the reader to Dr. Banerjee's paragraphs themselves. I will merely content myself with remarking that, however much one may be disposed to disagree with the individual opinions expressed by Dr. Banerjee, his book is well worth a scholar's examination."¹

APPEAL FROM GOETTINGEN STUDENTS.

Ever since economic conditions arising from the depreciation of the German mark have steadily been becoming worse, the position of a great number of students of the Georgia Augusta University has become very precarious. Many of these students, who for some years past have been doing important research work, but have not yet completed their course are indeed being forced to discontinue their studies finally, owing to lack of funds and are forced to seek other work in order to earn a bare livelihood.

Therefore we, the foreign students of the Georgia Augusta University, feel ourselves called upon to appeal to all student-bodies of foreign Univer-

¹ The italics are ours.—ED. C. R.

sities and in particular to our own compatriots, and to ask them to assist us in our efforts to assist German students and to come to the aid of German science.

From the University authorities as well as from the student-body of the Göttingen University we have received only kindness both now and before the war. Our wishes have been met in many ways and after careful consideration we are trying to requite them in some way by taking this step.

We must trust that our appeal for help will not pass unheeded and that a serious effort will be made to raise some funds of the older and really needy students of the Georgia Augusta University at Göttingen. Communications can be addressed to the committee of the foreign students at the Göttingen University:

Göttingen, Universitätsaula, Wilhelmsplatz 1

van der Merwe (South Africa)
Reiffer (Switzerland)
Dobreff (Bulgaria)
Dr. Harada (Japan)
D. P. Rayshaudhuri (India)
Nanny Rydberg (Sweden)

Dr. Nikuradse (Georgia).
Wei (China Shanghai).
Dr. Taikalinos (Greece).
Gaviola (Argentina).
Dr. Fernin (Italy).

PROF. SYLVAIN LEVI.

Our readers will be glad to hear that Mr. Probodhchandra Bagchi, University Lecturer, who was awarded a Ghose Travelling Fellowship last year to enable him to specialise in Chinese and Tibetan, continues to make satisfactory progress, as will appear from the following extract from a letter written by Professor Sylvain Levi :

Paris, 1st August, 1923.

"DEAR SIR ASUTOSH,

My young friend P. C. Bagchi has already sent an application to the University of Calcutta in order to get his travelling scholarship extended to next year. It is my pleasant duty to support his request through your kind commendation. The more I get acquainted with P. C. Bagchi, the more I am thankful to you for your entrusting him to my care. I have not to remind you the work he has been doing with me while in India, at Santi Niketan and in Nepal. After sailing from Colombo last October, he visited with me a good part of Indo-China; the very kind help of the French Government enabled him to make a thorough examination of the

magnificent group of buildings known as "the Monuments of Angkor (*i.e.*, Nagor, Nagara) in Cambodia, the noblest and grandest remains of Indian civilisation in the Far East; he is undoubtedly the first Hindu traveller and scholar who could get such a technical acquaintance with these remains. In Southern Annam, too, he could also visit the monuments of old Champa; owing to the kindness of the French Resident, he could attend a Sivaite Puja performed in the "tower" of the Mia-trang; he was the first and, I am afraid, also the last Hindu to attend such a service, as, in spite of the efforts of the French administration, the relics of the Indian civilisation in Champa are disappearing very fast under the pressure of the Annamites. At Haanoi, in Tonking, he was admitted as a temporary "Pensionnaire" in the French School of Far Eastern Researches; there he found a magnificent library put at his disposal, and he spent one full month working—rather over-working—with the help of some fellow-students to make himself familiar with this field of Indian research, so much neglected or practically unknown in India. May I add that he made himself dear to everybody there on account of his lovely character and his steadiness at work?

After leaving Indo-China, we sailed to Japan. First we put up at Tokyo; the winter which happened to be severe proved rather trying for his weak constitution, and I felt for a time a real anxiety about him. Nevertheless he would not stop working, and although he did not find with the Japanese scholars and students in Tokyo the help I had hoped, still he pursued his study of Chinese literature and of Japanese language. Kyoto and the University of Kyoto proved much more hospitable; he could push on strongly his researches on Japanese Buddhism and the Buddhist literature in Japan—another step in his extensive inquiry in Buddhism he had started in Nepal.

He has already got a fairly good knowledge of practical French and when the vacations are over he will be perfectly able to follow any course of lectures in any French institution. His chief aim is, as it was understood before our leaving Calcutta last year, to prepare himself to be a sound Chinese and Tibetan scholar, for the sake of science and for the sake of a better knowledge of India. I have already introduced him to some of his professors who have given him initiatory directions.

I do not want to give you a report of the different works he is preparing for publication; I hope he will have sent it himself; but I ought to add that—in spite of a weak health which causes me some preoccupations,—the works he has in hands are proceeding well and will

certainly be completed during his stay here. I am absolutely sure they will be highly creditable to Indian science.

I see from your last address published in the "Calcutta Review" that many books have been published by the University Press since I left India. Can I get some of them which are particularly interesting for me, first of all the posthumous work of that splendid scholar Satischandra Vidyabhushana on the History of Indian Logic; next, Medhatithi's Version by Jha, and the Dhammapala of Barua and Mitra, and the History of Indian Medicine by Mookerjee? Can I get a regular despatch of the Journal of the Department of Letters, of which I possess only a few numbers, that is Vol. II, Vol. VI (which I received from you personally, and Vol. IX in which my lecture was printed)?

While speaking of my lecture, I am reminded of the short, but happy days, I had in the University during the last year, and of the friendly kindness you have shown me in so many occasions, of the deep emotion that pervaded me when I saw you, with our dear Rabindranath, coming to the station to tell me a last farewell. Allow me to tell you simply and frankly that, though I had only a few opportunities to meet you, I keep and cherish a deep impression of your powerful personality, and that I follow with a loving admiration your noble struggle for the liberty of this University to which I am proud to belong, and which, as a real and not nominal University, is entirely your work.

Believe me,

DEAR SIR ASUTOSH,

Yours very sincerely,

SYLVAIN LEVY."

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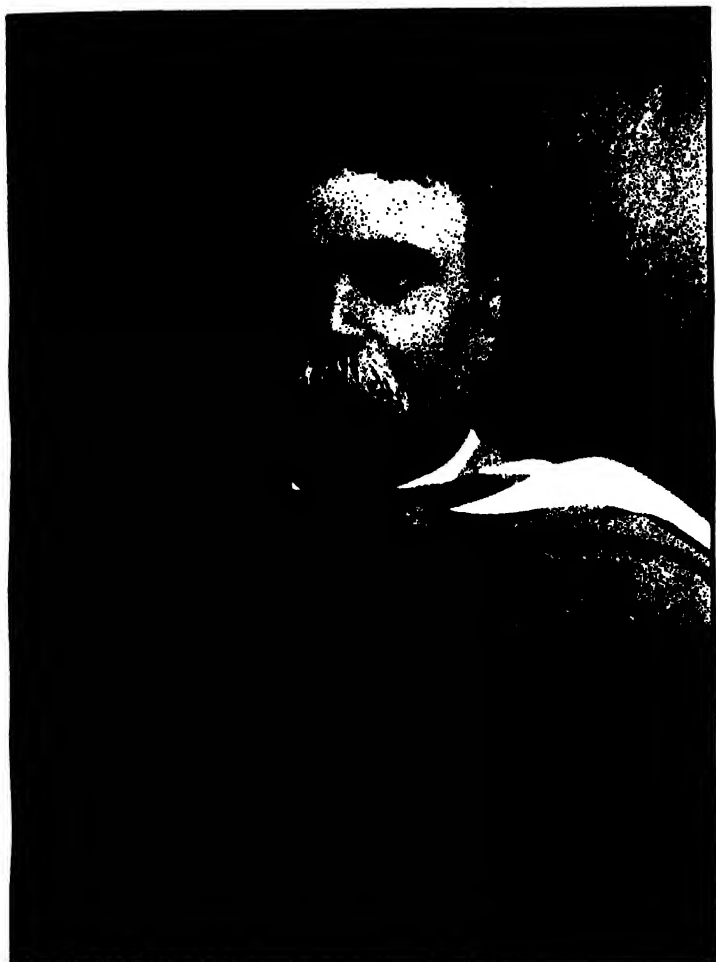
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—

THE GREAT DEPARTED¹

I

Hushed silence fell, and the sad land was weeping
Through halls of learning rang a trembling sigh,
And Genius, on Eastern watch-tower keeping
His now lone vigil, scanned the vaulted sky,
And sadly sought in vain through mists of tears
That one flame planet that through many years
Lighted the way to consecrated shrines,
Where wisdom proudly her green tendrils twines.

II

And lo, the muses came, and their lips trembled
Veiled they their brows as in hushed awe they tread.
All sorrowing and weeping they assembled
While ran the dreaded murmur, — "He is dead,
He whose strong hand kept our fair altars bright,
Held high the glowing torch that shed the light
Of art of science o'er the country wide."
And stood they long in silence side by side.

¹ Sir Anantosh Mookerjee, Kt., C.S.I., D.L., D.Sc., Ph.D.

III

Then Science spake, her silver veil she lifted
While glitt'ring tears clouded her brilliant eye,—
“A woe is me, for his great soul has drifted
Away, away,—and darkling hangs the sky.
No more in undimmed brilliance shines that star
That sent its light glowing unrivalled—far
Over the sea, where still my tossing bark
Struggles mid reef and shoal,—my sky is dark.”

IV

And Poetry, the gentlest of the Muses,
Whose subtle strains ever become more fair
When silver dew of sadness fondly fuses
Its mellow lustre with her vibrant air,
Spake softly trembling,—“Ah, he did depart,
Whose noble hand fostered my tender art;
The kind protector of my soul is dead,
My lyre lies broken, and my song has fled.”

V

And Law, the strong-browed, the calm, the discerning
Stood like a pillar, rigid, still and white,
And spake she,—“He is dead, whose mighty learning
Did never fail him to know wrong from right.
Who on the judgment seat took his strong stand,
And held the scales with firm unshaking hand;
But, ah, too soon he left, his labour done,
I search and find him not,—my noblest son.”

VI

Thus stood they sorrowing, their faces bending,
When, lo, a voice spake from an unknown height,
A star appeared, first pale, then bright, transcending,
And soon surrounded them with golden light.

Spake the voice softly,—“ Upward bend the face,
And there behold the pole-star of your race.
Mourn him no more, for his great soul has flown
Among the mighty dead to find its own.”

VII

And they beheld conclave of glorious sages
In star-lit splendour on empyrean height
A mighty band, who through unnumbered ages
Rule o'er the restless planets in their flight,
Whence, when the world does need them, they take birth,
To live and labour among men on earth,
And take as vanguard of the race their stand
Guiding the masses with unshaking hand.”

VIII

And saw they welling up a crystal fountain,
Whose lucid stream in channels downward flowed,
Saw rugged steps leading to snow-capped mountain
And saw afar a broad extending road,
On it walked many, who beheld the stream
Of crystal whiteness in the distance gleam.
All eagerly pressed on to get their store
Of its pure liquid. Spake the voice once more, —

IX

“ He cut those steps with pain and aspirations
Nor let endeavour to obstruction yield,
To make a path for future generations
That they might climb to virgin, star-lit fields.
Drew water of pure learning from the skies,
Showed men the way to labour and to rise,
The broad road for the many, for the few
The steps to summit bathed in sun-lit dew.

X

“Then weep no more over the Great Departed,
Whose mighty soul returned unto its own,—
The strong, the just, the kind, the Lion-hearted.
But foster ye the seeds that he has sown,
Keep green those verdant pasture where he wrought
The edifices of his tow’ring thought,
And feed the altar-fires, fan on the flame
That ever burn round his immortal name.”

XI

Then felt they a strong heav’n-born inspiration
Infuse new strength into their blood again,
And stepped they forth the living incarnation
Of hope and strength that masters fear and pain.
Stepped forth, took up anew the harp of life,
Entered anew upon that noble strife,
Where strength, endeavour, hope and faith combine
Upon the road that leads to wisdom’s shrine.

XII

Then mourn him not, oh land, his mighty spirit
Found fairer shores, and still from there he gives
His strength, his faith, that ye may them inherit.
Mourn not the Great Departed, for he lives,—
On those fair heights amid that glorious band,
Who ever guide and help the struggling land,
There seek and find him in his mighty place
Among the Guardian Spirits of the race.

A GREAT INDIAN—SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

In Sir Asutosh Mookerjee India has lost one of her greatest men: the world one of its commanding personalities. He was mighty in battle. He could have ruled an Empire. But he gave the best of his powers to Education because he believed that in Education rightly interpreted lies the secret of human welfare and the key to every empire's moral strength. He said in one of his last public utterances, "The waste of fine human material involved in the present system is appalling when we remember that society stands in need of captains in the conflict between knowledge and ignorance, between charity and selfishness, between religion and unbelief, between virtue and sin, between liberty and oppression." He had a passion for Freedom. But he feared and hated Anarchy.

He was a born leader of men. Especially was he a leader of young men. He had a natural sympathy with the young. His aim was to guide the rising generation between the two pitfalls—obsequiousness and intransigence.

He was the spiritual heir of Mr. Gokhale, another guide of young men and servant of Education. But the man whom he more truly resembled, as well in physical vigour as in moral courage, was the American patriot Booker Washington.

Sir Asutosh was called the "Bengal Tiger." This was a misnomer. If he is to be compared to one of the noble animals, it is to the British bull-dog. Certainly, he had the bull-dog's fidelity to his friends, the bull-dog's sensitiveness of feeling and iron tenacity of will.

He had a strong sense of humour and a memorable laugh. The quickness with which he assimilated new idioms and nuances of English style showed the sensibility of his nature; his readiness to follow every point in an argument sprang from his power of swift apprehension. Few men have ever written so faultlessly in a language not their mother tongue.

He was brave and independent in mind. He truckled to no man.

In Sir Asutosh Hindu tradition and western culture were combined. The foundation of his character was religious, not political. His tenderness for home, his veneration for his mother's memory, his family affection sprang from the depth of his nature and from inner piety. Himself a devout Hindu, he respected the convictions and the worship of men and women of other faiths. He was a man of sensibility and also a man at arms.*

MICHAEL SADLER

* Based upon a speech delivered in London soon after the death of Sir Asutosh

SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

The sudden death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee is a loss to Bengal about which I can hardly trust myself to write. Apart from the close connections in public affairs—whether as members of the Board of Accounts of the Calcutta University or as co-Trustees of the Board of Indian Museum or as colleagues on the Council of the Asiatic Society of Bengal—there had subsisted between Sir Asutosh and myself a close personal friendship for about twenty years which no differences of opinion in matters connected either with the University or with other public affairs were allowed to lessen or impair. My highest esteem and regard for him remained unaltered. While I mourn his loss personally as that of a valued friend, Bengal mourns him deeply for in him she has lost one of her greatest sons—one who brought lustre to the intellectual capacities of her race and made her name respected in the eyes of the scholarly world. A man full of the vitality of life and possessed of a wonderful capacity for work, a clear and well-arranged mind, immense industry and an intuitive logical faculty—these gifts are the possession of few chosen mortals. His onerous duties as one of the senior and most distinguished judges of the High Court did not deter him from devoting his scanty leisure to solving the administrative problems connected with the University. Fearless in judgment, Sir Asutosh stood for independence of mind and of character. “*The character of his power was the power of his character.*” In whatever sphere of life he moved he gave a new impetus and a fresh vigour to the cause. A strenuous fighter all his life, he left behind him few resentments. The eloquent tribute paid by His Excellency Lord Lytton on the occasion of the gathering of the Senators of the Calcutta University, met to express their sense of great loss, epitomises the man that was Sir Asutosh. Nothing remains but

a cherished memory of a manly, vigorous and fearless personality endowed with gifts of head and heart—a memory of one who worked for the University with a singleness of purpose and an intensity of devotion which no other Vice-Chancellor will ever be able to show. I cannot think of a higher tribute than of creating a substantial endowment fund for the Post-Graduate Department of the University with which Sir Asutosh was so intimately associated.

R. N. MOOKERJEE



SIR ASUTOSH AS VICE-CHANCELLOR, 1914

INDIA'S INTELLECTUAL GIANT

Sir Asutosh Mookerjee's death is felt as a great national loss in this part of the country also and Bombay offers her sincere sympathy to Bengal on the death of her most distinguished son. He was not known much personally on this side as the Congress which brought leaders from various parts of the country together was closed to him as an official. But he was well known to all by his fame. I first heard of him as the author of a book on Geometrical Conics in 1894 and we students of Mathematics felt proud of our countryman on reading a reference to him in Edward's Differential Calculus as having found a geometrical interpretation of the complicated differential equation of the fifth order of the general conic. If Sir Asutosh had made up his mind to devote himself entirely to the study of Mathematics he is sure to have secured a place in the front rank of world mathematicians. But his genius was all-pervading and a look at the list of subjects on which he could speak with authority almost takes one's breath away. Such an intellectual giant has not been seen in India during the last hundred years.

The work that he did for the University of Calcutta is well known and will be spoken of by others but we have often wished there had been a Sir Asutosh in Bombay. A man of his driving power would have, with the well-known wealth and munificence of Bombay, raised Bombay University to even a higher pitch of glory than he did Calcutta. We can now hope only to follow the example of our sister University. The sturdy independence of the man was well exemplified by the famous letter he wrote to His Excellency Lord Lytton and the dogged opposition he made to Lord Curzon's Universities Bill in the Legislative Council in collaboration with the late Mr. Gokhale.

He came to our side with the Sadler Commission and visited Poona along with most of the members. He brought a large party with him to see Poona and he had put up at the Servants of India Society's Home here according to the arrangements made for him by the late Prof. H. G. Limaye and myself. We were struck with his simple ways and by the perfect want of side. He was good enough to express great admiration for the work we are doing in connection with the Fergusson College and to say that if any reflection were cast upon Indian capacity to manage educational institutions efficiently he would always throw the example of our college in the face of such detractors. He went carefully over all the departments of our college and impressed us all by the force and cogency of his passing remarks.

I remember one little humorous incident in connection with his visit over which I have laughed many times whenever I recalled it. Sir Asutosh was talking of the sights to be seen in Poona as that was his first visit to Poona. Prof. Limaye suggested the inclusion of the famous Parvati temple situated on a hill near Poona. Sir Asutosh was rather averse to the climb of the hill and Prof. Limaye to persuade him that it was not difficult said that the road was quite good and that there were easy steps about 200 in number; to clinch the matter he innocently added, "In the time of the Peshvas even elephants used to go up the Parvati." I do not know whether our visitor felt this as a joke upon his elephantine size but Prof. Limaye was shocked when on leaving I told him what he had said and hoped that Sir Asutosh had missed the force of the remark.

Talking of Prof. Limaye Sir Asutosh got him to advise him on the study of the history of the Mahrathas. He asked him to procure for the Calcutta University all literature on Mahratha History that was available and sent him a sum of money for the purpose. Some of the workers in the University came to Poona and studied the original sources with Prof.

Limaye and several works on Mahratha History have been published by the Calcutta University. Sir Asutosh had the knack of getting distinguished scholars to help his University work and among others got the late Dr. P. D. Gune to edit a book of Prakrit Selections.

I met him for a short time in Calcutta in December, 1921, when, I believe at his instance, I was honoured by the Calcutta University with the degree of D. Sc. It is my lasting regret that the short acquaintance that I formed with him did not ripen into intimate personal relations ; but I shall ever retain the greatest admiration and respect for the man whose intellect was so vast, whose independence was so great and who can be rightly regarded as the father of the present modernised Calcutta University.

R. P. PARANJPYE

THE LATE SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

I have been called upon to offer my homage to the veteran Vice-Chancellor. Our loss is too recent and keen to allow of anything proper being said or done. The earliest recollection that I have of him dates back to 1886, when on joining the Benares Queen's College after Matriculation, I heard the name of Asutosh Mookerjee as a recent master of arts who had proved himself (we were told at College) superior to his examiners at the M.A. Examination. Since then we all looked upon Asutosh Mookerjee as the *BEAU-IDEAL* of the Indian graduate, nicknamed, "the Superlative Asutosh." I was not, however, fortunate enough to make his personal acquaintance earlier than 1909, when I saw him at his residence in Bhowanipur, and I have a vivid recollection of his hearty handshake, and most engaging conversation from which I derived the great satisfaction that he had been sympathetically watching my work as a literary scribbler. From that date onwards till almost the day of his lamented death, he continued to give me his constant help in all my undertakings, and it gives me the greatest pleasure to say publicly that much of my success in the literary field has been due to his sympathy and encouragement.

As regards his work as a judge I am not competent to speak, but as an educationist he stands an easy first. His work for the Calcutta University, and through that, for all Indian Universities, has been of immense value. The department of post-graduate teaching stands out prominently as the monument of his deep scholarship and keen farsightedness. No human institution is perfect; but with all its imperfections, the said department, during the few years of its existence, has produced a band of scholars whose enthusiasm and work in the cause of research has shown to the Indian

public what even an Indian University can achieve,—even in that field, for which the Indian student has been taught from his cradle, there was no scope in this country, and for which he has always been advised to look beyond the four corners of this country. The Calcutta University has demonstrated ocularly that for even the best kind of research in all departments of knowledge, it is not necessary to go out of this country. Ever since Sir Asutosh's retirement I had been looking forward to the day when, having been freed from his judicial duties, the veteran scholar and researcher would put himself actively at the head of the band of researchers, not only at Calcutta, but also at the other centres of learning in the country; not only as a guide and a director, but also as a collaborator and a colleague: I was myself looking forward to the day when I would collaborate with him in translating *Shabara*. The fates, however, have willed otherwise, but the spirit that he has created in us remains unquenched and the best we can do to give satisfaction to his soul is to continue the good work that he initiated, ever watchful of the standard of excellence that he would have exacted from us.

The estimation in which we hold Sir Asutosh Mookerjee is most fitly and tersely expressed in the following words of the great poet:—

“सर्वे पण्डितराजराजितिलकेनाकारि साक्षाधिकम्” ॥

GANGANATHA JHA

THE LATE SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

The underlying tragedy of human life was forcibly brought home to us by the fateful happenings of the evening of Sunday, May 25th. A party of University delegates had travelled down together from the Conference at Simla, accompanied by Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, the second son of Sir Asutosh. We had heard of the latter's illness, but not in such a way as to cause anxiety, and the request that Sir Nilratan Sircar should break his journey at Patna and visit the patient was taken as betokening a natural desire to have at hand a valued physician and University colleague rather than as signifying any immediate danger. Thus our party broke up in the highest spirits, and those of us who travelled on to Calcutta little knew that the blow had already fallen and that the great leader was no more. Next day Calcutta was a city of mourning, and the widespread signs of sorrow, the vast crowds that assembled in the streets and followed onwards to witness the last sad rites, were evidences how deep was the feeling of the intensity of the loss. One who was worthy to be enrolled amongst the greatest workers of his generation had been taken away, and there were many, very many, who felt that they had lost a personal friend, who had helped them in countless ways and whose passing would leave the world for ever emptier for them.

When I first came to Calcutta twenty-one years ago, I once asked in my ignorance, "Who is Dr. Asutosh Mookerjee, and what is his place in the University?" The reply given even then was, "He is the University" and the words acquired depth and significance as the years rolled on, until at the Senate memorial meeting they seemed to form the burden of every speech of remembrance. In comparison with his unique personality and his far-reaching constructive genius it may

have seemed at times that other men and other methods hardly received the recognition that their diligence and self-sacrificing labours merited, but even those who stood nearest to him in age and service would have been the first to acknowledge how central was the place he occupied. Like a colossus he did bestride the world of our University. With apparent ease he bore burdens under whose weight any ordinary man would have staggered, and his energy seemed tireless and inexhaustible. Our sense of loss is overwhelming in proportion to our appreciation of his greatness. It would be misleading to say that he made no enemies and provoked no criticism, but there can be no doubt whatsoever that in the minds of all with whom he came into contact, criticism, even while it remained criticism, was accompanied by admiration, and in many respects was transformed into sympathetic appreciation and substantial agreement. Sir Asutosh was a vigorous opponent, and occasionally so effectively demolished his opponents that hardly a trace of them remained, but one could not help feeling also that his respect for those who differed from him increased with their capacity to maintain their position. Those who took an opposite side were frequently impressed by his receptivity to new ideas, and by his resolute desire to understand and appreciate another point of view. His highest ideal for the University was not a dull uniformity, but that unity in variety in which there is life and growth.

His crowning achievement—the Post-Graduate department—was an expression of his capacity for suggesting a new mental outlook, for creating and combining academic ambitions, and above all, for inspiring with enthusiasm a band of workers who would work earnestly in the pursuit of knowledge. He was specially appreciative of the efforts of younger colleagues and one of his most frequent sayings—which the older men did not always relish—was “Give the young men a chance.” They responded to his trust by giving of their best, and not infrequently by the refusal of more lucrative varieties of

employment. Their personal devotion to him was unbounded, and was probably unique in the annals of Universities.

And what can be said of his diligence, his unremitting, persistent toil in the interests of the University? While other men slept, he laboured; while other men developed their intellectual interests, he busied himself over the proceedings of committees and boards of studies; while others saw no way out of a mass of difficulties he discovered a solution—and devised a scheme, sometimes dependent for its success upon the forcefulness of his own personality, and sometimes upon a clear vision of academic futures.

For the sake of his University he sacrificed health and leisure, bodily ease and intellectual enjoyment. The best tribute we can pay to his memory will be to carry on his work. This will have to be done by co-operation and organisation, for no one man can carry the burden which he has laid down. The forms of our academic service may change, and our departed leader would have been the last to desire that they should be stereotyped. But, given a firm resolve that no element of value in the legacy which he has left us shall be lost, and given also a retention of that spirit of devotion to the common academic good which he so persistently expressed in his life, there need be no fears as to the future of the University of Calcutta, no apprehensions lest we fail to make progress towards that ideal of the advancement of learning which he had so much at heart.

W. S. URQUHART



SIR ASUTOSH AND THE RECIPIENTS OF HONORARY DEGREES AT THE SPECIAL CONVOCATION,
DECEMBER 17, 1921

SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE AND THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

The life of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee can be studied in two different ways. We may study the man—his great qualities, his towering personality, his wonderful genius. Or we may try to estimate his work, his services to his country and to the world. In the short sketch which I have written for the "Bangabani," I have tried to give an estimate of the man Asutosh, his personality, as revealed in his daily life and his public activities. In the present paper, my object is to estimate his work, and that, too, in one particular sphere, the sphere in which he showed his greatest activity, namely, the Calcutta University.

The great work of Sir Asutosh for the Calcutta University may be summed up in one sentence: He raised the University from the position of an examining University to that of one of the greatest teaching Universities in the world.

To understand how Sir Asutosh was able to achieve this, we have to go back to the Calcutta University Act of 1904. The author of this Act was Lord Curzon who launched it with the avowed purpose of officialising the University, little dreaming that the tiny creature at whose baptism he officiated as the high priest, would so soon throw off all shackles of officialdom and become one of the very few institutions where official frowns and favours counted for nothing. The great intelligence of Sir Asutosh soon perceived in the New Act possibilities of expansion never dreamt of by its author. That this is so is proved by the fact that although the Act was meant for the whole of India, for several years after the passing of the Act the Calcutta University remained the only University which had changed its constitution and become a teaching University.

The Universities Act was passed in 1904 and two years later Sir Asutosh became the Vice-Chancellor. He immediately

threw himself whole-heartedly into the task of re-organising the University. A set of regulations called the New Regulations was framed which greatly widened the sphere of activity of the University. These were the foundations upon which the structure of a teaching University was reared. The main change was that while the system of affiliation was not done away with, the University directly took charge of certain branches of teaching. This system, too, was later found inconvenient and all Post-graduate teaching was taken away from the affiliated colleges and centred in the University. When this latter change was made, it created considerable opposition in interested circles but the experience of the last eight years has clearly demonstrated the wisdom of the change.

The resources of the colleges were quite inadequate for Post-graduate teaching, such as was contemplated under the New Regulations. There was only the Presidency College which could make some decent show of coming up to the standard prescribed by the New Regulations. But, as Sir Asutosh pointed out in his Convocation speech in 1914, the Presidency College, however well staffed and equipped, could take in only a small fraction of the students who sought "assistance and guidance in the fulfilment of their ambition to go beyond the B. A. stage." Moreover, the authorities of the Presidency College were really exceedingly slow to "bring their institutions up to the new standards even in a few branches of study." The privilege of affiliation to the M. A. standard was, again, a fruitful source of inter-collegiate jealousy. For all these reasons, the present system is a decided advance upon the previous one.

The vastness of the Post-graduate department will be realised from the fact that in the year 1920-21 in the department of Ancient Indian History and Culture alone there were 23 Professors and Lecturers. Likewise in the department of English there were 21 Professors and Lecturers. So also in the Department of Indian Vernaculars there were 25 Professors

and Lecturers. The subjects taught were the following :—English, Sanskrit, Pali, Arabic and Persian, Comparative Philology, Philosophy, Experimental Psychology, General History, Ancient Indian History and Culture, Anthropology, Economics, Pure Mathematics, Applied Mathematics, Modern Languages, French, Tibetan, Poverty Problem, Indian Vernaculars, Physics, Chemistry, Geology, Botany, Physiology, Zoology—altogether twenty-four subjects.

The output of the research work of the University Professors and Lecturers is also very considerable. The University owns a press and some of the volumes are published by the University itself. A great deal of the research work done by the University teachers appears, however, in the journals of the learned societies of England. The Calcutta University also publishes a Journal of Letters which contains a good portion of the research work of its teachers.

The range of subjects covered by the researches of the University Professors and Lecturers is very wide. From "Self-government and the Bread problem" to "The History of the Bengali Language" and "The colour and polarisation of the light scattered by sulphur suspensions," they include almost all branches of human interest.

The University is thus beginning to play its real part in the life of the nation. As Sir Asutosh beautifully expressed in his Convocation Address in 1922, "It is the duty of the University to gather from the persistent past, where there are no dead, and to embody within its walls the learning of the world in living exponents of scholarship who shall maintain in Letters, Science and Art the standards of truth and beauty and the canons of criticism and taste. It is further incumbent upon the University to convey to the community in popular, quite as much as in permanent form, the products of the highest thought on current problems of science and society, of government and public order, of knowledge and conduct."

All this is the work of one man. The University has definitely abandoned its attitude of detachment and begun to take its legitimate place in the life of the community in all its aspects, scientific, economic and political. Whether it will play a still larger part in the national life will depend upon us, upon our determination to stand by our *Alma Mater* and to resist with all the strength we can command all attempts which a jealous Government and an ignorant public have made to discredit her. Thank God, we have at last had our political awakening and this is bound to react favourably upon our attitude towards the University. For if we really want to be a free nation, we must develop the University in such a way that it can be a training ground for free beings. There must, therefore, be no curbing of any activity which is essential to the realisation of our true manhood, no shutting out of any light which helps a free spirit to realise itself. Signs are not wanting that the public has at last realised its responsibility in this matter and has changed its previous attitude of scepticism for one of confidence in the policy of the University. This change of attitude is due to various causes, not the least of which is the attempt on the part of the government to throttle the University. The people have shown in as clear a manner as possible that they are not going to put up with any policy which tries to make the University a Government department. Lord Lytton's attempt has failed and failed miserably, and it is not likely that any future Governor of Bengal will repeat his folly. Lord Lytton's attempt to control the University seemed all the more strange and his defeat all the more deserved, in that he had before him the report of the Calcutta University Commission of 1917-19 which thus described the relations between the University and the Government: "The relations between the Government and the University are of an unsatisfactory kind, involving far too much detailed Government intervention which cannot be satisfactorily exercised and undermines the sense of

responsibility of the University authorities; while the peculiar relation between the University of Calcutta and the Imperial and Provincial Governments adds an element of complexity and confusion which is not found in the other Indian Universities."

If the Government had been generous in the matter of contributions to the University, there would have been some justification for this attempt to control the University. But what are the facts? The total annual contribution of the Government to the University of Calcutta is only Rs. 1,41,128. If we deduct the amount which the University pays to the Government as honorarium for the professors of the Presidency College, the annual Government contribution comes to only Rs. 1,07,000. This is the magnificent sum which the Government spends on the University and on the strength of which it wants to control the University.*

The meagreness of the Government grant constitutes a positive scandal. The Calcutta University provides teaching for about 3,000 students, while in the Dacca University the number of students taught is only 1,000, yet the Government grant for the former is only a little over one lakh, while for the latter it is nine lakhs. There is absolutely no justification for this remarkable difference in the attitude of the Government towards these two Universities.

Sir Asutosh Mookerjee fought continuously for over ten years against this attitude of the Government and though he did not succeed in securing a change in the Government attitude, yet he achieved what was a much greater success, that is, he thoroughly convinced his countrymen of the justice of the University's claim to a much greater support from the public revenues. He has exposed, as no one before him has done, the utter hollowness of the Government's contention that

* The above was written before the last Convocation took place. It is a matter of justification that Lord Lytton has promised to wipe off the University Budget deficit and to be more generous in the matter of contributions to the University.

the Calcutta University does not need any further assistance from the Government.

The Government has tried to make capital of the fact that the University of Calcutta is faced with a heavy deficit. May we ask, with the exception of the big Universities of America which enjoy princely donations, is there any University in the world which does not suffer from financial embarrassment? Only the other day, Oxford and Cambridge were on the verge of bankruptcy and they would have had to cut down a great deal of their activities, if the British Government had not come forward with a large grant. The following statement culled from the issue of the "Calcutta Review" for April, 1922, will show the amount of State aid which the Universities of England received and the amount of deficit which in spite of such liberal State aid, their budgets exhibit :—

Tuition and examination fees of twenty-one English Universities and Colleges (excluding Oxford and Cambridge).	£ 587,039
Treasury and other Parliamentary grants	.. .. 510,637
Local authority grants and endowment income	... .. 350,916
Estimated deficit	... .. 510,135

That the University of Calcutta has been able to carry on with such a scandalously meagre official grant without cutting down any of its essential activities is due to the genius of the late Sir Asutosh.

The Department of Indian Vernaculars, which in the words of Sir Asutosh himself "should constitute the chief glory of the University in the eyes of all patriotic and public-spirited citizens," was the crowning achievement of his glorious life. "For the first time in the history of Indian Universities, it became possible for a person to take the highest University degree on the basis of his knowledge of his mother-tongue." But not only is one's own mother-tongue thus enthroned, but an impetus has

been given to the study of the other vernaculars of India. For the fundamental principle upon which the new Department rests is that a student is required to possess a thorough knowledge of his own mother-tongue and a less comprehensive knowledge of a second vernacular. The student is also required to obtain a working acquaintance with two of the languages which have formed the foundation of the Indian vernaculars, such as Pali, Prakrit and Persian.

It has often been said that Sir Asutosh did not feel very much the need of technical education. How mistaken this view is, will appear from the following extracts from his Convocation Speech for the year 1922:—

“Let me emphasise that though much has already been achieved, more still remains to be accomplished, especially, in the direction of expansion of what may be called industrial studies. The opportunities of Modern Universities are, indeed, much more comprehensive in this respect than they have ever been before in the civilised world. Industry and education will march forward, more and more, hand in hand, for this is pre-eminently a time to awaken industry and education alike. Industry in its many-sided interests will look to education for enlightenment and support, and out of the laboratories of the University will emanate in an ever-increasing measure the influences that make for economic and industrial improvement and contribute to the betterment of human living and to the good of mankind. I have in my mind particularly the development of technological studies in the broadest sense of that expression, not merely in the University but also in hundreds of schools in the province where the students and teachers alike legitimately display a hopeful yearning for vocational training, unhappily not yet satisfied.”

It was Sir Asutosh who asked Captain Petavel to formulate a scheme for the solution of the bread problem among the middle classes of Bengal, and Sir Asutosh

accepted this scheme and at the time of his death was trying to put it into operation.

I have often thought that it would have been better for Bengal if Sir Asutosh had not been such a towering genius. For the inevitable consequence of this has been the utter confusion which we see all around us immediately after his death. If he had been a less great genius, other men would have been able to continue the work which he had initiated. But he was miles ahead of other men, and there is no man living who can in any sense be said fit to take his place. The future of the Calcutta University, therefore, fills my mind with some amount of gloom.

There are many dangers and difficulties which beset the path of the Calcutta University. There is the ever-present trouble with the Government which wants to exercise an ever-increasing control over its affairs without being saddled with its burdens. There will be no Sir Asutosh to save the University from such onslaughts upon its independence.

The University, moreover, will very soon find itself called upon to adapt itself to modern political conditions, especially, to the growth of democracy. There are some who believe that University education is a delicate plant which cannot thrive under democracy. If these people happen to be in power, there will ensue a tussle between the University and democracy, in which the University is sure to come out second best. It will be well for the University to recognise that though unenlightened democracy may be a source of danger to the University, yet it is after all only a passing phase. As democracy becomes more and more firmly rooted, it will interfere less and less with higher education, being content to leave it in the hands of those to whom, in the interests of democracy itself, it is best to leave it. Democracy is a fact and the most important fact of the present day. It is itself the result of a long process of education. It will be foolish, therefore, on the part of the



SIR ASUTOSH MUKHERJEE, FEBRUARY, 1921

University to try to ignore it. The University, moreover, possesses in its hands the very instrument with which to shape and enlighten democracy and thus remove for ever all danger from this source. As Sir Asutosh beautifully expressed it, "a great weakness in a democracy, uninformed and unenlightened, is the indifference that largely prevails to the paramount need for the broadest education of all grades amongst the people. And it is the business of the educator to recognise this weakness, to come down from his heights into the valleys, and to work in the light that has been given him for the extension of educational opportunities amongst the new democracy. That will make in the end for the salvation of his country.....If we succeed in this our mission the New Democracy, proud and humble, patiently pressing forward, praising her heroes of old, training her future leaders, seeking her own in a nobler race of men and women, will proclaim her confession of faith in the beautiful words of the poet :

" Faith in the worth of the smallest fact and the laws that
govern the star-beams,

Faith in the beauty of truth and the truth of perfect
beauty.

Faith in the God, who creates the souls of men, by
knowledge and love and worship."

SHISHIR KUMAR MAITRA

THE LATE SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

"The country knows not yet, or in the least part, how great a son it had lost." Thus wrote Emerson on the death of Thoreau. With not less truth, I quote these words in reference to the death of one of the greatest of our countrymen.

It is one of the few hopeful things in human nature that if we get to know people, we generally also get to like them. And this is how I got to know, like and respect this great man.

It was in the late October of 1921, I met him for the first and last time. He was then bidding good-bye to a very dear young friend of mine, who was leaving for the Edinburgh University. His parting words still re-echo in my ears. "My boy," he said, "I have done all I could for you. Now, work hard and return home a great man." My friend informed me later that his Indian friend was none other than Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, a Judge of the High Court, Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, something of the Asiatic Society, etc. In short, he was everything everywhere. He fairly took my breath away. But I was proud of my fortunate experience. I had met face to face the man who filled so large a space in the social and intellectual life of the country.

In the friendship of this eminent Indian for a poor Anglo-Indian boy, I saw the possibility and the potentiality of a wider sympathy and a better understanding between my depressed community and the larger flourishing communities of Indians, for the greater good of our common motherland.

Again, he was a sincere well-wisher of our community. In connection with the recent affiliation of one of our Colleges to the Calcutta University, he expressed himself to the

Principal, thus:—"I am delighted with the step you have taken. I shall revise the syllabus of studies so as to make it as helpful as possible for our poor Anglo-Indian boys. Higher Education will no doubt provide them with one of the solutions to the many problems which hinder their progress." These words, coming from a man, whose intellectual qualities were of a remarkably high order, testify to the good will which cultured Indians have towards us. But, let me proceed. I said that Sir Asutosh's intellectual qualifications were remarkably high. His was a towering personality. He epitomized his era and the intellectual life of his province and of his country. His mind was open to the prevailing winds of thought from all quarters. His vision, always bent to the future, swept far horizons. He lay broad upon his times, his significance absorbed a multitude of lesser men; his eminence grew more imposing as he advanced in years.

If he were great as a Jurist, he was far greater and more human as an Educationist. As a politician, his fearless aggressiveness might have brought him to the forefront of Freedom's battle. But his lot was cast on happier lines. He chose the forefront of human thought. He drove his lonely furrow away from the dust and the din of political strifes and was proud and happy only to prepare the soil and sow the seed for the growth of a nation's freedom. The Calcutta University was his chiefest care. He tended it; nursed it and guarded it with all the tenderness of a mother for her newborn child. It was his "Joyous Guard." He kept watch and ward over it with the heroism of a faithful sentinel. When the authority of an alien ruler assailed its ramparts, he challenged that authority with the intellectual courage of a leader, who sees even in the breach the final triumph of his cause.

Again, as an Educationist, he was pre-eminently an activity and a force—he was an apostle of Progress. He hitched his wagon of progress to many stars well knowing that when he was no more, and perhaps forgotten, his people

would at least remember the stars and be guided by them. But, alas ! when a man's work is done, he rests from his toil and sinks quietly to sleep. And, thus, we who are Hindu and Mohammedan and Christian ; Bengali and Pathan and Anglo-Indian gather under the melancholy cloud of a great sorrow to mourn his loss.

His end was tragic. With the call of duty in his ears, his mind filled with thoughts of his beloved University, his eyes turned to the lights of home, his heart yearning for repose in the bosom of his family, he was making ready to return when the Reaper, Death, called him elsewhere.

He was struck down by an unknown disease and ere any assistance could reach him, he passed away in the dingy shelter of a strange Beharee lodging. What a tragedy ! What an affliction !

My thoughts at the moment are full of the sincerest sympathy for his disconsolate widow, for his heartbroken sons, for his bereaved relations and for his unfortunate dependents in their heart-rending sorrow.

But, enough ! God console the living. There's no balm in Gilead for them. God grant peace to the dead. His mercy is exceeding great.

A. C. D'SANTOS

SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

Some day some one will write the life of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, and I envy him the wealth of material which he will have at his disposal. But that very wealth of material—and even when drawn solely from recollection, it is overwhelming in its bulk—is a serious embarrassment, as one sits down to write a few words about Sir Asutosh.

I first met Sir Asutosh at the house of my late lamented colleague Professor J. N. Das Gupta. I remember we discussed the achievement of the Hindus in the sphere of historical study. That must have been in the cold weather of 1909-10. I met him for the last time just before his fatal visit to Patna, on which occasion we discussed University freedom. Between those two dates 1909-1924—my whole official life—Sir Asutosh bestrode the University stage like a colossus. He had a policy. Come what might—though the heavens fell—that policy should be carried through. Petty men—and some who were by no means petty—rose up and opposed him. All were swept aside. “This policy will not do; other ways are better,” said they. “Other ways may be better,” was the decisive reply, “but they are not possible.” And straight towards the mark Sir Asutosh continued on his way, until he had created the Teaching University of Calcutta. That in brief is the story of those fifteen years during which I knew him.

I think one felt for Sir Asutosh that admiration which most men feel for any one who gets things done, and essentially Sir Asutosh was the man who got things done. We criticised; sometimes we opposed; now and then we felt that perhaps progress had taken a wrong turning; but when Sir Asutosh had gained his point and carried through the policy at which he was aiming, one could never fail to recognise the

skill, the generalship, and the immense effort which had combined to achieve the desired result, and "even the ranks of Tuscany could scarce forbear to cheer."

I had looked forward, some day in the future, ~~after~~ he should have established himself in the political arena, to serving under him as a master. For had he entered the Legislative Council, he would, I think, have, sooner or later, taken charge of the education portfolio, when opportunity made it possible. Had fate permitted this, I think he would have completed his life's work by adding the reform of the school system to his other achievements in the sphere of educational organisation. Fate decreed that this task should be left to others. But it is a tragedy that he was never afforded that opportunity of removing the reproach that he failed to create a new school system at the same time as the new university system. Sir Asutosh's reply to that criticism would, I think, have been: "Give me time; let me finish my present task first." Time alas! was not given, and we are left with that saddest of reflections—"it might have been."

I have valued the opportunity afforded me in these pages of saying my last regretful farewell. I shall ever remember the smile of welcome with which he always greeted me, and the invariable courtesy and kindness which I experienced at his hands.

E. F. OATEN

THE LATE SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

It is hardly a month since Sir Asutosh died and his figure is still too near to us for it to be seen in anything like final perspective. My experience of him was neither so long nor so intimate as that of many other contributors to this number. I met him for the first time about the beginning of the year 1921 and I remember vividly the heartiness with which he welcomed a newcomer and the enthusiasm with which he spoke about the University and its place in the making of modern India. To my mind his claim to greatness rests not so much on the reforms he initiated and worked out—great as they are—as on his sympathy for scholars, enthusiasm for learning and the power to communicate them to all near him. We miss to-day the sunshine and warmth of his eager, vital and joyous personality.

While his interests and activities covered a wide range the University was the main object of his devoted affection and labour. He was undoubtedly the outstanding figure in the history of higher education in India. The Post-Graduate Department was his most distinctive contribution and by his death it has lost its ablest champion. A leader of men, he put into what many have considered the narrow sphere of University education, the fulness of his enthusiasm, administrative genius and organising power. Many of our politicians, in their anxiety to advance the material prosperity of the country overlooked the more vital cultural basis of all progress and thus seemed to Sir Asutosh, to be walking into a deepening darkness. A nation cannot be lifted, all on a sudden, to a higher plane. Men of true culture and piety cannot grow themselves. We cannot carve them out of wood or hew them out of stone. He felt that the youth of the country should be inspired with a vision growing out of the past into the fulness of the future. This, perhaps, is the explanation of his special attachment to the department of Ancient Indian History and Culture. The institution of the Kamala Lectureship on Ancient

Indian Life and Thought is another evidence of it. Singularly free as he was from racial, sectarian and provincial narrowness, he helped to make the University a truly national institution. It is foolish to imagine that Sir Asutosh was not so much for elevating the minds of the masses as for affording careers to pedants. Those who light but a little candle in the darkness help to make the whole sky aflame. In years to come, it will be recognised, to his lasting credit, that he furthered the true progress of his people by diverting some of the best among them, from the chief industries of the land, law and government service, to scholastic careers. Many of those who have enhanced the reputation of the University in the world of letters—to mention names would be invidious—took to literary and scientific pursuits, thanks to the passionate pleadings of Sir Asutosh.

During the last years of his life, some of his activities came in for a good deal of hostile criticism. It is the tallest trees that attract the lightning. Nobody claims for Sir Asutosh an incredible perfection. It is quite true that he dominated all the Committees on which he sat. But the secret of his power was not his autocratic nature. Joseph Chamberlain, in accounting for his success said, "In every Committee there is only one man who knows his mind and he leads the rest and that one man happened to be 'myself.'" In University affairs, Sir Asutosh happened to be that 'one man' with a clear grasp of the general principles as well as small details. His knowledge was his power. The lesson is clear that greatness and power are reserved for those who strive and struggle and not merely play and pretend.

But of all his qualities, that which perhaps strikes one most was that wonderful simplicity of nature which Tennyson noted in the Iron Duke,

"And, as the greatest only are,
In his simplicity sublime."

S. RADHAKRISHNAN



THE LATE SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

Fortified with all modern intellectual equipments in science, literature and law, gifted with an imagination worthy of a creator, possessing enthusiasm and endurance rarely equalled, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was one of the greatest of men born of any age. Apparently a complex personality, his whole passion of life was the intellectual regeneration of his country, which achieved uncommon success during the short period of time he was at the helm of affairs of the Calcutta University. The keen and genuine appreciation he felt for merit, led him almost to thoughtless patronage which only showed in its true light, the inner man. A masterful person in all his relationship with men, he was fearless and uncompromising, but a generous opponent. With extraordinary acuteness, combined with character, with a strict sense of justice, blended with humane perceptions, imbued with old as well as modern culture, he was undoubtedly the most outstanding personality in modern India, whose phenomenal achievements will mark an era of progress in this country. If the Calcutta University has won a recognised position in the literary and scientific centres of the world, it is due in no small measure to his initiative and untiring activities. Had he been born in a free country, where his talents might have found untrammelled scope, he would most certainly have followed politics as his career, and would have ranked as a Bismark.

P. C. RAY

SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

As lightening stroke doth fell the tree,
Which stood but now in royal pride,
And sets the Monarch's spirit free,
But desolates the countryside :

So, Death, in flash of moment's time,
Hath torn from us a man so great—
That we, perchance, may never climb,
As when he led us—ruling " Fate."

A Province mourns her Son to-day ;
India is poorer, losing him ;
Where British Empire holds her sway,
His going leaves her lustre dim.

Shall we, who served him during life,
Forsake his vision, now he's gone ?
Nay! This we vow, through storm or strife,
Unfurl his flag, and carry on.

A. B.

A. M.

(25th May, 1924)

Farewell great Worker ! Dreamer of great dreams !
Who dared to gaze back in the depths profound
Of India's glorious past ; who sought and found,
In our beloved Motherland, the streams
Of Holy Ganga, that, from Siva's hair
Descending, offer'd draughts of Wisdom rare
To thirsting souls of men. Now underground
This Ganga flows : how drag her out once more
To surface, whereby, as in days of yore,
Our land become a place of pilgrimage,—
This was the only thought that did engage
Each moment of thy life. God-giv'n thy store
Of gifts thou didst for India freely pour :
Come back,—for Service greater than before.

POST-GRADUATE.

MY REMINISCENCES

The editors of the *Calcutta Review* have asked me to contribute a note on my reminiscences of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee.

I well remember being told in England that Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was all-powerful in higher education in Bengal and, when I was first appointed (in 1917) a member of the Sadler Commission, on which he was my colleague, that he would have ready for us a scheme for the re-organisation of the University of Calcutta, which the Commission would, no doubt, accept. It would have been surprising indeed if Sir Asutosh, who had devoted so much of his life to the University, had not thought out proposals to lay before us. He met the English members of the Commission with Sir Sankaran Nair, then Minister for Education, at Bombay, shortly after our arrival.

My first recollection of his personality is vivid: the massive form swathed in *chuddar* and *dhoty*, the powerful head and neck, the brilliant eyes, the ready and good-humoured smile (I never saw him smile ironically) the clear and rapid speech, generally low, but rising in intensity with his feelings. He spoke to us for something like an hour with eloquence, with passion, with humour, on the great problems before us. The speech was masterly. It was clear that he knew every detail of University organisation in Bengal. But he was not acquainted with the details of Indian teaching outside Bengal, nor with the Universities in other parts of the world, and he showed, almost at once, his willingness to think out afresh the problems of education to which he was so passionately devoted. With the rest of us, he visited the class-rooms of colleges and schools, spoke to students and parents, to teachers and organisers, and patiently sat down to

read and digest the immense volume of written evidence submitted to us. We travelled together many thousands of miles, we worked together for over seventeen months, we held over one hundred and ninety meetings; and during that time the five volumes of report and the eight volumes of evidence and memoranda were written or compiled and most of them were printed. It is no indiscretion to say that during our deliberations Sir Asutosh altered almost completely his original views. Each chapter, almost each paragraph, of the report was debated in detail and modified to meet the common view of all the members as far as possible. Sir Asutosh was an admirable debater. He could speak at length if he wished, but I have never met any one more capable of condensing an argument or of putting it tersely and forcibly, nor any one more capable of listening with patience to the arguments of others. At times it was clear that the differences of individual members could not be thrashed out in the Committee-room and on more than one occasion it was my pleasure and privilege to go for a long walk with Sir Asutosh, either on the Maidan at Calcutta, or along the hill-side at Darjeeling, and so to arrive at an agreement which had previously seemed impossible. But I shall not be accused of indiscretion, if I say that it was mainly due to our Chairman, Sir Michael Sadler, that the conflicting views of the different members of the Commission were so largely brought into harmony, and that Sir Asutosh was not a signatory to any dissentient note. He had the largeness of mind to perceive the defects of the system which he had done so much to create, and to wish for its amendment. It is not the place here to explain why the recommendations of the Commission have so far remained unacted on in Bengal, except in Dacca. But I may recall that Sir Asutosh gave me what assistance he could at the initiation of the University of Dacca. For some time he acted as a member of the Advisory Committee or whose recommendations the Chancellor (Lord Ronaldshay) made the first appointments

to the teaching staff, and he personally recommended to me not less, I think, than six members of the post-graduate staff of the University of Calcutta for appointment to higher positions in the University of Dacca, though he was reluctant to part with any of them. My personal relations with Sir Asutosh, both during the Commission and after my return to India were uninterrupted by any difference. For obvious reasons I have abstained from taking part in recent controversies with regard to the University of Calcutta and I never discussed them with him either verbally or in writing. But Sir Asutosh was well aware that my desire for the advancement of the University of Dacca did not prevent me from urging on every possible occasion that financial assistance should also be given to the University of Calcutta. Bengal with its 45 million people has need of two Universities at least, and it will be a false economy if Bengal does not provide them with the funds they require for efficient working. Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was the first man in Bengal to realise that a University, if it is to be a real University, must not only teach and examine but also advance science and learning, and he carried his theories into practice. In many ways I have come to know how great a stimulus he has given to almost every young man of promise with whom he came into contact. He also clearly saw that it was in the interest of Bengal that the University of Calcutta should secure the best men for its teaching, whether they were natives of Bengal or came from other parts of India. No man is without his faults; but the services which Sir Asutosh rendered to the University of Calcutta and to its students in the more advanced stages, were immense. Only a man of his amazing vitality and physique could have carried on his work as a Judge of the High Court and as Vice-Chancellor and Chairman of the two Post-graduate Councils at the same time. Yet it was beyond the power of any man with such divided claims to carry out a policy of reconstruction in an institution of the great

complexity and size of the University of Calcutta. I had hoped that some day Sir Asutosh, as a whole time Vice-Chancellor of the University, would be able to put into execution the reforms which he had advocated. But it was not to be. We shall long mourn the departure of a man whose vast capacity and encyclopædic learning, whose devotion to the cause of higher education and whose ceaseless energy made him the admiration of all who knew him. In Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, India loses one of the greatest of her sons. In his person he united ideals of the East and of the West. He was a non-compromising Hindu, faithful to ancestral belief and tradition ; yet his mind was open to all ideas, from whatever source they came, and few Westerns have had a more catholic mastery of Western thought ; and for him thought meant not only contemplation but action.

P. J. HARTOG

SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

The Torch of Learning hold on high,
Brothers all are, within its ray.
Bengal and England, 'neath one sky,
Proclaim United Empire Day.¹

For this he strove, for this he fought,
The highest ever to attain—
The Sciences and Arts he brought
Together, for his country's gain.

What feeble pen can tell his praise,
Or tell of how we feel his loss ?
Or, how, fit monument to raise,
To show him gold, above earth's dross ?

We watch his undying spirit soar,
To heights beyond all earthly fears :
He would not have us sorrow more,
He waits for us to dry our tears.

And follow still, the Golden Gleam
Of Torch, which he hath handed on :—
Till we shall also cross Life's stream :—
That last experience bravely won.

A. B.

¹ (Sir Anutosh Mookerjee's sudden death was cabled to England on Monday the 25th of May : the 24th was Empire Day.)

SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

I have always regarded Sir Asutosh Mookerjee as the most outstanding figure in Bengal, and as one of the most outstanding figures in India, during my time. The traits in him which most impressed themselves upon me were his force of character, breadth of knowledge and powers of work. He never seemed to spare himself, and I fear that it was the heavy case he undertook at Patna which overtaxed his strength. It was typical that, even then, amid all his professional work, he gladly delivered a most able address to the local Research Society.

HENRY WHEELER

SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

(Some personal touches.)

So much has been written during the past month and more about this great Indian that there is indeed a danger that one may lose sight of the human being while reading all the appreciations that have appeared. To me it seems always a mistake to make a god of any human being. To me Asu Babu the god or the demigod is disappointing, but Asu Babu, *the man* is one of the most inspiring beings with whom I have had the privilege of working. It is, therefore, the man I will consider in this little tribute from one who has always regarded him as one of the greatest figures in the world of the present generation.

My first meeting with him was characteristic of the man. I had come to Calcutta seeking a post that I had heard was vacant. I had met several University officials but had little encouragement from any. I was asked to see Sir Asutosh, and when I in my turn asked for a letter of introduction I was told that I had best introduce myself. I started off next day in the morning, accordingly, for 77 Russa Road. Arriving there I saw a whole lot of men gathered there, among them our present Controller of Examinations. I waited with the others and presently in walked Sir Asutosh from the inner doorway. Seeing me to be a stranger he came up first to me. He was dressed in a *genji* (it was February) and a *dhoti*. He asked me a few questions, heard my request, and then he said, "I will have you." What struck me was the absolute confidence with which he said these words and also the pronoun in the first person singular. My friends when they heard of this told me that the thing was done and that I was as good as

appointed. Here, I thought, was a leader worth following, for he knew exactly what he wanted and when he had made up his mind he spoke it out unequivocally.

My first "brush" with him was another occasion worth noting. It was a meeting of my special Board; of course, he was presiding. In the course of the meeting some proposal was made from the chair. I had the hardihood to suggest an amendment; I was young in the ways of the University then. A very curt and decisive "No" from the chair, and I subsided mute and mentally hurt. He had noted my discomfiture and when I met him again at Russa Road a few days later, he referred to the matter and explained why he had been so short at the meeting. He made it quite clear to me that other departments with which I had nothing whatever to do would be affected by what I had suggested, and that he could not take all the other members of the meeting into confidence. I learnt my lesson. Ever afterwards whenever I had any proposal to make I first discussed it with him in private. No one could have listened more patiently, no one could have taken such pains to place his own point of view so frankly and unreservedly before another as he used to do with me. And when the matter came before the meeting it was already decided. This the outsiders called his "autocracy" but I know, and all my colleagues know, that it was as great a "democracy" as was possible to have. Often, indeed, we had to give way before his superior wisdom and riper experience. But I can remember occasions when the victory had been mine. All matters were discussed freely before they were brought forward formally in the meetings. It meant an enormous saving of time, I never remember any business meeting lasting more than ten minutes. Outsiders only saw how these meetings were conducted, where the President alone did the speaking. They ought to have tried to find out something more of what was actually happening before hurling their accusations at the great man.

The thing that struck one most in him was his vast intellect as well as his imagination and intuitive power of gauging men. There were few subjects taught in this University about which he did not know more than an average professor, while in some subjects, like Mathematics and Sanskrit, his knowledge was profound. The only Boards of which he was not the President in the Post-Graduate Arts department were those for Latin and for Hebrew and Syriac. To have had such a gigantic brain at the head of all departments led to a correlation and co-ordination of the various parts which would have been impossible without him. In spite of all his deep knowledge he never interfered with the purely academic side of our work, preferring to leave this matter to the expert ; but occasionally he would come out with some suggestion regarding a book or some scheme of studies which would set the "experts" wondering where and how he knew about it.

His imagination was of a quality which is rarely found with such great practical ability. When he started talking about his beloved India and what she was and what she would be in the future, his words had all the fire of those of a poet and a prophet. Never for a moment did he doubt that India was to be great in the near future. He dared to dream dreams of her greatness such as few have done. He dreamt these dreams even while broad awake. Every breath of his body was inspired by this dream, every act of his was calculated—deliberately calculated—to bring these dreams down into the material world of our every day-life. The University was his "first love," but to him the University was but one phase of the Great Mother, BHĀRATAMĀTĀ.

His intuitive grasp of human character was marvellous. He knew everyone of his workers as they probably did not know themselves. He knew how much good was in the man and took care that he got that out of him. Some people he tolerated in spite of all weaknesses merely because, as he put it

"they would be less useful outside the University than

within it." Each one of the scores of workers under him he knew thoroughly and strove to know intimately. He knew their affairs and sympathised with their difficulties and always gave help and good sound advice. He knew exactly "the soft spot" in each man's heart and touched it with a master's hand. This above all was the quality that got him a personal affection such as a leader rarely enjoys. To most of us the gap left by his departure is a gap in our intimate circle which is difficult to fill up, to most of us the memory of Sir Asutosh is bound up with words of kindness, friendly and encouraging letters, a smiling look or an elder brother's grip of the hand. In short, the feeling that he had the human touch about him the feeling that he appreciated our joys and sorrows, that is the most precious thing I have in my memory of him. For this, if for nothing else, do I feel deeply thankful to him, for this will I cherish his memory with reverence and affection.

As a worker I have not known any one to approach him, except one—Mrs. Besant. Every minute of his waking day was full. And yet he found time for every task that could be put upon him. Work was to him the very sum and substance of life. I believe he would have ceased to live if he had had his work taken away from him. His death was just the sort he would have liked, struck down in the midst of the battle, in full possession of all his marvellous powers. And all this strenuous work was not to bring himself riches and renown (though, incidentally, both these "were added unto him") but that his people his beloved India, may be great.

Such was the Asu Babu, the true son of India, that I knew and loved, such is the figure that shall remain with me. Great as he was as a Lawyer, as a Judge, as a Nation-builder, to me he was greatest as a MAN.

I. J. S. TARAPOREWALA

EARLY REMINISCENCES OF SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

The news of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee's death with sudden and tragic swiftmess, was received at Simla in the small hours of the morning on Monday, the second of June. It soon spread like wild fire and positive dismay was depicted on every face. Members of both the Houses of the Legislature, who had some meetings, formal and informal, and had met at the Legislative Assembly Library—were literally staggered as they received it. The first idea was that it was a mistake and that the news about Sir Asutosh Chowdhury's death, which had been received two or three days earlier, had been repeated. The mistake which curiously enough, had been made at many other places, was soon dispelled. Representatives of distant parts of the country, to whom Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was no more than a name, were in equal grief as those that had known him the longest and the most.

The Council of State and the Assembly met the next morning and after question time, inspite of routine and official difficulties that were soon overcome, the first business at both the Houses was feeling and reverent references to what was unanimously declared to be a national loss. It fell to my lot to take part in these sad proceedings in the Council of State, as also to preside at the crowded and representative public meeting at the Freemasons' Hall, Simla, that was held soon after, to mourn the loss. Little could I, therefore, add now to what I expressed on those occasions, as well in full court as on the occasion of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee's retirement from the Bench. I had the honour then of representing the Incorporated Law Society. The Officiating Advocate General in referring to Sir Asutosh's death, I believe, read out in full

Court what was said on the occasion, and there is hardly need for repetition.

Much has been and will be said on the platform and in the press about Sir Asutosh's wonderful personality from many points of view. I shall confine myself, therefore, to what few of the later generations would want to know or care about—*viz.*, his earlier days.

We were boys together. His father and mine were physicians, whose services were much in requisition. They were friends and often met, professionally and otherwise. His uncle Babu Radhika Prasad and my uncle Principal Prasannakumar were friends. Dr. Ganga Prasad and Babu Radhika Prasad used often to come to our old house in Wellington Street; and with them sometimes came young Asutosh. Justice Dwarkanath Mitter's gifted son Surendranath Mitter—who was my fellow student and a relation—used also to come and used to have fairly free fights with and about Asutosh. Surendranath, though my fellow student, was slightly younger than myself and Asutosh was still younger. They were both strong in what was called Mathematics—Arithmetic, Algebra and Euclid's Geometry—and the problem in the *Baitakkhana* at 53, Wellington Street was as to who had scored better. The company that used to come together in this little *Baitakkhana* was noteworthy; among others used to come Pandit Iswarchandra Vidyasagar, Babu Ramtanu Lahiri, Dr. Rajendralal Mitter, Babu Kristodas Pal, Babu Surendranath Banerjee, Pundit Sivanath Sastri, Babu Krishnakamal Bhattacharya, Babu Bankimchandra Chatterjee, Babu Hemchandra Banerjee, Babu Jogendrachandra Ghosh, Babu Beharylal Chakrabatty, Babu Rangalal Banerjee, Michael Madhusudan Dutt, Babu Dinabandhu Mitra, Dr. Mahendralal Sarkar, Dr. Jagabandhu Bose, Babu Umeshchandra Batavyal, Raja Babu and Babu Kally Kissen Mitter the well-known pioneers of Homeopathy, Mr. O. C. Dutt, Kabiraj Brojendranath Sen Gupta, Mr.

Tarakanath Palit, Mr. W. C. Banerji and Mr. Manomohan Ghose.

Surendranath Mitter had the well-known Professor Rees for his tutor, and when he wanted to investigate the inside of a watch as a student of Mechanics, paltry trifles as breaking up of MacCabb watches did not stand in the way—Mr. Madhusudan Das, in his recent reminiscences, has told us that Asutosh was also provided with similar facilities. Even then Asutosh had singularities that marked him out for distinguished success and Dr. Gangaprasad was proud of his son. He got together for him at a considerable cost the nucleus of the fine and encyclopaedic Library that Asutosh built up and that is easily the first among any private Libraries in India. After the death of his younger brother Asutosh became the subject of greater solicitude, than ever, of his father.

When an office jan used to be at his and his brother's service for the journey between Bhowanipore and the Presidency College, later on, there were two fixed points of stoppage in Wellington Street on the afternoon return journey—Bhim Nag's sweetmeat shop and Sambhu Addy's book shop not far removed. Both the *rendezvous* enjoyed unstinted and noticeable patronage of Asutosh, till Cambray supplanted the latter. Mr. Tarakanath Palit, who was a great book lover and used to frequent Addy's bookshop, sometimes met young Asutosh there and encouraged him and guided him in his choice of books and also his studies.

The Presidency College, when Asutosh came there, was going through one of its remarkable periods in recent times. Nandakrishna Bose, Byomekesh Chakrabatty, Asutosh Choudhury and Surjakumar Agasti, were going out or had just gone out. Ramanath Bhattacharjee was dead, Mohinimohon Chattarjee, Dwarkanath Chakrabarty, Bhupendranath Basu, Herambachandra Maitra, Kalisankar Sukul, Tarakishore Chaudhury, Digambar Chatterjee, Narendralal Dey, Narendranath Sen, Amulyachandra Mitra, Satyendra Prasanna Sinha,

Ramchandra Majumdar, Dhanballav Sett, Jogenchandra Dutt, Prafullachandra Ray, Sureshprasad Sarvadhikari, Bhupati Chakrabarti, Abdur Rahim, Abdus Salem and Shumsul Huda, to name only a few of the remarkable body of graduates that it produced during these years, were in one or other of the classes. Among the professors were men like Professors Tawney, Elliot, Pedlar, Gough, Hoernle, Peary-charan Sirkar, Prasannakumar Sarvadhikary, Booth, Paulson, McCann, Nash, Bellet, Rowe, Webb, Mann, and Hand, who followed the race of Sutcliffe, Beeby, Croft, Clarke, and Ishan-chandra Banerjee. New factors that had been neglected before were just making their appearance and there was a Presidency College Union, a Student's Association and Cricket and Rowing Clubs. Country games also were much in vogue, for we were truly *Swadeshi* in garment and in everything. The scientific side that had long been more or less primitive, was being slowly equipped and the Law Department had Professors like Dr. Teylokyanath Mitter and Syed Ameer Ali. The Engineering Department was still there and the Presidency College was a little University in itself. The moral tone, as well as discipline, was high, and although there were "sets" and "groups" that kept to themselves more or less, healthy public opinion prevailed all round and before any one went astray in any way—and it was rare—he thought and feared as to what his fellows would say or think of him. The "Atmosphere" was favourable to good work and the output was one that any institution might well be proud of.

And foremost among them was Asutosh who, though he did not take much part in what would now be called the social side of college life, was an outstanding figure from the beginning. It was said of Lord Curzon that he always thought whether he would be the Premier or the Viceroy of India. Asutosh's boyhood's theme was said to be whether he was to be the Vice-Chancellor of the University or a Judge of the High Court—He ended by being both and all because he set

about his work devoutly and devotedly, right from the start and never allowed himself to be distracted by diversions. Neither the Debating Society, nor the Cricket Field, nor the Boat Club attracted him and his one recreation was long walks, which he kept up till the end. He was a particular favourite of Matnematical teachers like Professors Elliot, Booth and Mc'ann and his book on Conic Sections, which the University adopted as Text Book, was one of his early achievements. Left to himself Sir Asutosh would have been a teacher; so would have been Sir Gooroodas Banerjee and myself. These three Vice-Chancellors of the Calcutta University and others were driven to law, because of lack of imagination on the part of the authorities, who forbade them anything but appointments in the subordinate service which they naturally declined. Another noticeable thing about these three Vice-Chacellors was that none would have passed the Entrance Examination in time, if the age rule was insisted on as it is now.

Sir Asutosh early got into touch with Dr. Hoernle, who was doing useful work in the Asiatic Society, which attracted Asutosh and his critical study of *Mrichhakatika*, which drew attention, was his college-day product. Simple and unostentatious in manners and clothing Asutosh's one devouring hobby was books, of which he was no mere collector and of which he made good use. So accustomed was he to his disarranged mass of books from floor to ceiling all over his house—which had to be expanded for housing his treasures—that he could indicate without difficulty and no one else know, where a particular book was to be found. The Library will need reverent and thoughtful handling, as one of his biggest memorials.

We hear a great deal of *Swadeshi* movements now-a-days and of plain living and high thinking. Though there was no overt and ostensible cult in those days, Presidency College men of the period to which Asutosh belonged set an example in this direction, which, if consistently followed, would hardly

have needed the latter-day aggressive policy. Discarding the unnecessary *chudder* was one of the achievements of the Asutosh-set in the college and his raiment was the plainest possible.

Brilliance of University career soon led to formation of University connection, and the men to whom Sir Asutosh mostly owed his early advancement in this field, were Dr. Mahendralal Sarkar, Father Lafont and Sir Gooroodas Banerjee. To Mr. A. M. Bose and Babu Kalicharan Banerjee also he owed a great deal and Rai Bahadur Troylokyanath Banerjee was also a great help. He was articled to Dr. Kashbehary Ghose, whose appreciation of his sterling worth was early, and he and Babu Maheshchandra Chowdhury and Rai Bahadur Annada Prasad Banerjee, Senior Government Pleader, who were great factors in the Faculty of Law and the High Court, were always willing to help on the brilliant *débutant*. He would make all work that came his way his own, which won him the approbation and support of Sir Comer Petheram, whose Vice-Chancellorship was made easy for him by willing Asutosh, who took off all drudgery and hard work from Sir Comer's unwilling shoulders. Extraordinary capacity and willingness to take pains with regard even to the smallest of details was the secret of his success, both in the High Court and the University, indeed in all his spheres of work—and knowledge acquired by these opportunities was indeed power. And his *forte* was ability to attach himself to, and make his own, worthy causes. When as a very early Vice-President of the Sahitya Parishad, my father pressed the claims of Vernaculars in the Syndicate and the Senate, Asutosh was one of his earliest supporters; and it was a proud day for me when I was able to invite Principal Ramendrasundar Trivedi to deliver his course of University Lectures in Bengali, no less than when I took part in what I have always fondly called my first *Khaki* Convocation, which the friends of the University Corps well remember.

He would have gone to the Indian Legislative Assembly if he had been spared and might have gone to the Privy Council, if he had cared. I had a long talk with Lord Haldane, in 1912, and the Chancellor was quite agreeable. So was Sir Asutosh when I spoke to him on my return ; but his mother was alive and she would not agree. We talked of it again, not long before his death and he discussed with me, in detail, plans for a visit to England, with one of his sons. But the Great Journey was at hand and it was writ otherwise.

Though a considerable amount of travel in India fell to his lot, Sir Asutosh's habits and tastes were essentially those of devotion to family and he hardly went anywhere unaccompanied by some members of his family. A better mother, a better wife and a better daughter it fell to the lot of few to have ; and their influences were a great inspiration, solace and staying power to him. He was away from Calcutta the day that his mother had her fatal attack. I waited at the Sealdah Station to break the news, that nearly upset him. Most of his holidays were spent at Madhupur where we were neighbours and I was privileged to notice how such influences worked. Little Kamala, whose recent death, after her untold sorrows, undermined Sir Asutosh's health for good, was the bond that brought and kept us together, more than anything else. She was the light of the house and of all who came within the sphere of her influence. Her death hastened the catastrophe that the land universally mourns.

Of Sir Gooroodas Banerjee, a characteristic story is often told with effect. A wayside householder caught him while returning from his Ganges bath and made him perform *Saraswati* puja. Sir Asutosh officiated as priest at *Satyanaarain* puja at my Madhupur house and exacted the usual fees and offerings.

We had worked together long in many spheres—from the Managing Committee of the Madhupur Edward George School to the Senate of the Calcutta University. Frequent and

sometimes acute, indeed, were unfortunately our differences. I never let them influence my work, or ruffle our private relations; and through such differences, indeed, did I learn more to esteem his high worth and sterling qualities. Long had I trained myself to bury such differences so that the causes that we both loved might prosper and grow more and more. His eagle eye and his constant vigilance made balanced work easy. Such differences, however, are now things of the past.

May Providence that has chosen to call him away guard against all dangers and fortify the cause that was and had always been his very own.

DEVAPRASAD SARVADHIKARY

SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

I had the privilege of knowing Sir Asutosh Mookerjee intimately while he was working on the Calcutta University Commission. He was a great personality in the Commission and a large number of the suggestions embodied in the Report of the Commission were initiated by his masterly mind. He had intimate knowledge of all the details of the organisation of the Calcutta University and he supplied the Commission at every stage with useful material for discussion. He was a person of strong likings and dislikings and his friends always looked upon him with great love, respect and devotion. He impressed every person with his enthusiasm, his exceptional power of organisation and masterly grasp of details. He could stand any amount of hard labour and after doing ten hours' solid work with the Commission he sat down for several hours in his room in the Senate Hall to carry on the daily work of the Calcutta University which he loved more than anything else in this world.

ZIAUDDIN AHMED

THE LATE SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

Some days ago, news came here of the death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. I could not believe it to be true ; but there is no more any place for doubt as official reports are coming. I want to tell you, to tell my colleagues of the Calcutta University, that your loss is my loss, that your sorrow is my sorrow. On the very first day I had met him, I had felt myself immediately bound to him by friendship, reverence, admiration. The same feelings grew stronger as I knew more of him. There was in his nature a power of will, energy, activity that impressed at first sight as in Nature's grandest works, in lofty mountains, in oceans, but this power was not inert or destructive. No machine, however big, was too huge for his power of construction. What he could do of the Calcutta University looks rather like a miracle ; he was too realistic to believe in the efficiency of stones and monuments ; he wanted to have it built of men and he spared no pain to train a new generation of young scholars, as devoted as their forefathers to the search of truth, but able to search on new lines ; his towering genius could survey the whole range of human sciences, and he wanted to have it explored by competent workers.

What his loss means for the University and for his country I shall not try to tell : words would be insufficient. Even my own private loss is beyond the reach of word. Let me, at least, hope that my connection with the University will not become relaxed, that I can still partake of its life and follow its activities in its many publications.

SYLVAIN LEVI

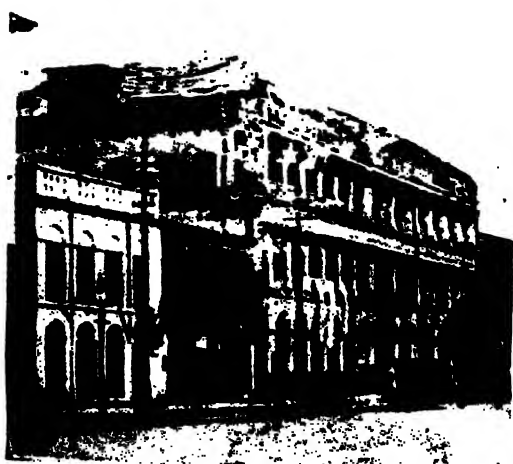
SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

I saw Sir Asutosh Mookerjee in Calcutta now and again when I used to visit it during the Congress there and the only time when I personally met him for half an hour's conversation was when he visited Bombay some years ago. I have only known him by his splendid public career. That he was a towering personality, of massive intellect, who, had he been in London, might have even made his mark there among the most learned of Dons and Professors and among the most distinguished Members of the House of Commons I have no doubt. It is Bengal's misfortune that such a magnificent star of the first constellation in your sky should have so prematurely passed off. But his name is certainly to be cherished with pride and gratitude by generations to come.

D. E. WACHA



THE MARBLE Bust OF SIR ASUTOSH AT THE
DARGAHANGA BUILDINGS



RESIDENCE OF SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE
RUSSA ROAD NORTH

IN MEMORIAM

On behalf of the Members of the Calcutta Mathematical Society, which Sir Asutosh had founded in 1908, and of which he was the distinguished President since its foundation and on behalf of the Officers of the University of Calcutta, who had worked in intimate relation with this great administrator and felt, at every step, the magic touch of his genius and wisdom, may I endeavour to give some expression to the profound grief and tribulation into which they have been plunged by the sudden departure, from the field of his manifold activities, of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee and recall from the pages of memory and record, a few reminiscences and a few traits of this marvellous character.

His passing away, under distressing circumstances, in a place far from the arena in which he often displayed the great qualities of his head and heart, still appears to us like a dream. He was quite hale and hearty when, just before the last and fateful journey to Bankipore, he looked into the progress made in regard to the results of the big Examinations and expressed his dissatisfaction, in his characteristic manner, masterful at the same time kind, at the stage then arrived at. It was on a Saturday. He was in the Registrar's room as usual, up to his neck in work. His last words to me were "Look here, the blame for the delay in the publication of the results will be laid on you." On my explaining to him the steps I had taken to expedite the work he made an engagement, the next morning—Sunday, with the Fabulators and personally exhorted them to push on the work. At the same time, he fixed the following Saturday for a meeting of the Board of Moderators to consider the results. Alas, he never returned. Sorely we felt the loss of his masterly guidance and of his far-seeing wisdom in this and other more important matters! The management of so

complicated a machine as the present University of Calcutta requires 'the meekness of Moses, the patience of Job and the wisdom of Solomon added to the valour of David'—Alas where shall we find these again in happy combination in a single Leader ?

Asutosh knew not what fatigue was. His great recipe, like Gambetta's, was "to work, still to work and always to work." On my once inquiring how he was, his reply was "I am working!" And cruel Death surprised him at last at work in a distant land!

We can hardly reconcile ourselves to the reality. It was only the other day the Senate Hall was resounding with his persuasive eloquence, his trenchant criticism of large and complicated matters, and his luminous summing up of the debates round the table. That mighty voice is hushed for ever. But the memory remains and will remain with us till we carry the same into the other world, and having crossed the bar, forge anew our relations with the beloved master.

I write from personal recollections, still bright in my mind, although nearly half a century has passed away, when I say that in the Presidency College of Calcutta, in the early eighties, no student attracted more our admiration and compelled, in a greater degree, our emulation than Asutosh Mookerjee, eldest son of the well-known Dr. Ganga Prasad Mookerjee. I recall to mind, vividly, that broad-chested and broad-browed young student passing briskly along the corridors of the Presidency College, on one occasion, with Bertrand's Calculus, a big tome in French, under his arms; on another occasion with Tait and Steele's Dynamics and a Note-book containing his own neat solutions of the most difficult Cambridge Senate House problems—the possession of which, I, his junior (he was only a year ahead of me), often baffled in my attempts to crack those hard nuts, so much coveted; on still another occasion, I was pleasantly surprised to find him immersed in an attentive study of one of Sir Henry

Sumner Maine's works. Our Professor of Mathematics, Dr. Hugh Maccan, of beloved memory, was taken off in the prime of life and activity suddenly at Raniganj. With characteristic energy and promptitude, Asutosh organized a subscription and provided a marble tablet in memory of that worthy man in the Library Hall of the Presidency College. In the very largely attended meeting of the pupils and admirers of the learned doctor, brilliant was the elege delivered by the young student. It was a finished, artistic thing which struck us with wonder. Here was a young man reputed to be a devotee of the hard-grained Muses of the Cube and the Sphere, how did he contrive to speak so well in language which could be expected only of a Huxley or a John Morley! In the College Debating Club ever prominent was Asutosh, developing his powers of debate and of the logical expression of his thoughts, with fluency and chastity of diction.

In those early days research was practically unknown among the students. Brilliant men passed certain examinations with credit and chose other careers. Even as a Matriculate, Asutosh had commenced to appreciate the value of Research and we were surprised to find a Note from him, in the pages of the well-known journal, *Messenger of Mathematics*, on a *direct* demonstration of one of Euclid's *indirectly* proved propositions!

Sir William Bragg has recently said "a good research student is like a fire which needs but the match to start it. It is a discipline to put the text book to one side and to get out further knowledge by one's own effort." As young Asutosh grew in years and came under the influence of such brilliant Mathematicians as the late Dr. William Booth, his capacity for Mathematical research became firmly established.

Asutosh was the Beau ideal of a Mathematician to us, who loved and had begun to cultivate Mathematics. Here was a young man of extraordinary mathematical powers, but we soon found that his peculiar mathematical abilities did not exclude

attention to other subjects. His versatility struck us with wonder. Literature, History, Law and the Physical Sciences claimed the attention of this ardent student as much as Mathematics, although in those early years Mathematics was the subject which attracted him most and was enriched by contributions from him in the well-known Indian and foreign Journals of the day. What he once studied he made his own for ever. He had acquired, at that early stage, a knowledge of French and German to enable him to study, in the originals, the works of Mathematicians such as Bertrand and Gauss and to read memoirs in Liouville's and other journals.

His father, himself one of the brilliant graduates of the Medical College, discerning early in his first-born signs of genius and talent, had spared no pains to provide him with a valuable Library which the writer of this notice, then a young man with aspirations to become a Mathematician, was graciously permitted to visit and use. He recalls to mind, with pleasure and gratitude, an early incident which showed the largeness of heart of Asutosh. He had taken out from the Library a copy of the Reprints of problems and solutions from the London Educational Times—a copy fresh and beautiful to look at ! After a few days the writer's nephew—a child, overturned an inkstand on the spotless pages of the book and spoilt it. The writer's consternation at this incident was great, for the book was not available in India and belonged to one who loved his books. However, he lost no time in apprising Asutosh of the accident. The reply came forthwith and was so kind that the writer regrets he has not preserved a copy.

Asutosh's academic career was brilliant. He was first in the B. A. Examination of 1884, winning the Harishechandra Prize; he was first in Mathematics in the M. A. Examination of 1885. He won the Premchand Roychand Studentship in Mathematics and Physics in 1886. He was the Tagore Law Gold Medallist for three successive years, 1884-1886. In

1894 he won his Doctorate in Law and in 1897 he was selected as the Tagore Professor of Law. In 1908 the degree of Doctor of Science, *Honoris Causa*, was conferred on this worthy son of India. And when the Rector recounted his eminent qualifications for the conferment of the degree, a senator, an erudite Muslim, pointed out an omission, *viz.*, Asutosh's remarkable proficiency in Arabic Literature and Science.

On the Mathematical side, his researches led to his appointment as a Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh and as a member of the Royal Irish Academy, of the Mathematical Societies of London, Edinburgh, Paris, Palermo and New York. Some of his original Mathematical Papers are mentioned below :

(i) On a Geometrical Theorem (*Messenger of Mathematics*, Vol. 10, p. 122).

(ii) Extensions of a Theorem of Salmon's (*Messenger of Mathematics*, Vol. 13, p. 157).

(iii) Mathematical Notes (Reprints from the *Educational Times* of London).

(iv) Note on Elliptic Functions which has been referred to in Ennepper's *Elliptische Functionen* (*Quarterly Journal of Pure and Applied Mathematics*, Vol. 21, p. 212).

(v) Differential Equation of A Trajectory which has been referred to in that standard work, Forsyth's *Differential Equations* (*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. 46, Part II, p. 116).

(vi) Monge's Differential Equation to all Conics (*ibid.*, p. 134).

(vii) Memoir on Plane Analytical Geometry (*ibid.*, p. 255).

(viii) General Theorem on the Differential Equations of Trajectories. (*ibid.*, Vol. 47, Part II, p. 72).

(ix) On Poisson's Integral (*ibid.*, Vol. 47, Part II, p. 100).

(x) On the Differential Equation of all Parabolas (*ibid.*, Vol. 47, Part II, p. 316).

(xi) Geometric interpretation of Monge's Differential Equation to all Conics which has been cited in the well-known treatise—*Edward's Differential Calculus* (*ibid.*, Vol. 48, Part II, p. 181).

(xii) Some Applications of Elliptic Functions to Problems of Mean Values, Parts I and II (*ibid*, Vol. 48, Part II, p. 199 and 213).

(xiii) On Clebsch's Transformation of the Hydrokinetic Equations and Note on Stokes's Theorem of Hydrokinetic Circulation (*ibid*, Vol. 49, p. 56 and 59).

(xiv) On a Curve of Aberrancy (*ibid*, Vol. 49, p. 61).

(xv) Remarks on Monge's Equation to all Conics (*Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for February, 1888).

(xvi) On Some Definite Integrals.

(xvii) On an Application of Differential Equations to the Theory of Plane Cubics.

(xviii) Researches on the Number of Normals common to Two Surfaces, Two Curves, or a Curve and a Surface.

(xix) Application of Gauss's Theory of Curvature to the Evaluation of Double Integrals.

In his paper on the Differential Equation of a Trajectory (*x* above), the young mathematician who had then recently taken his M.A. degree, dealt with the problem of determining the *oblique* Trajectory of a system of confocal Ellipses which had been first solved by the Italian Mathematician Mainardi in a memoir in the *Annali di Scienze Matematiche e Fisiche*, Tome I, page 251. "Mainardi's solution was so complicated that it was a hopeless task to trace the curve from it; indeed, it was so unsymmetrical and inelegant that Professor Forsyth in his *Differential Equations* did not give the answer." Mr. Mookerjee gave an elegant solution by which the Trajectory was represented by a pair of *remarkably simple equations* which admitted of an interesting *geometrical* interpretation. Prof. Andrew Forsyth, in a subsequent edition of his *Differential Equations*, has quoted Mookerjee's solution of Mainardi's problem.

Paper (*ciii*) was a development of Paper (*x*). Asutosh did not rest satisfied with giving an elegant solution of Mainardi's problem and a geometric interpretation. "Believing that every simple mathematical result could be established by a correspondingly simple process," Asutosh, keen on his

researches, naturally thought it worth-while to re-examine the whole question, to see if the very artificial process of Mainardi, by no means less complicated than his result, could be materially simplified. He was, thus, led to the following very general theorem :—

“Whenever the co-ordinates of any point on a curve can be expressed by means of a single variable parameter, that is, when the curve is unicursal, the co-ordinates of the corresponding point on the Trajectory may be similarly expressed.”

As an immediate corollary to this theorem Asutosh pointed out the relation which connected it with the Theory of conjugate functions (*vide Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for 1887, pp. 250-251 for a full analysis).

A perusal of this paper (*ciii*) published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LVII, Part II, No. 1, 1888, will show the peculiar feature of the young mathematician's treatment of difficult problems, *viz.*, the combination of a great power of generalization with astonishing elegance of treatment.

In connection with this remarkable paper an incident is worthy of note. Asutosh read Mathematics with the late Dr. William Booth, that brilliant but somewhat eccentric Irish Mathematician, the like of whom we shall never see again. Prof. Booth mentioned to Asutosh that Prof. Michael Roberts, in his lectures on Differential equations delivered at the University of Dublin, used to solve Mainardi's Problem by the help of Elliptic Co-ordinates. Asutosh had no opportunity to examine the solution arrived at by Prof. Roberts and it was believed that the solution had never been published. Dr. Booth's mention of it set Asutosh working and he soon found out the results by the help of Elliptic co-ordinates. No wonder Asutosh from being a beloved pupil, in subsequent years, became William Booth's valued friend!

Mr. Mookerjee's paper [(*ri*) above] on Monge's Differential Equation to all Conics, is of outstanding merit. In

it he published a challenge to Mathematicians as regards the true geometric interpretation of this famous equation—a challenge which led to a controversy out of which the Indian Mathematician emerged with flying colours. Those who have studied Differential Equations, specially in Boole's work, have come across in the early part of it, the General Differential Equation to lines of the second order, an equation of a formidable character. This Differential Equation was first arrived at by the great French Mathematician Gaspard Monge, Comte de Peluse, in the beginning of the 19th century (1810) and Boole had added the remark:—“But, here our powers of *geometrical interpretation* fail and results such as this can scarcely be otherwise useful than as a *registry of integrable forms*.” We shall call this equation ‘the Mongian.’ Mr. Mookerjee not only dealt with various methods of deriving the Mongian and integrating the same but also showed in a very simple way, the characteristic “permanency of form” of the Mongian and gave a critical review of the geometrical interpretation of the Mongian by such an eminent Mathematician as Prof. Sylvester. He concluded that Sylvester's was not the geometrical interpretation of the Mongian as contemplated by Boole and that what Boole sought for in vain *was yet to be discovered*.” This was in 1887. In 1888 Asutosh had solved that problem of the geometrical interpretation of the Mongian!

Since Boole's now historic remark about the failure of our powers of geometrical interpretation of the Mongian, two attempts had been made, one by Lt.-Col. Allan Cunningham, R. E., and the other by Prof. Sylvester to make good the failure. While Cunningham would interpret the Mongian by the proposition that “the eccentricity of the osculating conic of a given conic was constant all round the latter” (*vide Quarterly Journal*, Vol. 14, p. 229), Sylvester would interpret by the proposition that the Differential Equation of a conic was satisfied at the *sexultic* points on any given curve



SIR ASUTOSI'S FATHER - THE LATE DR. GANGAPRASAD MOOKERJEE
DIED DECEMBER 13, 1880

(*vide American Journal of Mathematics*, Vol. 9, pages 18-19).

In paper (c) above Asutosh dealt with the geometrical interpretation of the Differential equation of all parabolas. He began by giving a lucid account of Transon's Theory of aberrancy (*vide Liouville*, tome vi, 1841, pages 191-208) defined Radius and Index, of aberrancy and found analytical expressions for these geometric quantities in connection with the osculating conic at any point on a curve and arrived at the geometric interpretation that the Index of aberrancy vanishes, at *every* point of *every* parabola. These investigations led to his paper (i) in which Asutosh definitely laid down two tests which should be applied if one wished to examine whether a proposed geometrical interpretation of a given Differential Equation was relevant or not. He showed that the geometrical interpretation given by each of the two Mathematicians mentioned above, was not the true interpretation contemplated by Boole. He pointed out that Cunningham's was the geometric interpretation not of the Mongian, but of one of its *first* five integrals which Asutosh actually calculated and that Sylvester's was out of mark as failing to furnish a *property* of the *conic* as would lead to a geometrical quantity which vanishes at *every* point of *every* conic. And Asutosh himself arrived at the following interpretation of the Mongian :—

"The radius of curvature of the Aberrancy curve vanishes at every point of every conic"

and he showed that it satisfied all the tests which every true geometrical interpretation ought to satisfy. Indeed this was a definite and remarkable achievement for a young Indian Mathematician! The geometric interpretation sought for by Mathematicians for thirty years, *i.e.*, ever since Boole wrote his now famous lines, was at last found by Asutosh and the justice of his criticisms was acknowledged by men like Prof. Arthur Cayley, whom even Sylvester

called the High Pontiff among mathematicians ! In a letter to Asutosh from Cambridge, dated the 14th September, 1887, Cayley remarked about his criticism of Sylvester's interpretation that "it is of course, all perfectly right." Cunningham wrote, "Professor Asutosh Mukhopadhyay has proposed a really excellent mode of geometric interpretation of differential equations in general, *viz.*, writing the equation in form $F=0$, the geometric meaning of the symbol F considered as a *magnitude* (angle, line, area, etc.) in any curve whatever (wherein F is of course not zero), is, if possible, to be formed ; then the geometric meaning of that equation obviously is that the quantity F vanishes right round every curve of the family represented by the differential equation. This is the most *direct* geometrical interpretation yet proposed " (*Nature*, Vol. 38, pages 318-319).

As a young Bachelor of Arts, Mr. Mookerjee contributed in 1886 a remarkable note on Elliptic Functions to the *Quarterly Journal of Pure and Applied Mathematics* (paper (iv) above). He held that it was desirable that the proof of the well-known Addition theorem for the first kind of the Elliptic integrals should follow directly from the *intrinsic* properties of the Ellipse and he showed how this could be very elegantly effected by means of confocal conics. The note closed with an "imaginary transformation" suggested by his investigation. Prof. Arthur Cayley said, as regards this paper, that it was remarkable how in the investigation of Asutosh, a real result was obtained by the consideration of an imaginary point !

The memoir on Plane Analytical Geometry [(iii) above] was dedicated to the beloved memory of Dr. Mookerjee's younger brother Hemantakumar, who induced him to write the memoir. Hemantakumar was the only brother of Sir Asutosh and was bidding fair to tread in the foot-steps of his brilliant brother, when at the early age of 21 he died to the infinite sorrow of his brother and his parents. The

originality and breadth of treatment of fundamental topics of analytic geometry in this paper, disclose a master hand. The right line, the Line at Infinity, the circle, the meaning of the constants in the equation of a circle, the geometric meaning of Burnside's well-known equation of a chord, the general equation of the second degree, its transformation, the invariants and covariants of transformation, Laplace's Linear equation to a conic, the meaning of the constants appearing in the same, its application to elliptic motion and geometric interpretation, reciprocal polars and other matters receive a freshness and elegance of treatment from this young mathematician of only 23 years of age, which is simply astonishing !

In addition to these, the pages of the *Educational Times*, London, were enriched for years by his contributions as regards outstanding problems set by great Mathematicians like William Kingdon Clifford, problems which had been set in a manner, as challenges, and had remained unsolved for years. Asutosh's solutions excited our wonder and admiration by their elegance, and at once made it clear that here was a geometer of great power who would, if left untrammelled by other pursuits, win a prominent place among the world's Mathematicians.

So great became the reputation of this brilliant young Mathematician, such was the sterling worth of his researches, that our *Alma Mater* lost no time to enlist his services and although he was only a year ahead of us, he was appointed Examiner in Higher Mathematics for the M.A. Examination along with his teacher Dr. William Booth. I was of the first batch of M.A. candidates who had to face Asutosh's papers. I distinctly recall to mind the consternation I felt at the Senate House, when the paper set by Asutosh on Differential Equations was handed to me. The formidable "Mongian" over which Sylvester had broken a lance with Asutosh, and the La Placean figured in it ! And the M.A. candidates of the year were asked, probably for the first time in the history of the University, to write essays in the Senate Hall, on

difficult topics in Analysis! I did the best I could under the circumstances, and I recall with delight and gratitude Sir Asutosh's introducing me to a notable person after I had joined the University, with the words "here is my pupil." Sir Asutosh had not forgotten those early college days when every student with enthusiasm for Mathematical studies, even when it was not accompanied by capacity, at once enlisted his sympathy.

This reminds the writer of a story in regard to Prof. William Thomson, afterwards the famous Lord Kelvin. The father of a new student when bringing him to the University after calling to see the Professor (Thomson) drew his assistant (Macfarlane) to one side and besought him to tell him what his son must do that he might stand well with the Professor. "You want your son to stand weel with the Professor?" asked Macfarlane. "Yes." "Well, then he must have a guid bellyful o' mathematics." We stood "weel" with Asutosh because although we were not "bellyful" of mathematics, we always hungered for more of that delicious diet!

Asutosh was a born Mathematician and we who have been devotees of that bewitching and all-embracing science—cannot but deplore the fact that Sir Asutosh's colossal activities in other spheres of thought and action, have thrown somewhat into the shade this side of his complex character. But his interest in Pure and Applied Mathematics was abiding. His long vacations as a Judge were utilized in the study of the latest developments in certain branches of Analysis. The latest book that he took out of our University Library, to accompany him to Bankipore, was Professor Birkhoff's "Relativity and Modern Physics." Year after year he set papers on such subjects as Quaternions, Differential Equations, the Theory of Numbers, the Lunar and Planetary theories, the Figure of the Earth and the Tidal theories and, by the quality of the papers set, raised the standard of the University teaching in those abstruse subjects. His papers for the Matriculation, the Intermediate

and the Degree Examinations were models of what such papers should be and many learnt a great deal from him in the way of setting papers suited to the capacity of the candidate. He would often take upon himself, in the midst of other preoccupations, the arduous task of adjudging theses submitted for the degrees of Doctor of Science and Philosophy, and the Premchand Roychand Studentship. One day he surprised the writer by sending for him and setting him a most recondite problem in Probability. He knew how to inspire young men with real talent, with a zeal for Research. Many such men have since made their mark in the domains of Science and Philosophy and thankfully acknowledge their debt to him.

In 1908 Asutosh founded the Calcutta Mathematical Society which has, under his fostering care and with the labours of a brilliant band of Mathematicians which his genius had brought together and encouraged, achieved an assured position in the Mathematical world.

But it was not Mathematics and Science alone that claimed his attention. Sanskrit and other languages, History, Philosophy, Anthropology, Literature, Economics, Ancient History and Culture, and Experimental Psychology, engaged his active interest. The writer well remembers occasions when he visited Sir Asutosh at his house with business of the University. On one occasion he found him dictating elaborate judicial judgments surrounded by books of legal lore. As soon as he finished these, he took up the University work of a *radically different nature* and soon became absorbed in it. He went through, word by word, a heap of question papers on an infinity of subjects, Mathematics, Physics, English, Sanskrit, Pali, History, Philosophy, Economics, Anthropology, etc., modifying, moderating, correcting and putting each paper into a shape suitable for the intending candidates whose best interests he always upheld. And this was done not only in regard to the lower examinations but also in regard to the highest examinations of the University! So rapid and

unerring was his decision, so clear and logical was his mind, so great was his erudition, so remarkable was his power of grasping at once the essentials of a case that the writer often felt, when leaving Sir Asutosh's house, that here was a man, the like of whom he would never see again. For other great mathematicians and philosophers, Gauss the greatest mathematician the world has seen, used the epithets "magnus" or "clarus" or "clarissimus"; for Newton alone he kept the prefix "summus." Among great Indians, we may well reserve the prefix "summus" for Sir Asutosh Mookerjee without fear of contradiction.

A visit to Sir Asutosh at his house and his Library—one of the finest in India, was always a source of delight and inspiration to the writer from his early days. It was there that he found the marvellous man in his work-shop—amidst his books "all in methodical disorder which to the eye of an expert meant work and not mere dilettantism." Like Lord Fletcher Moulton he "loved his world of books and possibly it was his power of leaving his world of work and, taking down some old and loved volume from his shelves, strolling into the pastures of literature, mathematics or science, as the case might be, which enabled him to accomplish a task which would have broken men many years his junior."

The years now past have only confirmed what we, then students with plenty of idealism in us, thought of the potentialities of the young prodigy—Asutosh. Nearly half a century afterwards we mourn the loss—of a Mathematician, a patron of Mathematical, Scientific and literary ability wherever and in whomsoever found; we mourn the loss of a great jurist, an academician of unrivalled debating power, an organiser and an administrator of the highest type; and above all, of a great gentleman, a noble son of India "to whom we owe," in the words of an appreciative Chancellor of this University, "an unrequitable debt for the manner in which he has breathed upon the smouldering embers of Indian

learning and has fanned once more the flame of Oriental philosophy which was once the glory of this ancient land." This was said in reference to the intensive work of the last ten years of his life—the fruition of his long cherished hope to convert an Examining University into a great centre of learning and research—a lasting monument to the strenuous labours of a life nobly lived! An eminent mathematician who on retirement from public service, is carrying on his great researches on a new calculus in his home in England, has recently written : “it was Asutosh’s ambition that Calcutta should become a centre of learning and research ; and he understood well how to inspire the enthusiasm of youth, the settled persistence of middle life and the chastened hopes of later years to contribute to this end.”

Alas, “the curtain of death has fallen on a grand drama of fame, power and acclamation ;” our beloved master has “set unclouded in the gulf of Fate ;” “yet like the sun he seems larger in his setting.” And with the above appreciative famous mathematician who knew Asutosh intimately we deplore that Asutosh’s death is “the extinguishing of a source from which radiated encouragement, sympathy and inspiration to all intellectual works of Bengal—of a beacon which showed all India the path-way to honour and greatness.”

When we look back upon the work done by this great man, our outlook on life is widened and belief in Divine guidance is confirmed. And looking into the future, in the light gained in an era of outstanding progress of University life and work in India, may we not discern, through all the gloom cast by the recent disaster, a bright prospect greeting our eyes, on all sides fruitful fields of research inviting our labour and promising rich returns.

It is safe to prophesy that the biography of this great man will be written by one who can measure his greatness. The career of Sir Asutosh was in some respects similar to that of the late Lord Justice F. Moulton. Moulton’s son

has given us a charming biography with a Preface by Lord Birkenhead. Both Asutosh and Moulton began as eminent mathematicians; both became eminent jurists but the crowning work of each lay in fields other than those in which they spent their professional lives. In the case of Lord Moulton, "a judge learned in the Law, at the outbreak of the greatest War in history, is transplanted from the Bench to the Ministry of Munitions, in order to enrich, by his scientific ingenuity, the *destructive* processes of Modern War." In the case of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, a judge also learned in the Law, remained on the Bench but took upon himself the tremendous and stormy but beloved task of the Ministry of Education—of Advancement of Learning, in order to enrich not only by his scientific ingenuity but also by the cream of his noble manhood, the *constructive* processes of modern High Education and culture. It is universally admitted that on the scientific side, Lord Moulton's individual contribution to winning the World War was as great as that of any contemporary Englishman. It is also universally admitted that Sir Asutosh Mookerjee's individual contribution to *facilitate* the winning of the war of misunderstanding and prejudice against Advancement of learning, was greater than that of any contemporary Indian. Unlike Moulton, the valiant Indian Knight did not live to see the fight end in victory and we can but regret, as Fletcher Moulton did in his father's case, that Sir Asutosh's talents should have been confined by the limitations of one mortal life; we must remember, however, that 'a mortal is granted but one life; but what he has done in that life may endure and bear fruit through countless generations.' It is with a prayer that this may be our beloved master's reward that I close this inadequate account of some aspects of a marvellous life.

A. C. BOSE



SIR ASUTOSH'S MOTHER : DIED APRIL 19, 1914

SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

In Sir Asutosh Mookerjee India has lost one of her best sons. His great erudition, his noble effort in the cause of education, his large and varied activities, his amazing capacity for work, his magnetic personality, his unflinching devotion to duty, his high independence of character, his supreme loyalty to his Motherland, his large-heartedness and his even-handed justice were characteristics eminently his own—characteristics which elicited respect and admiration from friends and critics alike.

Although a Hindu of the Hindus, Sir Asutosh had a profound respect for Islamic culture; and it was one of his cherished desires to encourage, as far as lay in his power, the advancement of Islamic studies in the University of Calcutta—his *alma mater* and his first love. For the last few years he had tried to secure a Muhammadan scholar to compile an anthology of Urdu literature, with a view to making it a subject of study in the Calcutta University. The undertaking required funds, but he was not the man to be daunted by such paltry difficulties in spite of the financial straits which the University was then faced with. When asked as to how he proposed to provide money for working out the scheme from the slender resources of the University, he replied: "Leave that to me, I shall beg, borrow or steal but find you money for the work." His great tenacity evidenced in the pursuit of a purpose, was one of the traits of his character.

It is said that no one is indispensable in this world—This is a truism which for once ceases to be a truism; for there are scores of institutions in this country which will find it well nigh impossible to replace the departed spirit which engendered all that was high and worthy in Bengal. Not only in the University of Calcutta, but in most of the learned bodies of the country, he has left the impress of his great personality which will endure for some time to come. Although a great patron of

learning, yet in the realm of intellect, class or creed was no bar to his favour.

It would be sheer presumption to dilate on his legal lore; but it can be said without the least fear of contradiction, that no non-Moslem Judge of an Indian High Court, possessed such a profound knowledge of the practice and principles of Mussalman law.

During the stress and strain of the non-co-operation agitation it was his personal influence with the student community of Bengal that saved the situation and the Calcutta University from complete extinction. He persistently followed a constructive policy; his watchword being "Progress," destruction—ruthless destruction, had no place in his programme. For all these qualities of head and heart Sir Asutosh richly deserves a place in the Valhalla of India.

Great men like Sir Asutosh Mookerjee do not stand in need of lasting memorials to perpetuate their memory. Their noble deeds form a monument far richer and worthier than any which human agency erects over hallowed remains.

A. F. M. ABDUL ALI

SIR ASUTOSH AND THE UNIVERSITY LAW COLLEGE

It is difficult to realise that the great architect, the master mind that built up this noble institution and made the University what it is to-day, is no more. Death is always sad and is doubly so when it is sudden and unexpected. In Sir Asutosh's case it has been terribly tragic. Away from hearth and home, from the bosom of his family and friends and even without the bed-side comforts and attentions that would have been lavished upon him here, he has died at Patna all on a sudden when in the fullest vigour of health and spirits. There is this consolation, however, poor though it be, that the manner of his death, his exit was in keeping with the mode of his life. To him work was the very breath of his nostrils and he died like the soldier at his post while engaged as an advocate in the midst of a most strenuous work connected with one of the biggest cases that ever came up before an Indian tribunal. But, as I have said, it is but a very poor consolation and the whole country lies to-day prostrate with grief. The loss to the country and to the nation is simply irreparable: and so far as the University is concerned its loss can never be adequately expressed in words. As Sir Lancelot Sanderson, the Chief Justice said, it is difficult to imagine what will be the fate of the Calcutta University in the absence of Sir Asutosh. I need hardly dwell on the manifold virtues of his head and heart, for no words of mine can do even the scantiest justice to the worth of this extraordinary man. His versatile genius, keen intellect, encyclopaedic knowledge, profound scholarship, legal learning, marvellous memory, extraordinary administrative and organising powers, quick appreciation of worth in others, and above all his fearless independence and intense patriotism and love of country combined with a child-like simplicity of

manners, an amiable, affectionate and kindly disposition made him a unique personality rare in any country. He was known as the Bengal Tiger. Yes, he was that, but, withal, a lamb too. Under his rough exterior there beat a most warm and sympathetic heart. By nature and temperament he was kind, affectionate, simple and unassuming, a warm and sincere friend, one that would have freely and gladly poured out his life-blood for the good of his country and specially of its youngmen. In a word, he was gentle and loveable as a lamb, but under stress of circumstances, if there was need for it, he could be terrible as the Bengal Tiger or the lion rampant. Such a man we have lost. It seems to be only the other day when in the Convocation Speech I think, of 1909, he briefly described his scheme for the foundation of this Law College for teaching law as a science; when he quoted the words of a great jurist that law was neither a trade nor a solemn jugglery but a living science, when he held up a high ideal for both professors and pupils and called upon them to co-operate together for raising the standard of legal training in this country, and, I think we can best satisfy his spirit which will be anxiously watching over the interest of the University from on high, if we all combine to carry out his wishes to the best of our power and ability and try to make the University Law College an ideal institution for the study of law.

JYOTIPRASAD SARVADHIKARI

SIR ASUTOSH AND THE PUNJAB UNIVERSITY

The Punjab University had the pleasure and stimulus of an address from the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee at its Convocation for the conferring of degrees in January, 1922. His speech was an epitome of himself, of his wise and lofty patriotism, of his conviction of the purifying and humanising influences of the University, as it might and may be, and of the ripe practical wisdom which saves a man from losing the realisation of security for his next step in the vision of an ideal future. His great voice and the ringing laugh, the long roll of his eloquence, the bright and commanding eye, brought home to us the forces of that energy which conveyed such vitalising influences to the Calcutta University.

H. J. MAYNARD

SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

I have heard Members of the Bar speak in terms of the highest admiration of the learning and independence which marked Sir Asutosh Mookerjee's judgments from the Bench of the Calcutta High Court. But his chief claim to greatness and gratitude of the Indian public lies in the impetus he gave to education by the improvements he brought about in the University of Calcutta.

By sheer weight of ability and force of character, he was able to get control of the affairs of that University and, having got control, he invited the best men from all parts of India to take part in its research and teaching work. As a result, the Calcutta University has risen to the leading place among Indian Universities in respect of instruction in science and scientific research.

Endowed with a massive intellect and dogged determination, he was a great fighter and showed splendid courage in emergencies. His reading was extensive and in private life he was a genial host and a most charming conversationalist. As the leading Indian educationist, his advice was sought for, from far and wide, on questions of University reform. In 1918, he honoured the Mysore University by delivering its first Convocation address. It will be long before the void he has left behind in Indian public life is filled again.

M. VISVESARAYA

THE LATE SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

I have been asked by the Secretary to the Board of Editors of the *Calcutta Review* to contribute my impressions of the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, to the special memorial number of the *Calcutta Review*. Though my acquaintance with him goes back to a period of twenty years, my opportunities for contact with him were limited by distance. The first time we in Madras heard mention of the name of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was when he received his doctor's degree at the Convocation of the Calcutta University and a tribute was paid to his versatility of talents and to his varied accomplishments by the then Vice-Chancellor Sir Gooroodas Banerjee. The first time I saw him was in the year 1902 during my visit to Calcutta. He had made a mark in the bar and had already begun to take a prominent part in the life of the Calcutta University. The Universities Commission which had been appointed by Lord Curzon to tour round the country created much interest and not a little suspicion in the minds of the educated public. Distinguished as Lord Curzon was for his ability and devotion to work and his love of administrative perfection, he was believed to be unfriendly to the aspirations of the educated classes and it was thought that his real object was to check the spread of university education which had produced an educated proletariat with a special propensity to criticism of the Government. There were two schools of thought contending for mastery, one believing in the expansion of education even at a sacrifice of quality and the other in an improvement of quality even at the expense of quantity. There was much to be said in favour of both sides. In spite of all its defects, the existing system of university education had done a great deal to break down ignorance and open the avenues of Western knowledge and culture and implant in the minds of the people the seeds of political liberty and social reform and a

desire for progress. It is needless to say, that Lord Curzon was an advocate of quality and that the Indian public generally was in favour of a rapid expansion. Sir Asutosh Mookerjee threw himself into the struggle as a champion of the Indian view and when the University Bill came on for discussion in the Legislative Council, he was the protagonist of that view. Lord Curzon succeeded in carrying out his Bill in spite of all the opposition. Looking back at the Universities' Bill after the lapse of twenty years, the apprehensions entertained at the time, of its effect upon the growth of university education seem to have been needlessly alarmist. Soon after the Bill was passed, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was appointed to the High Court Bench and also to the Vice-Chancellorship of the University. Both the appointments were a fitting recognition of his merits, of his abilities as a lawyer on the one hand and of his fervid interest in university education on the other. From this time forward down to the day of his death, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was the guiding spirit of the Calcutta University, or rather its life and soul. The current of his energies flowed in two main channels; the channel of law and justice and the channel of higher education. In ability, erudition and strong commonsense, he was easily the foremost among the judges of the Indian High Courts at the time of his retirement. The days of English judges who were great jurists and who made marked contributions to the growth of law were probably gone for ever in India. Men like Sir James Colville, Sir Barnes Peacock in Bengal, Sir Michael Westrop and Sir Raymond West in Bombay, Sir Charles Turner and Mr. Justice Holloway in Madras can no longer be found on the Benches of the High Courts in India. Indians have displayed a remarkable aptitude for judicial work, and the foremost Indian judges of our High Courts have proved themselves the equals of the best judges in India or in England. If we wish to appraise the merits of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, he must be tried, as he himself would have wished,

by the very highest standards of the most distinguished judges in this country. It would be doing him poor justice to institute a comparison between him and the rank and file of the judges of our rather crowded High Court Benches at the present day. The standard which I should like to apply to him is that of the most eminent Indian judges, who have adorned our High Courts, of Dwarkanath Mitter in Calcutta, of Sir T. Muthuswamy Iyer, Sir V. Bhashiyam Iyengar and Sir S. Subrahmania Iyer in Madras, of Syed Mahmood in Allahabad and of Kashinath Trimbuck Telang in Bombay. The two great characteristics of Sir Asutosh as a lawyer were his vast learning and his prodigious industry. He was not content to confine his search for principles to the usual repertories of Indian or English decisions. His quest for principles took him far a field to the decisions of the American Courts not merely of the Supreme Court of the United States, but also of the State Courts and to the decisions of the highest courts of the Colonies. The habit of turning for light to American case-law and jurisprudence, was first started in India by Sir S. Subrahmania Iyer. Sir Asutosh Mookerjee improved upon his example and revelled in the citation of American authorities, a practice which, however valuable within limits, is beset with some danger in the hands of less discriminating followers. Sir Asutosh had not the originality of thought and the subtlety and circumspection of Sir V. Bhashiyam Iyengar, the love of logical analysis, of historical exposition and the weighty diction which distinguished Sir T. Muthuswamy Iyer, the cultured grace of Mr. Telang, the vigour and eloquence of Sir Subrahmania Iyer and Syed Mahmood, or the legal subtlety and literary charm of Sir Rash Bihari Ghose. It may, of course, be said that the time spent by him in the collection of authorities left him too little time for the cultivation of quality. It may also be stated that no other judge in India had so many varied interests making such enormous demands upon his time. He was undoubtedly a man of massive intellect

and robust commonsense who loved law keenly and was fired by the ambition to contribute to the development of law, an ambition which should animate every great lawyer and judge.

It is said that the law is a jealous mistress. It is also unfortunately the fact that many lawyers are so exclusively the votaries of law that they have no secondary interests in life. The tendency to narrow-mindedness which is a result of this exclusive devotion to law is perhaps a more marked characteristic of Indian lawyers than of English lawyers. Sir Asutosh Mookerjee never gave undivided allegiance to law. His predominant interest in life was the cause of higher education. The history of the Calcutta University during the last quarter of a century is practically the history of the educational activities of Sir Asutosh. To his *alma mater*, he gave his time and energies without stint. The welfare and the development of the University occupied his thoughts and perhaps his dreams during his life. There were persons in the University who were jealous of his pre-eminence; there were persons in the University who chafed under his domineering ways; there were persons who believed that the University was becoming too much of an one-man show for healthy corporate life; and there were persons who were often displeased, rightly or wrongly, by his distribution of patronage. The elements of discontent often gathered to a head, and tried to assert themselves against the domination of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. Viceroys and Governors tried to overthrow him but ever and anon, he emerged in triumph from the conflict and his position of ascendancy remained unshaken. Perhaps the closest parallel in public life to the influence of Sir Asutosh in the Calcutta University was the ascendancy of Sir Pheroze Shaw Mehta in the Corporation of Bombay. Both were keen controversialists and formidable debaters and shrewd judges of men. If Sir Asutosh had not been a judge, he would have been a politician of the first rank like Sir Pheroze

Shaw Mehta. Of his many achievements in the University, the University College of Science in Calcutta is and will be the most abiding monument to Sir Asutosh's love of his *alma mater*, his breadth of outlook and his far-sighted patriotism. No narrow feeling of provincialism ever found an echo in his breast. He was anxious that the Calcutta University should set the example of stimulating research and contributing to the advancement of knowledge and in the attainment of this end he was anxious to draw the best of Indian talents wherever they may be found, in whichever corner of any province of India. He was favoured by fortune in being able to address his appeal to munificent and enlightened patrons of learning like Sir Rash Bihari Ghose and Sir Tarakanath Palit. The Bengali song of *Bande Mātaram* never met a more generous response than in the breast of this true son of the University. His ideal of a University was entirely in accord with the highest standards of the present time. He set great store by the freedom of the university from official control. In striving to maintain the independence of the University, he acted with his usual fearlessness and the controversy he carried on with the Government was waged with bitterness and even at the sacrifice of decorum. He loved a combat and if any one had the temerity to challenge him to a fight, he was prepared to fight to the finish. No one who came in contact with him or watched his activities could fail to be struck by his quick and capacious intellect or indomitable energy and unflagging zeal. When I once remarked to him that he was killing himself by his judicial work, he laughingly replied that it was only a small portion of his work and that his duties as Vice-Chancellor which included the supervision of hundreds of high schools was at least as exacting. He told me also that in connection with some question of Mahomedan law which arose in a case, he was trying to learn Arabic so that he might consult the original texts. In a land which has produced many great men Sir Asutosh was a towering

personality even if he did not reach the height of some of the greatest men of Bengal. It is too early to anticipate the verdict of history upon his career but I am inclined to think that of his many claims to distinction posterity will set the highest value upon his work as an organiser of University education.

P. S. SIVASWAMY AIYER

SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

(An Appreciation).

It was somewhere in 1890 or 1891 that I first saw Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. I saw him at Bankipore where he had gone to see my father on some private business of his own. A mere school boy then—I had only a distant vision of him. But I well remember the hushed awe in which my town's folk spoke of Dr. Mookerjee, as he then was. Evidently the popular eye even then beheld in him the coming man, the man of destiny. This is the earliest recollection that I have of the late Sir Asutosh. In 1901, when I joined the Calcutta Bar, my acquaintance really began with him. It soon deepened into affection, and the succeeding years strengthened and mellowed it. What irresistibly drew me to him was his consuming passion for books and immense enthusiasm for learning. Our tastes were similar—our Temple of Worship—the Temple of Minerva—the same. Distinctly, as though it took place but yesterday, I remember my first interview with him at his house in Bhawanipur. He gave me a cordial reception. He took me over his library. He showed me his collection, rich in rare and select books. He spoke of the romance of book-collecting; the good-luck that occasionally awaited the lover of books. It was a delightful meeting—the first of the many that we have had since. His library was a monument of his catholic taste. Every branch of learning was represented there; every book of mark had a place on his shelf. I was enthralled by him. And who would not be? His easy manners, his disarming candour, his liberal sympathies, his encouraging counsel—such an assemblage of qualities—would they fail to make a friend or appease a foe? One incident connected with my first meeting with Sir Asutosh should not be omitted. He pointed out *Howell's State Trials*,

and recommended its careful study to me, I asked for the loan of a volume. With a smile he told me—he never lent books; but immediately added that in my case he would break the rule. The volume found its way to my house and contributed to many hours of unfailing delight. I was one of the few exceptions to whom he lent his books. The last loan was the loan of the 4th volume of 'the Cambridge Medieval History' which he especially took for me from Calcutta to Patna, last April, to enable me to study the chapter on Byzantine Law and Administration. As the years went by I came into closer and closer contact with him. His interest in me and my work grew, and I am not exaggerating when I say that but for his kindly interest my literary and historical work would have ended years ago for sheer want of sympathy and encouragement. His death—besides being a deep personal loss to me—is a blow to Islamic culture in Bengal. But of this later.

On my return from Dacca Sir Asutosh appointed me a lecturer at the Law College. I may be permitted here to repeat, in this connection, a story which is in circulation and which needs correction. I was given morning classes which began from 9-30 and continued till 11 a.m. The hours did not quite fit in with the Court hours; as Court work, *then*, began at 10 a.m. precisely. With the complete concurrence of my students I altered the hour from 9:30 to 7 a.m. I was satisfied, and so were my students; but the authorities of the Law College were evidently not. I held my classes at the altered hours, for a few days, and the matter was duly reported to Sir Asutosh. I was, accordingly, summoned to his Chambers, at the High Court. At 2 p.m. I made my way in fear and trembling. I quailed, at the prospect, of the storm that I had to face, but face it I must. I entered the room and I could see the great man somewhat ruffled in temper. "So you have become the king of the Law College", said he, in an angry tone. "Yes", rejoined I, "and you are the king-maker." He smiled; he gently rebuked me and sent me away saying

‘Go thy way and sin no more.’ Thus was averted one of the greatest of calamities. But this was not the only report that was made against me. Mine has always been the unenviable lot of possessing innumerable *friends*, who make it their business to harm me. In this, their generous effort, they have never remained idle or slow. But—however successful in other quarters—they failed with Sir Asutosh.

I shall not obtrude any more personal matters here.

What, might be asked, was the secret of Sir Asutosh’s greatness? Lord Bacon has truly said: “The nobler a soul is, the more object of compassion it hath.” Compassion then was the striking note of his personality. He knew ‘the chains of ill’ that bind our lives. To the suffering he brought relief; to the wounded spirit, words of assuagement and of peace and to all—loving-kindness. Never was an appeal for help made in vain! Never was a judgment passed untempered by mercy. And next to compassion was his wondrous insight into human character. He read a man at sight. He took his measure, and he dealt with him accordingly. Many a morning I have sat and watched Sir Asutosh dealing with men, and many a lesson in wisdom I have learnt there.

Pride he had none. Simple, unostentatious were his ways; and lightly, like a flower, did he wear his learning—and immense learning too. He never showed impatience or displeasure at the unceasing stream of visitors at his house or at their not infrequently absurd demands. Here we have the secret of his greatness.

When I met him on the 3rd of May at the Burdwan Station—the Punjab mail was late by two hours; and, providentially for my benefit, I found him happy, radiant, full of plans for future work. Little did I dream then that that would be my very last meeting with him. But so it was to be. His death—so tragical in its suddenness—has plunged not only Bengal but the whole of India into deep, unrelieved

gloom. By far the greatest Indian has passed into the shade, and keener and acuter becomes our grief when we remember that just at the moment when his presence, his guiding hand, his towering intellect, his forceful personality were needed most—fate should take him away from us. It was but yesterday that he said farewell to the High Court—of which he was a most distinguished ornament—and, when he laid down the staff of his high office, we felt an inward thrill that his great powers would now seek and find a larger field of activity and a wider scope for beneficent work than the Bench offered. Our mental vision pictured Sir Asutosh at the head of public life in Bengal—controlling the exuberance of the idealist, infusing courage in the weak and faint-hearted, leading the battle for truth and justice and freedom. But time—which usually turns our hopes into derision—has wrecked our dream. But not even Time and Death can take his gifts away from us. Well might we say: “still are thy pleasant voices, thy nightingales, awake; For Death he taketh all away, but them he cannot take.” The greatest and the most enduring gift is the University itself; for has he not liberalised it, reformed it, and made it a true centre of light and lore, of research and advancement of Learning. For this he toiled incessantly, never wearying, never resting, battling with all his might, and standing four-square to all the winds that blew.

The Post-Graduate classes are the flower and fruit of his noble, unsparing efforts. Do they not claim all knowledge as their province—its diffusion their sole reason for existence? He insisted, inculcated, emphasized that a University was not a place where commercial interests should ever come into play, and that its one supreme object was to hold aloft the torch of learning—cost what it might.

But if he was never tired of reiterating the true functions of a University—he taught, in no uncertain voice, another lesson of deepest and profoundest import. It was a noble



SIR AND LADY AT BUNAR DURING TOTAL SOLAR ECLIPSE, JUNE 22, 1908

Standing—Brij M. Majumdar, Bose, C. C. Ghose and S. Mitra

Sitting—Rameshchandra Trivedi, P. N. Sen, Asitosh Mukherjee, Gourmudas Banerjee, S. Mitra,
Bhramendra N. Basu (*in front*)

lesson—a lesson taught by the noblest men in all ages—namely, Love of Freedom. For no true progress can there be where there is no Freedom—freedom from the shackles of priestcraft; freedom from the bondage of superstition; freedom from the fetters of authority—secular or otherwise. Naught but an emancipated intellect can seek, strive and achieve. No power could bend him to submission; no glittering gewgaw could lead him away from the path of duty. There is one branch of learning which owes a special debt to him—it is the Islamic learning—and at it his death has dealt the heaviest blow. He saw the importance of Muslim Culture, and he sought to bring it within reach of the educated public. He introduced Islamic history into the Calcutta University, and in a thousand and one ways encouraged Islamic studies. He encouraged the translation of such monumental works as those of Von Kremer, Weil and Wellhausen, and eagerly undertook their publication. This meant another step forward towards the advancement of Islamic studies. He had yet more extensive schemes for the furtherance of Mohamedan learning, and many an evening after the day's work was done—he and I sat together at Patna discussing the future of Mohamedan studies at this University. His last speech at the Behar and Orissa Research Society will convey some idea of the work he was contemplating in that direction. He aimed at making the Calcutta University the Centre of Mohamedan Studies in Bengal. He hoped to gather here not only Indian Scholars of note but also European Scholars of renown. I was asked to invite Prof. Browne, on behalf of this University, to deliver a course of lectures on Persian Poetry. I was further asked to invite Prof. Harowitz of Frankfurt to deliver a course of lectures on Arab Civilization. He was anxious, too, for a course of lectures on the system of Administration of Justice in Islam, and so keenly interested was he that, in spite of the heavy strain of work at Patna, he discussed the entire plan

of the lectures with me. I am proud to say that in my possession I have the title page of the contemplated lectures, written in his own hand—a memorial of his love for Islamic Studies and a remembrancer of his wish to me—now a sacred duty and a trust which I must need fulfil.

In him a great light has gone out. Whatever differences of opinion there may be on other points, there will be none in this, that Sir Asutosh (to quote the language of a great writer) made great spaces in human destiny very luminous.

But though sore is our grief and irreparable our loss—we can yet serve the great master by following in his footsteps—trying as best we can to live up to his ideals—fighting for freedom, seeking for light.

I shall conclude with what I said at the Senate House: “Courage was his watchword, Freedom his guide. Let these be also our watchword and our guide.”

S. KRUDA BUKSH

SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE : IN MEMORIAM

While we were having a meeting of the Executive Council of the University, the mournful news came that Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was no more. We were staggered at the suddenness of the blow and overwhelmed with grief at the enormity of the loss. We immediately sent a telegraphic message to the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University conveying our profound sense of loss at the passing away of our greatest educationist, the creator of the modern Calcutta University with its great and unique organisation for post-graduate teaching and research.

I had heard of Sir Asutosh's brilliant University career, especially as a mathematician, but I came to know him personally, when in January, 1904, he took his seat as a member of the Imperial Legislative Council. The Universities Bill had just then been introduced and immediately on his taking his seat, he was placed on its Select Committee. He had already established a reputation as an expert in University matters. Mr. Gokhale was already on it. They shared between them the task of voicing Indian views and representing Indian interests. Mr. Gokhale's standpoint was somewhat different from Sir Asutosh's. Both united in opposing what they agreed in thinking were reactionary provisions of the Bill and most of us followed their lead. But while the former saw nothing good in the measure, the latter thought it was an advance on the then existing law and deserved a trial. As was pointed out by Mr. Raleigh, the member in charge, the Bill as it had emerged out of the Select Committee, was "in large part his (Sir Asutosh's) work." All other considerations apart, in it was embodied his ideal of a University as set forth below: "A University is a Corporation of teachers and students banded together for the pursuit of learning and the increase of knowledge, duly housed and fitly

endowed, to meet the demands raised in the achievements of its purposes. In its establishment, the amplest powers that wisdom can suggest should be conferred upon it. In working out its intellectual salvation, the exercise of those powers should be vested in select bodies of fit persons, sufficiently small in number to be efficient, yet large enough in number to prevent degeneration into an intellectual clique, changing sufficiently from time to time to prevent the dominance of merely personal policies, and representative enough to be in touch alike with the experience of the past and with aspirations for the future." And though not wholly successful in his efforts to attain this ideal, he was prepared to allow the great experiment to have a full and fair trial.

After the Bill was passed into law, it became the duty of the Calcutta University to prepare in compliance with the provisions of Section 26 of the Act a revised set of regulations, providing for all matters relating to the University within one year after the commencement of the Act. This duty it failed to discharge, even after an extension of time had been granted. The Government of India accordingly appointed Sir Asutosh as Vice-Chancellor and with him as President a Committee was constituted to prepare the necessary regulations. With his great driving force behind it, a complete body of regulations dealing in ample detail with all matters relating to the University was prepared by his Committee within three months of its constitution. So thorough and satisfactory was the work that the draft was sanctioned in the precise form in which it had left the hands of the Committee. But, as pointed out in the Government resolution, this was merely a starting point of the extension and progressive development of University education. The regulations provided the machinery for reform but the most difficult work of putting the machinery in motion still remained to be done. And to this great task Sir Asutosh now consecrated his unrivalled ability, industry and judgment. Whether, as Mr. Gokhale

believed at the time, the Act was a sinister attempt to paralyse higher education, the fact remains that owing entirely to the wonderful organising capacity and the creative genius of Sir Asutosh, it was made to yield results which have transformed the Calcutta University into the most distinguished institution in the whole of India for the advancement of learning, the promotion of research and the fostering of collegiate life. The work of his post-graduate students has found recognition in the European Scientific and Literary world. How this great work was accomplished within fifteen years of his placing himself at the helm is best told in his own words :

“ For years now, every hour, every minute, I could spare from other unavoidable duties, foremost among them the duties of my judicial office, has been devoted to the University work. Schemes to heighten the efficiency of the University have been the subject of my day dreams, into which even a busy man lapses from time to time ; they have haunted me in the hours of nightly rest. To University concerns, I have sacrificed all chances of study and research, possibly to some extent, the interests of family and friends, and certainly, I regret to say, a good part of health and vitality.”

As a reward for all this self-sacrifice and devotion, he had the satisfaction of seeing two of his graduates secure that most coveted honour, the Fellowship of the Royal Society. Several of them occupy now high positions in the newly created Universities of Dacca, Patna, Benares and Lucknow. Allahabad also has not failed to avail itself of the *alumni* of Sir Asutosh's institutions. Sir Michael Sadler, President of the University Commission, said of Sir Asutosh that he had hardly met any distinguished educationist in any part of the world who could equal Sir Asutosh in information regarding educational affairs and the ideals of different Universities of the world.

A comprehensive scheme for the housing and superintendence of the Calcutta collegiate student population numbering

thousands and reform of legal education have gone hand in hand with the creation of the teaching University of Calcutta. The Vernacular of the Province received under him an impetus to which there is nothing to compare since the days of Raja Ram Mohan Roy. The Bengalee Literature has a Chair in the University and it is a compulsory subject up to the degree of Bachelor of Arts and Science. Private liberality, which has enabled much of this work to be done, has flowed in a copious fertilising stream under his magic influence.

Angry controversies have raged round Sir Asutosh's post-graduate teaching arrangements. He was accused of "thoughtless expansion" of this one department to the starving of other departments. Whether the financial difficulties were the result of this expansion, or of the failure of the Government to redeem its promise to help the University, it is beyond my function to discuss. But to the courage, energy and enthusiasm and high purpose which characterised Sir Asutosh's activities in the midst of these depressing surroundings, all must pay their homage. Nor can the fact be gainsaid that the work has been of an extraordinary character. Those who desire to have an idea how really extraordinary it is, should read Sir Asutosh's illuminating annual reports. He justified the staff entertained thus:

"We maintain a distinguished staff not solely with a view to communicate the existing knowledge to our young men but also to expand the boundaries of the domain of knowledge. We adopt as our motto—Search for the truth is the noblest occupation of man; its publication a paramount duty."

A word about the College of Science will not be out of place here. In this connection Sir Asutosh once said, "We have struggled for more than seven years to establish a University College of Science and Technology, which shall be the pride not of Bengal alone, but of all India. Two of the noblest of my countrymen have been unstinted in their liberality in the

furtherance of this cause." And despite difficulties, which at one time seemed insurmountable, the College was soon an accomplished fact and now under the direction of that saintly Scientist, Dr. P. C. Roy, who in the evening of his life, when men seek for rest and repose, has preferred to devote his unrivalled knowledge and experience to guide the progress of this great national institution, it has by its beneficent work already achieved, fully justified the wisdom and foresight of its founder. It has brought forth a band of highly trained and enthusiastic investigators, who under Dr. Roy's inspiration and guidance have been able to create an Indian School of Chemical Research, whose theses find honoured place in recognised scientific journals of Europe. Given the necessary funds and opportunities, the potentialities of good of this great institution are immeasurable.

Regarding the importance of higher teaching and research in the intellectual development of a nation, I quote the following eloquent words of Sir Asutosh: "No nation attained to real eminence as a Nation, unless they maintained in a state of the highest efficiency and excellence their Chief Seat of learning, their most potent instrument for the discovery and dissemination of truth in all departments of human activity." "Whatever detractors may proclaim, the fact remains that the University of Calcutta, at the present moment, possesses a teaching organisation which notwithstanding its deficiencies, is engaged in the performance of a work of highest importance to the State."

Sir Asutosh's profound and encyclopaedic knowledge of law, his power of clear, concise and accurate expression and skilful marshalling of facts have made his important judgments masterpieces of their kind and it has been rightly said that some of them have become classical. He will, without question, always rank as one of our greatest judges. A great educationist, a great lawyer, this is a rare combination.

Sir Asutosh lived a life of our ancient *rishi*-like simplicity. For years he attended public functions in his national *dhoti*. He sat on the Sadler Commission in his national dress and travelled all over India in that dress.

He was deeply religious. But his religion lay in the performance of duty, but not in the ordinary sense. As our immortal *Gita* has sung, duty must be performed for its own sake and not for its fruits. Renunciation of the fruits of action was the moving force of all his public activities and it was this that endowed him with his fearless independence and undaunted courage.

And now a nation is mourning for the loss of one of its noblest sons. It is a cruel irony of fate that while yet in the zenith of his high intellectual gifts and while engaged in maturing far-reaching plans for the betterment of his countrymen, the inevitable hand of death should at one stroke put an end to that vast accumulations of a life of great toil and strenuous pursuit of high aims. With a heart that never failed, with a courage that never faltered, he fought the great fight of University Reform amidst obloquy and opposition under which a lesser man than he would have gone down.

The intensity and the extent of the loss to the University can but be imperfectly realised yet. The more one reflects on the space Sir Asutosh filled in the University, on what he was, on what he stood for, on what he did and what he contemplated doing, when he was suddenly called away, the more is one filled with despair at the void that has been caused. There is one consolation, however. The inspiration of a divinely gifted life like his can never die. True, the vital spark is gone, the virile voice is still but the legacies of his great deeds are still for us to profit by. His great personality will remain clear when everything else will be blurred. Let us rejoice even in the midst of our great grief in its gathered glory.



SIR ASUTOSH IN HIS LIBRARY, 1917

Discussion is going on as to the form the memorial to Sir Asutosh should take. If I may venture on a suggestion, there must be a personal memorial, which will keep his memory green in the minds of future generations of students, whom he loved so well and for whom he lived and for whom he laboured. But his memory cannot be better preserved and perpetuated than by placing on a sound and firm footing the great institution which his genius created. In the presence of the Angel of Death, the voice of controversy must be hushed and all must unite with one heart to help those on whose shoulders will now devolve the great trust so that they may be able to gather the threads of his manifold activities and carry on his great work without being hampered by financial difficulties, to the lasting good of his countrymen. "Let each hand, each heart, each head and all spend and be spent, in service so divine."

B. K. Bose

IN MEMORIAM : SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

"Beware," said Emerson in one of his inspired moments, "when the great God sets loose a thinker in this planet, then all things are at risk. It is as when a conflagration has broken out in a great city and no man knows what is safe or where it will end." With peculiar appropriateness can it be said of the great man whose loss we mourn to-day. He rose like a meteor and equally meteoric was his disappearance from our midst. Now that we have rallied partially from the effects of the stunning blow—which unto the last we had fondly believed to be false—we should attempt a computation of the loss we have sustained. It is far from our motive—and indeed it is preposterous for any one—to attempt to make a full inventory of the extraordinary gifts, the versatile genius and the myriad-minded interests of the personage. This being so, one is tempted to slip into a too facile deification and to prefer silence lest one should 'damn with faint praise' or do injustice to the memory of the departed great by omitting reference to the one or the other aspect of his personality. The motive which inspires this attitude may be laudable in itself; but if all-absorbing, it is sure to defeat its own aim. Silence on such occasions is very often due to intellectual indolence or emotional inertia—which are alike devoid of a redeeming grace. We, however, revere Asutosh as *humanly* great and as such we do not think it humanly impossible to pay our respectful homage to his memory by recounting this or that feature of his many-sided personality. Moreover, ours is not the ambitious aim of the biographer—which is either thorough or nothing—but the modest one of an humble admirer that is satisfied with a little. A tribute of love, howsoever humble, has, they say, an individual importance, a uniqueness of meaning, which is 'too precious to be lost.' That is what emboldens the present writer to come forward with this

homage of love in the good faith that it will have its place in the bouquet of honours garnered in his memory.

It is held that sorrow makes us wise—wise in more senses than one. It is but human to reckon the value of a thing only when we are bereft of it. But there has been a notable exception in this case. Sir Asutosh's was not a posthumous greatness. Great already in life—and perhaps greater still in his death—Asutosh has falsified by the sheer compelling force of his personality the popular adage: 'Caesar dead is far greater than Caesar living.' To-day his loss is being mourned as the greatest catastrophe that can befall a nation at a critical juncture of its history. But the worst feature of this loss is that it is not merely catastrophic, but will be realised progressively as each to-day gnaws into and swells a to-morrow. We are too near in space and time to make a just estimate of the loss we have sustained. Viewing it in its proper perspective, it is for posterity to give the verdict. Let us not for Heaven's sake forestall it.

The most dominant note, indeed the keynote of Sir Asutosh's life, was an indomitable boldness, and unflinching courage and a relentless vigour—the characteristic traits of a soul essentially free in thought and speech. Boldness was synonymous with Asutosh and courage was the very stuff he was made of—a fact that could hardly escape even a casual observer. His was a boldness born of a plentitude of bodily and mental vigour—a rare combination to be seen. As the living embodiment of health and vigour, both physical and mental, Sir Asutosh was the standing refutation of the seductive phrase—'the mild Hindu.' 'The Bengal Tiger' is the most fitting appellation that could be given to this far-from-mild Hindu; and many are the thumps dealt by this Bengal Tiger in quarters both high and low, whereof painful memories still linger and are likely to continue for some time to come.

His boldness was not the boldness of a daredevil or of a

desperate man but the boldness of a man imbued with a keen sense of freedom. Freedom was indeed the very breath of his nostrils. Born in a land of helots, he has abundantly exemplified in himself what a free man is like. Those who have felt the magic of his thoughts and the contagion of his emotions—thoughts that would burn deep and emotions that would thrill one's being—know it full well. That there was something unspeakable, some main-miracle, something apparently not of this work-a-day life that accounted for the spell he cast on his audience, no one will deny. But what was that something, the secret, the fountain-head of his power?—It was the atmosphere of freedom that he breathed and that diffused a fragrance over all his words and deeds—the perennial fount that vitalized and nurtured the boldness and courage of which he was an exemplar. Such fearlessness and courage have at times so ill accorded with the environment he was placed in that he has been looked upon as a ‘stranger from afar.’ But we forget that these are the people that ‘like trailing clouds of glory’ come with a higher certificate of birth from the hands of God who lets them loose on this planet of ours devoid of a ‘local habitation and a name’; for they are destined to be of all ages, and of all climes—the salt of the earth, the light of the world. That is why to-day Indians and Europeans alike acknowledge his greatness and render unto him the honour that is due to a free-born soul, however much that freedom of his might have proved galling to them. Early initiated into and unwearied in the service of this sovereign mistress, this devoted apostle of freedom has shown in himself what such a dedicated life implies. Freedom, they say, is a jealous goddess, exacting and relentless, calling upon her devotee to renounce all thoughts of self, ‘to scorn delights and live laborious days’ and rewarding at last with a crown of thorns. Nobly did he answer this call; and creditably did he acquaint himself in the championship of the cause which was so dear to his heart—the cause of his *Alma Mater* for which he

has sacrificed his leisure and comfort and literally lived laborious days. Such unsparing and selfless devotion to the cause at the expense of self-culture—particularly, of the chance of study and research in subjects for which he had unquestionably first rate aptitude—is indeed unique as well as inimitable. Nevertheless these are the people that serve as beacon-lights to those that would follow in their footsteps, inspiring and animating them with the dynamic of their example. This self-denying ordination for a sacred cause surely entitles him to the rank

“ Of those immortal dead who live again
In minds made better by their presence : live
In pulses stirred to generosity,
In deeds of daring rectitude, in scorn
For miserable aims that end with self,
In thoughts sublime that pierce the night like stars,
And with their mild persistence urge man's search
To vaster issues.

So to live is heaven.”

assuredly. No more fitting epitaph on his handiwork could be conceived !

His early apprenticeship under this mistress enabled him to tide over many a crisis in the eventful history of this University. In particular, the Post-graduate department of the University of which he was the sole author and inspirer has weathered many a storm only under his skilful pilotship. Like Napoleon he has fought single-handed for its autonomy till the last hour. But alas ! before the weather-beaten vessel could be brought to safer moorings, he crossed the bar at the summons of his Pilot to be entrusted perhaps with the captaining of another vessel in more troubled water. It is striking indeed that this manner of his death came as the fitting close of a career so supremely unapproachable,—of a man standing out in solid singleness in death as in life as well.

A veritable Napoleon in life he died a Napoleonic death—an exile from home in Olympic indifference to all earthly aids that could be rendered to him. So sad, so tragic, yet so heroically sublime was the passing away of this great man.

Now that he is gone what will be the fate of the Post-graduate department, his latest handiwork?—this is the question in everybody's mouth. An institution which he has brought up with parental solicitude and care—will it be suffered wantonly to perish, or what, in his opinion, would be a much worse fate, to barter away its freedom? It is up to the people of Bengal to give an answer to that question. We do not know what answer will be given but we have faith all the same that

“ Freedom's battle once begun,
Bequeathed from bleeding sire to son
Tho' baff'd oft is ever won ”—

whether by a nation or by an individual. This is the legacy—the charge of a strenuous fight—that has been bequeathed by him. Who is there so base among his followers or colleagues that will betray the trust or suffer its mutilation? Further, a thing like that can never perish because he has reared it with his life's blood, with intensive penance and an unflagging will to suffer. Of the divine Labourer it has been said ‘स तपस्तप्त्रा सर्वमिदमवुजत’ “*Su tapastapthra sarvam idam-asrijata.*” That is the secret of creation as well as the continued existence of everything. All such creations as have their root in a ‘तपस्या’ *tapasyā* are truly ‘the nurselings of immortality.’

Such has been the illustrious career of a man pledged to Freedom. The keynote of that career was struck expressly in the closing words of that memorable Senate speech of his: “*Freedom first, freedom second, freedom always. Nothing else will satisfy me.*” Apart from the autobiographical interest that attaches to these lines, they are luminous with a

deeper signification. Divorced from the special context—where the dictum admittedly refers to a ‘chartered freedom,’ and placed in the context of the life of the speaker, it acquires a new breadth of meaning. It is sheer intellectual perversity that sticks only to contextual interpretation and refuses to see through the transparent guise into the inner meaning of a pregnant utterance. Here, as elsewhere, more is meant than meets the ear. So construed it stands as a byword, as the gospel of that freedom which is the inalienable birthright of every man.

It is neither the place nor the occasion to rake up contentious issues as to whether he had respect for other men’s freedom and would really carry matters with a high hand in the right autocratic way. Suffice it to say that his opponents in public life did even in his lifetime testify to his greatness and generosity as an enemy and still revere his memory as one with whom it was their privilege to cross swords. Like Mark Antony’s peroration on Brutus’ bier, the best tribute to his memory has been that of one of his latter-day opponents.

Many were the virtues attendant on such innate fearlessness of his. His was, for example, an absolutely confiding and unsuspecting nature that goes hand in hand with fearlessness. Suspicion is the child of fear, and in a soul essentially fearless, suspicion can have no place. He could never suspect any one, this was at once his strength and weakness. He has not infrequently paid rather too dearly for misplaced confidence but never did he condescend to suspect people. It seemed as if he would court death rather than forsake his nature—in pursuance perhaps of the maxim of the Bhāgavad Gēta, “*सधर्मं निधनं श्रेयः परधर्मो भयावहः*” *Sadharmaṁ nidhanam śreyah paradharmo bhayābaha*—Better die retaining one’s *Dharma* than embrace an alien one which is always dangerous.

While reckoning these outstanding traits of his character—an irrepressible freedom, an innate boldness and an unflinching

courage—one cannot afford to ignore the heart that lay within—a heart brimming over with the milk of human kindness. His name will not be invoked by his successors, far less by his contemporaries, as an apotheosis of power or force merely, but as a man of unbounded charity bordering sometimes, as some unkind critic might say, on indiscretion. In these days we hear too much of ‘indiscriminate charity’—a phrase repeated *ad nauseam* by ‘cultured’ persons in whom studied abstention from charity is really a cloak of lowliness of heart or apathy. In this respect, as in all others, he was a thoroughbred nationalist hearkening back to the dying note of an age when the guest would be regarded as the very image of the Divine, ‘सर्वदेवमयोऽतिथिः’—*Sarva devamayotithi*. That which is fast becoming an old-world virtue a matter of antiquarian curiosity merely was a matter of daily practice with him. It was not due merely to his respect for national tradition, but a direct outcome of his capacious heart. With the average run of mankind discriminative or discreet charity is a virtue of necessity; such a man can hardly afford to be indiscriminate in acts of charity. But his charity was commensurate with the greatness of his soul, although discordant with the somewhat rough and awe-inspiring exterior. Wonderful, indeed, is this blend of the stern and the humane, the man and the woman—the woman serving as a set-off to his forceful personality. To such characters forsooth did Bhavabhūti dedicate the lines:

“बज्रादपि कठोराणि मृदूनि कुसुमादपि

Bajrādapi kathorāṇi mṛdūni kuṣumādapi

लोकोत्तराणां चेतानि को न विज्जातुमर्हति ।”

Lokottarāṇām chētānsi ko na vijjātumarhati.—

“harder even than adamant, yet softer than flowers, the minds of the great are difficult to comprehend.”

Of young Bengal—the student community in particular



SIR ASUTOSH RECEIVING THE RELICS OF THE BUDDHA FROM LORD RONALDSHAY, IN GOVERNMENT HOUSE, NOVEMBER 26, 1900

—Asutosh was the uncrowned king; inasmuch as he was an ardent lover of youth with all its inexperience, its indiscretions and its follies. It was he who inspite of vehement opposition adopted the far-sighted policy of entrusting new-fledged graduates with the highest academic teaching, and I dare say he has had seldom any occasion to repent for it. And why? Because he had that abiding faith—the faith that creates and sustains—in youth. It is here, if anywhere, that the explanation is to be found of his popularity with the students. The scene of his last rites bears an eloquent testimony to the place which the departed great occupied in the heart of Young Bengal. And it is really significant that just three years ago when the students of Bengal were being carried off their feet by the wave of ‘non-co-operation’ movement and the schools and colleges deserted by them, it was this very man who being appealed to, stood up firmly and stemmed the tide with remarkable alacrity. Therein, as he has himself confessed in one of his speeches, his popularity with the students was put to a terrible strain. With more than parental affection and anxious care he flung open the doors of the University for the repentant return of the ‘prodigal son’ and it was found ere long that his popularity with the students had not in the least abated. This was bound to be; for there never has been and perhaps never will be, a greater friend of theirs. Can they afford to forget his never-failing advocacy of their cause, when all else have left them to their fate? Can they ever forget that benevolent smile that allayed all fear and suspicion when they approached him for the sake of a forlorn cause? Can they after all forget that chastening love for them who were his sons by adoption. His heart was with the young; that is why it would vibrate in unison with their sentiments and aspirations, as well as sorrows and misfortunes. In this hapless land of ours it is a rare phenomenon—an old man in perfect fellowship with the young. In fact, he could thoroughly enter into their spirits—

in direct contravention of the Shakespearean dictum 'crabbed age and youth cannot live together'—for his soul was always young in life as in death, although he was advancing in years. Verily 'whom the gods love die young.' Such are the God's elect favoured with the Elysian elixir that ensures perpetual youth. In him the younger generation has lost its best beloved patron, protector and guide. When comes such another? Echo answers only "when"!

Of his private religious faith we hardly know anything nor do we need to know anything beyond what we have seen in his public life. His life furnishes the ablest commentary on that. *Work was his religion*—not because he was born with a genius for organisation and work that would as such, naturally occur to him but because he believed with more than a Carlylean ardour that 'work is worship.' He has silently preached that gospel of work by his life-long endeavour, by tremendous personal sacrifice, by rigorous toil and *privation*. He would readily endorse Goethe's substitution of 'Action' for 'word' in the gospel of St. John. We do him no injustice when we interpret his faith thus. So absorbing was his passion for work—and perfection in it—that he would not rest until he had perfected it to its minutest details. It is this passion which has never allowed him to entrust his work to less able hands lest it should be marred or bungled. The consequence has been deplorable : there is now no worthy shoulder whereon his mantle can fall. If it is to be called any error on his part, it should be reckoned as one of the generous errors of any idealist or perfectionist.

We cannot at this stage pass in silence over the much-debated question of his patriotism, nationalism, or his loyalty to the country's cause. It has been deplored in some quarters that he did not identify himself with any of the existing political parties of the day. A man of sturdy independence, indomitable courage, and aggressive nationalism as he was, he stood aloof, it is alleged, from the political arena—

when others were rendering yeomen's service, he was not there. In one of the memorial meetings convened in his honour, it was, however, given out authoritatively that he had 'definite plans of action' to this very end. It was his wonted reticence following perhaps on the golden maxim "मनसा चिन्तितं कर्म वचसा न प्रकाशयेत्"—'*Manasa chin'itam karma cachaśa na prakashayet*—' the plan of action thought of in the mind should not be given out—that gave the reins to unbridled conjectures and surmises. In the absence of any ostensible proof of his political sympathies or leanings, it is better not to hazard any opinion or indulge in conjectures. Truly, as one Anglo-Indian paper observed, 'he took no part in politics;' and the observation was made probably with a sigh of relief! Even if he had any definite political creed or any set policy to pursue, it was kept a dead secret for issuing of manifestoes and appeals, pamphleteering or preaching like demagogues was altogether foreign to his nature. In fact, a born leader like him could not possibly be in a state of vassalage to any of the political parties—or what would be fittier termed political non-descripts of the day. Whatever explanation we now offer, it is highly probable that his aloofness was not an accidental or incidental, but a studied one. There might have been well considered reasons for that. Believing perhaps with his namesake, friend and associate, Sir Asutosh Chowdhury, that 'a subject nation can have no politics,' he did not think it worth his while to waste his breath in platform speeches or fritter away his energy in political pettifogging—he was constitutionally incapable of such political games. Indeed the new-fangled, clamorous nationalism of to-day had no attraction for him; for sensationalism which goes by the name of politics in these days was not in his line. Fortunately for the country he turned his best energies to a more profitable channel silently to spin at the wheel of the nation's destiny. He knew full well that 'the petty cobwebs we have spun' although gay in the sunshine of popular enthusiasm,

are destined to be swept to naught by the passing wind. Without building, therefore, on shifting quicksands—counting on the vagaries of to-day and being the dupes of to-morrow,—he devoted himself to the laying of a foundation of what he regarded the true nationalism. With his penetrative insight he at once diagnosed the malady and discovered the cancer that was eating into the very vitals of the body-politic, and like a far-sighted physician tried to effect its eradication instead of convulsing the diseased organism into action by means of stimulants or narcotics. Looking ahead of the frenzied zealots and maniacs seized with an insensate vandalism, he truly perceived that the salvation of his dear motherland lay not in the boycotting of educational institutions and the consequent self-imposed ignorance, but in more intensified as well as diffused enlightenment. Amid deafening clamours and imprecations, criticisms and jeers, he with his wonted fearlessness stuck to his banner inscribed with the motto of 'the advancement of learning' and addressed himself to the task of conserving and consolidating the citadel he had built up by the sweat of his brow. His opponents and detractors who were then a legion conspired—in their varied interests and varied capacities—to vilify and hold him up to obloquy and shame. But scarcely did they reckon that such a hero

" was not born to shame :

Upon his brow shame is ashamed to sit."

a brow consecrated by the sweat of a selfless devotion to a worthy cause. Regardless, however, of those shafts and missiles the unyielding Atlas carried on the burden in the firm conviction that he was laying there in the foundation of a nationalism that is yet to be—more solid, more durable and more fruitful. That foundation is too patent to need any mention ; it is writ large across the face of his glorious handiwork prophetic of that consummation devoutly to be wished by

every true son of the land. Is there any one who is blind to the Herculean labour with which this master-builder gathered together the scattered fragments of ancient Indian civilisation and culture—its art and literature, its architecture and sculpture, its law and polity, its social and constitutional history, lastly its philosophy and religion—to revive therefrom the sleeping spirit of ancient India? Is there any one so impervious that needs to be told in so many words that in this Revival of Letters lies the only hope of our salvation, for, as it was once wisely observed, “a nation that has no glorious past can have no glorious future either?” It is difficult to forestall what position posterity will assign to Asutosh Mukhopadhyaya,—the one Indian of Indians in whom the spirit of ancient India may be said to have incarnated itself—in the inauguration of an Indian nationalism. Nor can we see sure of the verdict of posterity on the overt nationalism of Asutosh embedded in this great move of his; but this much is sure that posterity will be in a better position to appraise his work, for by that time the seed sown by him will have borne its fruit.

In his dress, mode of living and social views, art is universally known, Asutosh was an aggressive nationalist. In these respects he did not simply profess a lip-loyalty to the national tradition but vindicated his fidelity by his life. He never preached but *lived* what he believed to be true and right. No more telling example of example being better than precept could be found. It is he alone among Bengalees of to-day who has consistently maintained and enhanced the prestige of the *Dhoti*. In this respect, as in many others, his only predecessor was Iswarchandra Vidya-sagar of hallowed memory. Dress is not a trifling thing; it is undoubtedly the emblem of that commendable national egotism and pride which no free-born soul can ever be without. When one thinks of him, it is the *dhoti*-clad Asu Babu, and not the Hon'ble Justice Sir Asutosh Mookerji with the

judicial wig and robe that crops up before our minds' eye. It is indeed interesting to note that the official ban on the *Dhoti* as being unfit to be the 'Court' dress has synchronised with the passing away of this sturdy champion of the *Dhoti*!

In the observance of social customs and ceremonies he was an out-and-out nationalist and a strict adherent of the Hindu tradition. In fact, his orthodoxy or traditionalism was simply the offshoot of his deep-seated nationalism. Still his was not that orthodoxy, which as synonymous with soulless bigotry sticks to the letter in studied ignorance of the spirit of the law and thus overrides all considerations of humanity in pursuance of the *ignis fatuus* of a spiritual pride. The occasion for his departure from the orthodox Hindu tradition is too well known to need any mention here. His departure on that occasion was not, be it remembered, the secession of an ultra-liberal, denationalized, non-conformist but was the deliberate procedure of a man who had all through his life maintained a strict loyalty to the Hindu tradition. This event of his life has brought into prominent relief the breadth of his vision, the culture of his mind and the greatness of his soul. It has emphatically demonstrated the truth which none but an enlightened Hindu—in the strict sense of the phrase can realise that 'the law has been made for man, not man for the law.' Although not a social reformer by profession, his silent teaching by the text of his life is worth a thousand sermons from the pulpit and the platform. Thus his nature approximated a full-orbed perfection. Truly can it be said of him that

.....the elements

So mix'd in him that Nature might stand up

And say to all the world, *This was a man!*"

Lastly, he was not the votary of that un-enlightened short-sighted, exclusive cult of nationalism which shuts

itself up in a dark solitary cell, stubbornly refusing to let in light because it would be foreign or alien to the ancient hallowed darkness native to the cell. His was not that fatuous ill-conceived and even suicidal nationalism that goes in for boycotting fresh air and light from all quarters and goes on hunger-strike to die a martyr's death from sheer inanition. Such sham heroism, such cheap martyrdom, and such morbid sentimentalism would deservedly come in for condemnation in no uncertain terms from him. His was instead a saner, a healthier, a sunnier type of nationalism that would renounce a 'fugitive and cloistered virtue,' meet its adversary on its own ground and baffle it with its own weapons forged at its anvil. But we have not a more detailed programme from him. The constructive aspect of his nationalism has remained shrouded in mystery. It defies all guess-work, all analysis on our part. It is indeed preposterous to expect that we shall be able to decipher fully the workings of a master-mind. It requires another master mind, a kindred soul, to unravel the mystery. *Similia similibus cognoscentur* said the mystical Empedocles. The great Swāmi Vivekānanda is reported to have grieved that there was not another Vivekananda to estimate the significance of the service he had rendered to his countrymen and to humanity at large. The lives of such great men, or heroes, in the Carlylean sense, are at once inviting and resisting scrutiny. Still we press for light, more light from these and every one interprets these great minds according to one's own light. Here was such a hero whose loss we mourn to-day and of him one might truly say in the words in which Matthew Arnold apostrophised Shakespeare :

" Others abide our question. Thou art free,
We ask and ask : Thou smilest and art still.
Out-topping knowledge. For the loftiest hill
That to the stars uncrowns his majesty

Planting his steadfast footsteps in the sea,
Making the Heaven of Heavens his dwelling place
Spares but the cloudy border of his base
To the foiled searching of mortality : " !

SAROJKUMAR DAS



ON THE EVE OF HIS RETIREMENT
DECEMBER, 1923

MY REMINISCENCES OF SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

It is a truism that great men like precious gems never fail to make an impression of their worth on the mind of those who happen to meet them. Men susceptible of no impression as well as those, who though impressionable, take a distorted view of whatever they happen to see, may often fail to appreciate the worth of great men and things. Yet leaving aside these two classes of beings to whom there is nothing great or precious in the world, there is a third class forming a majority of the people whose mind never misses to be impressed with whatever is conspicuously magnificent or majestic. It is this class of people which in appreciation of the services rendered by great benefactors of men cherishes their memory with grateful reverence.

At once scholar, orator, lawyer, Judge, educationist and patriot, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee united in himself the qualities which are rarely found in combination. He had acquired a thorough mastery over many departments of learning. His versatile genius enabled him to preside over the various Boards and Studies in Arts and Sciences of the Calcutta University and evoked the admiration of experts. His brilliant Address to the second Oriental Conference of 1922 at Calcutta was a masterpiece not likely to be forgotten by those who had the privilege to listen to it. His qualities as a distinguished lawyer and Judge have been universally acknowledged.

His organisation of the Post-graduate Studies in Arts and Sciences in the Calcutta University and the conspicuous part he played as a member of the Calcutta University Commission bear ample testimony to the attainments he possessed as an up-to-date Educationist. No one can deny that from an educational point of view, it is fraught with golden possibilities of vast importance to India. It was his ambition to afford a wide scope for the training of Indian students in original

research in all branches of Sciences and Arts. It is to be devoutly hoped that his successors in the Calcutta University will take steps to safeguard its stability in the interests of Research Students of Indian Universities. When talking to H. V. Nanjundaiah, the late Vice-Chancellor of the Mysore University, I remarked that in appreciation of the services rendered by Sir Asutosh Mookerjee in founding the Post-Graduate Studies in the Calcutta University, his admirers had set up a marble bust of Sir Asutosh in the University building. he replied that Sir Asutosh richly deserved a statue.

It was simply astonishing to see the power of memory which he displayed in remembering the name of each of the hundred and fifty professors and of more than a thousand students constituting the Post-graduate branch of the University. Nay, he knew the names of all the officers, clerks, and menials of the University Office, besides having the budget-figures of the University at his finger's ends. Accordingly, he found it easy to draft a programme of University 'extension lectures' at any time of the day so as to enable all the applicants from among the Post-graduate students to attend the lectures without interference to their regular class lessons.

He was a man of undoubted patriotism. His patriotism, however, was not of a parochial type. He extended his sympathy to the whole of India. It was a favourite saying of his that he was an Indian first, then a Bengali. There is no doubt that his practice was in consonance with this conviction, for he selected distinguished scholars from all parts of India for the staff of the Institute of Post-graduate studies.

It may also be noted that his loyalty to the British throne was hearty and sincere. On the occasion of the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales in India at the close of 1921, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee had been to Bangalore in connection with the Tata Research Institute. He was convinced that the people of India were decidedly wrong in boycotting the Prince and asked me whether there was any express statement

in any Sanskrit work condemning the boycott of an heir-apparent to the throne by the people, displeased rightly or wrongly though they might be with the officers of his Kingdom.

In short, he was a man complete in all respects, with his life dedicated to the sacred cause of education in the true sense of the word.

R. SHAMASASTRY

SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE : LORD LYTTON'S TRIBUTES

I. The following is the full text of the speech delivered by His Excellency as Chairman of the Special Meeting of the Senate on Saturday, the 15th June, 1924 :

“ Mr. Vice-Chancellor and Fellows,

This is the first opportunity I have had as Chancellor of meeting in full sessions the members of the Senate. I wish it could have been an occasion of rejoicing which had called us together and that in the presence of some great good fortune we could join our voices in a common note of thanksgiving. Alas, it is a very different matter which has caused us to meet. We stand in the presence of death, and with bowed heads and heavy hearts we have come to mourn the loss of our university's greatest son.

Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was the most striking and representative Bengali of his time. The versatility of intellect and the variety of his interests were so great that there is scarcely any department of the public life of this province which has not been left the poorer by his death. But in this place, and in the presence of those who were his colleagues and fellow-workers I would recall to you not the brilliant lawyer, nor the learned judge, nor the many-sided scholar, nor the patron and administrator of countless learned societies but rather the man who in the interest of this university and in furtherance of that object for which it stands—the advancement of learning—devoted to the cause of education through a period of thirty-five years, those hours which other men less intellectually gifted or possessed of less indefatigable energy reserve for recreation or repose.

The University of Calcutta, as it stands to-day, bears the indelible impress of those thirty-five years of devoted labour. What the university is to-day is the result of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee's work. During his time two University Commissions sat.

The first Commission, distrustful though Sir Asutosh was of the trend of its recommendations, in reality paved the way for what proved to be the main achievement of his life in university matters, namely, the development of the university as a home of advanced learning and as a teaching organisation. To that development he devoted all his immense energies, his organising genius, and his administrative powers and he finally succeeded in building up the great post-graduate department which is the most striking feature of the Calcutta University at the present day. That the imposition of this upper storey upon the buildings of the ground floor had revealed and intensified in an alarming degree the structural defects of the latter, Sir Asutosh was the first to admit, and as a member of the Sadler Commission he signed a report which frankly recognise this fact.

Mr. Vice-Chancellor and Fellows, the post-graduate department of this university was the outstanding product of Sir Asutosh's great career. To that development which needed his vigilant and unremitting attention he sacrificed, as he once said, a great part of his strength and vitality, as also those opportunities of scholarly research which he valued so highly. Of any change, of any reform, in other departments of the university which might conceivably affect the welfare of that special development he was ever distrustful, and in latter years, I think, he tended to bring most questions of university reform to this one test, namely, their effect on the post-graduate department.

So completely did he, the creator of this department, dominate and control the whole of its activities, so concentrated was his attention upon its progress and development that he could admit no fault in any policy which made for its advancement and was perhaps a little too ready to see in the critics of other features of the life of the university potential enemies of the cause that was so near his heart.

In the last year he and I have been spoken of as antagonists, but there was no fundamental difference of principle between us to justify any antagonism. Myself a graduate of a

great University, I am able to sympathise with the University point of view, and I approach all the affairs of this university as its Chancellor first and only subsequently as the Governor of the province. We ought to have been great collaborators and it was always my hope that time would have convinced Sir Asutosh that there was nothing antagonistic between my ideals and his. Even if there had been more reality than I am prepared to admit in the issues which seemed temporarily to divide us all controversy would be silenced in the presence of death.

To-day we can think only of the great intellectual powers he placed so long at the service of his university; of the years of unremitting toil which he cheerfully spent in the task of organising and administering its higher branches, and of the renown, not only in India but in Europe, which he thereby gains for Calcutta. Let us remember with gratitude that powerful encouragement to scholarship which he was always ready to extend to any man, whether Bengali or foreigner, whose talents might bring lustre to the university or stimulate research and learning within its walls. Let us pay homage to the man who year after year, whether as Vice-Chancellor or from an equally influential position in the background, controlled and guided the college and school system which the university through its functions, as an examining body, is called upon to administer—the man who above all others, in the eyes of his countrymen and in the eyes of the world, represented the university so completely that for many years Sir Asutosh was in fact the university and the university was Sir Asutosh. As Louis XIV could say “*L’etat c’est moi*,” so with equal truth could Sir Asutosh have said “*I am the university*.”

Mr. Vice-Chancellor and Fellows, we have something more to do to-day than merely to pay verbal tribute to the great man whom we have met to mourn.

Let us also consider in what way we can most fittingly mark our appreciation of his work and what monument will most worthily perpetuate his memory.

It has been suggested to me that the new University buildings which are nearing completion should be named after Sir Asutosh. If you, gentlemen, are willing, by all means let this be done. The buildings belong to the University and we need no other sanction than our own wishes. But such a step, if adopted, cannot take the place of the greater memorial to which I feel sure the whole of Bengal will wish to contribute. A public meeting will no doubt be held to consider what form the memorial should take, but in such a matter the University should take the lead and I venture, therefore, to make a suggestion for the consideration of the committee which you will presently be asked to appoint. Let me remind you again that the greatest achievement of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee's life was the transformation of the Calcutta University into a centre of advanced instruction and research. This was the work nearest his heart, the work on which he spent his energies to the very limit of his endurance and what worthier memorial to his memory can we conceive than an endowment of that post-graduate department which he created.

Let each one of us severally resolve that this cherished creation of his life shall not suffer because he has left us. Gentlemen, while his great work is still fresh in our minds, while we almost seem to see him sitting in our midst and can still hear the echoes of his commanding voice, let all differences be forgotten, all mistakes forgiven, let us resolve to build over his ashes a temple of reconciliation. Let us unite in the common determination to work together for those changes which are inevitable if our university is to keep its fair name before the world. Let the foundation stone of that temple of reconciliation be a joint and common purpose to receive the teaching University of Calcutta as a sacred trust from his dying hand, and in the years to come, whatever changes may be found essential in the general organisation of the university, to allow nothing to threaten its stability, its prosperity, its freedom or its future development."

The following is an extract from the Address delivered by His Excellency at the Annual Convocation of the University held on 5th July, 1924 :

“ There is one loss, however, the recent, which dominates our mind to-day. One place in the University left vacant by death which no one else can ever fill—the work of one man terminated which no other single man can carry on. Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, five times Vice-Chancellor, he who to the student and the general public represented, nay, was the University, is no longer with us and these walls which have so often echoed to his eloquent Convocation Speeches, will never hear again his resounding and masterful voice. His death has created a feeling akin to consternation for it is not merely an important piece of the structure of the University which has fallen out, it is as if the whole structure itself had collapsed.

I shall not attempt to perform again that duty which the Senate of the University carried out under my presidency in June last on behalf of the whole body of the University and its students. On that occasion I paid my personal tribute to Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, and the Senate placed on record in dignified and fitting language its deep appreciation of his devoted work for this University. That tribute is doubtless well-known to you since it was reported very fully in the press. Less well known to you, perhaps, is the tribute which his colleagues in the Syndicate paid to him. It sums up what those who worked with him week by week on the administrative body of the University thought of their leader. It was a finely expressed tribute worthy of Sir Asutosh, and I should like to quote it as nothing can better express the admiration which his colleagues felt for him and the dismay with which they contemplate the future without him :

“ We, the members of the Syndicate, in a special meeting convened for the purpose, place on record an expression of our profound grief at the death of our revered colleague, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. As Vice-Chancellor or as an ordinary member of the Syndicate he had been intimately associated with

MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS



its work since 1889. For thirty-five years he placed his outstanding intellectual powers and his unrivalled energy ungrudgingly at the service of colleagues, thereby enabling them to carry out a task which year by year became more difficult, laborious and exacting. The remarkable developments in the work of the University during the last two decades which it was our privilege as the representatives of the Senate to direct, were largely the product not only of his constructive genius but of the selfless, incessant and devoted toil, which he brought to his task as a member of our body. The personal and private sorrow which we each individually feel at the loss of our distinguished colleague is intensified by our keen sense of the irreparable injury to our work which will be caused by the absence of his indefatigable energy, his directive skill and his unique knowledge and experience. In paying our sorrowful tribute of respect to the friend, colleague, and leader whom we have lost, and in placing on record our profound admiration for the services rendered to the cause of education by the work which he accomplished as a member of our body, we express the hope that the memory of his devoted labours may inspire those of us who remain and those who follow us, to imitate his great example, and dedicate all the powers which they possess to the service of their University and to the achievement of that object for which he lived, the advancement of learning amongst the people of his motherland."

These words I feel sure express the sentiments of the whole of Bengal and I can say nothing which could add to their eloquence for their sincerity."

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The following is the full text of the speech delivered by His Excellency as President of the Sheriff's Meeting held at the Dalhousie Institute on Friday, the 11th July, 1924 :

"This meeting of the citizens of Calcutta has been summoned to enable them to record their sorrow at the loss which they have suffered in the death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, a man of outstanding ability who had distinguished himself in many branches of public life and who at the time of his death was the most outstanding personality in Bengal.

I have already on two previous occasions paid my tribute to Sir Asutosh's work in connection with the Calcutta University and I have also expressed my own opinion as to the most

fitting memorial to him. I need not, therefore, repeat here what I have already said elsewhere on those subjects. But besides being a great Vice-Chancellor and the creator of the teaching branch of the Calcutta University, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was distinguished in many other ways and it is of some of these that I wish to speak on this occasion.

If evidence were needed of his outstanding abilities the tremendous vigour and versatility of his mind and of the great respect in which he was held, it could be found in the numerous meetings of condolence which have been held all over the country by countless societies and bodies of many of which he was an active member or patron. Those societies and bodies dwelt mainly upon the aspects of their great leader and inspirer with which they were primarily concerned. To-day we are concerned with them all and there are speakers on this platform who knew him in different capacities and who can testify to the ability on all of them.

As he was such a conspicuous figure in public life, we are apt to forget that his scholastic attainments were very considerable and he had a most distinguished University career. I need not recite the various academic distinctions which he gained in whatever subject he took up, mathematics, science or law. He began his career as a Mathematician and, in spite of his other absorbing cares, he maintained to the last his special interest in this subject in which he was pre-eminent. If he was a scholar in the restricted sense of the word, far more was he a scholar in the wider and deeper sense—a love of knowledge and research. As “Advancement of Learning” was the motto of his University, so was it his own watchword. It was his guiding star through life. Whatever contributed to the sum of man’s knowledge—to the advancement of learning—was to him good, and so it was that he confined himself to no one subject, no narrow school of thought, but insisted on the necessity of making contact with intellectual progress throughout the world. Thus it was, too, that he

associated himself so actively and so intimately with learned societies which had for their object the promotion of knowledge. His connection with them was not merely a paper one but he took a keen and personal interest in their affairs and management and identified himself absolutely with their objects. It will be sufficient to mention here the Asiatic Society of Bengal, of which he was a member for thirty years and four times President; and various Sanskrit congresses and conferences, in the conduct of which he took a leading part.

His abilities as a lawyer soon brought him to the front rank of that profession. He was appointed a Judge of the High Court at the age of forty and he occupied this post for twenty years; here also, as in his other activities, he established a reputation for brilliance and profound learning.

In spite of the manifold calls upon his time which his varied interests involved, he still found the leisure and the will to participate in politics before his promotion to the High Court Bench and he was a member of the Bengal or Indian Legislative Council for six years. Had he been spared he would no doubt have resumed his activities in this direction after his retirement from the Bench. If he had done so he would soon have attained a commanding position for he was marked out for leadership in any sphere.

Gentlemen,—Much could be said in appreciation of Sir Asutosh in all these capacities, but his great qualities, his great personality, his independence of character are so well known to all that it is unnecessary for me to dwell on them longer. The other speakers who follow will, I have no doubt, emphasise the different aspects of his character and the resolutions which are to be proposed will give expression to the feeling of respect and admiration in which Calcutta held him. In conclusion, I will only say how glad I am as the Governor of the Province to have an opportunity of associating myself with his fellow countrymen in paying tribute to his memory."

THE LATE SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

(*An Appreciation*).

"Sapiens in populo hæreditabit honorem, et nomen illius erit vivens in æternum."

(*Eccle, Ch. 31, V 29.*)

The death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee threw a lasting gloom over the city of Calcutta; reduced the University to impotence, and filled India with the deepest sorrow. His sudden death was a shock and a sorrow, hard to be endured. A blazing luminary in meridian splendour was suddenly extinguished. In the dense darkness that followed, men tried to see, but the effort only threw them back on the great void made by this tragic disappearance. They looked around to seek consolation from their friends, but alas! their grief was as heavy as their own. What comfort could the sorrow-stricken give? With heavy hearts and sad, they instinctively moved off to the University, that throne of his greatness, to see, if perchance, consolation could reach them. O my friends! what awaited them there? It was a house of woe. A pall as black as night was upon it. Men in the prime of life and the vigour of health sat around his statue, sorrowing out their souls. They saw in the folds of that pall the glittering deeds, the great schemes, the symbolised wisdom and the worth of their hero. But all this only added to their grief, for their great leader was gone. The light of the University was eclipsed, and rolled off into space unknown. Death had laid his icy hand on the greatest man it ever produced; had stilled a mighty heart full of love for them all. Their groans rang through the halls in heart-rending cadences, like the moaning of some departed spirit. All were bewildered, all stricken to the dust. "He is gone—He is gone" was the

constant refrain. Yes, he left them for ever. This is what sent the arrow all the deeper into their hearts. If they only had had the consolation of bidding him farewell, it would have been some comfort to them. But no, suddenly and silently and noiselessly he left them. He stole away to eternity in the full vigour of his manhood, in the full possession of his senses, without even suspecting he would be a loss to his friends. This is what showed his greatness, his true grandeur, his humility. His robust common sense forbade him to think anything of himself as of himself. With characteristic humility he taught the doctrine that what one man knows, all can know, though his own knowledge was beyond sounding. Being a tremendous hard worker, he wished to see the same around him. He was as soft as love to the slow and backward, and as hard as the diamond to the lazy. The Poet, Young, says that great men are too great to find inferiors. " 'Tis moral grandeur makes the mighty man." 'Tis all well to sing his praises as a mighty giant of knowledge, able to hew his way through the most difficult problems with the ease and power of an Ajax in the ranks of war. If this were all, I account it nought, for I conclude any other man, so gifted by nature, would rise just as high, but "unless above himself he can erect himself, how poor a thing is man": With Sir Asutosh, this was far from being all: it was only the foundation on which he raised the mighty fabric that will always remain his greatest monument.

The goodness of men's hearts may inspire them to take measures to perpetuate his memory, and rear monuments in marble and bronze, but I fear not to say, that, if they emblazoned his worth on each stone of the fabric, or stamped his deeds on imperishable bronze, they would not succeed in making him any better known, loved, or admired, than his own life has entitled him to be.

His high sense of justice when raised to the Bench, which he honoured and ennobled by his princely virtue, purer

than the ermine he wore, his noble spirit of self-sacrifice, his great philanthropy, his genius for making knowledge loved, his enthusiasm for education—education in the highest and truest sense of the word—his high standard of virtue, the grandeur, the dignity, the simplicity and the purity of his private life, all these, and more, combine to raise a monument greater and more lasting than any human structure.

His funeral was a triumph of sorrow. A dead king carried home from the battlefield, where victory crowned him, could not so stir the hearts of the people to such poignant grief as the near approach of the train carrying the remains of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. When the bier covered with flowers was raised on the shoulders of six strong men, the reality of his death struck home to every heart in that vast crowd, and changed its deep silent anguish into a sympathetic determination to make the funeral a magnificent triumphal procession, welcoming home, though dead, a hero, a prophet and a king. Even on his bier he was great. To describe the whole were idle. Suffice it to say, that Calcutta never before turned out in such vast numbers to honour the dead.

Sir Asutosh, I now bid you farewell. May that God above, who gave you such rare gifts, with such a noble soul, have called you home to his heavenly mansions to crown you with the honour and glory that you deserve! Your life was cut off in the zenith of your greatness, but the light of your edifying life will go on shining as a beacon to encourage many generations yet unborn to tread the path thus illuminated, and to show them the heights that it is possible to reach by imitating your noble example.

J. L. MAHER

SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE *

The death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee on May 25, shortly before attaining the age of sixty years, deprives the University of Calcutta of a leader rich in power and devotion, and scholars throughout the world of a friend. It is the extinguishing of a source from which was radiated encouragement, sympathy and inspiration to all intellectual workers of Bengal — of a beacon which showed all India the pathway to honour and greatness.

Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was until quite recently a Judge of the High Court in Calcutta and also Vice-Chancellor of the University of Calcutta, having held the first office for close on twenty years, and the second honorary office concurrently with it for several long periods. He was an Indian who had never left India, but was known throughout the world as an accomplished mathematician, an accomplished lawyer, an accomplished Sanskrit scholar, and above all as an apostle of culture. After winning all honours possible to a university student in Calcutta, he commenced active life as a youthful professor of mathematics but soon achieved that eminence as a lawyer which led to his appointment to the Tagore professorship of law, and later to the High Court Bench. He was a fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, the Royal Irish Academy, and other British and foreign learned Societies, president of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1907-9, and chairman of the trustees of the Indian Museum since 1909.

So great were Sir Asutosh Mookerjee's working powers that his exacting professional activities seemed little more than preliminary to the manifold unselfish and gratuitous

labours devoted to the welfare of his beloved University, to which he was wont to proceed daily from the High Court, and to the promotion of culture. It was his ambition that Calcutta should become a centre of learning and research; and he understood well how to inspire the enthusiasm of youth, the settled persistence of middle life, and the chastened hopes of later years, to contribute to this end. Characteristic of his capacious mind was his intimate acquaintance with the careers and personal circumstances of individual students and ex-students of the University and all concerned with or likely to be concerned with University work. The conversion of the University from a purely examining and inspecting body into a teaching institution would no doubt have been effected even without his efficient help; but the addition of numerous schools of active research was almost entirely due to his efforts.

Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was a great man because of the encyclopaedic store of knowledge and information which his marvellously capacious mind contained ready for immediate use, because of his instant power of judgment and action and his clear vision of the right, and because of his power of influencing others through his intense sympathy with all strivers after truth and betterment. Every earnest intellectual worker, however humble or however eminent, would find in him a wise and understanding friend, and could talk to him as to a co-worker and an equal. Specialists in the most diverse literary and scientific subjects would find him familiar with the latest relevant literature. To every band of men engaged in the quest after truth and light his help and encouragement was freely and unselfishly given; and in learned societies and gatherings he was a dominant figure, giving appreciation where it was due and advice where it was needed. Typical of his prodigality in service were his relations to the Calcutta Mathematical Society, of which he was president from the time of its foundation at his instigation.



SIR ASUTOSH AS CHIEF JUSTICE
MARCH, 1920

Owing to the many other claims on his services during the week, the meetings of the Society were held on Sunday afternoons ; and he never failed to be present in his presidential capacity and to take an active part in the proceedings. He was the author of numerous papers on mathematical subjects in the publications of several learned societies.

Sir Asutosh was a dominant power in the Senate and all departments of the University of Calcutta. In troublesome debates his rising to speak almost invariably meant that the right course would be made clear and adopted. In times of open warfare with others, when his ruthless scorn of all subterfuge made compromise difficult, he fought only for the pursuit of knowledge. His death is the passing of a valiant warrior whose battle-cry was :

“ Let knowledge grow from more to more.”

C. E. C.

THE LATE SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

The death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee just on the eve of the attainment of his sixtieth year removes one of the most widely cultured and talented of India's sons and the dominating figure in the field of India's higher education. It is one of those ironies of fate that he should to day be voted the greatest educationist without being a member of the educational profession. His only connection with the profession directly was an attempt to enter the education service which at the time opened to him the portals of the Provincial Service as the only door of entry for Indian talent. He rightly refused to accept the position and elected the field of law for his activities in life. The sincere educationist in him, however, continued to develop so that after almost forty years of an active life he passed away from us to the regret of all that knew him, and his loss is counted the most serious to education.

The passing of the University Act of 1904 by the Government of India called for a re-organisation of the older universities which necessitated a very considerable amount of reconstitution. For this good work Dr. Mookerjee, as he then was, stood out as the most suitable man having had inside knowledge of the discussions that led to the passing of the Act and the consequent re-organization that it called for. The prevalent traditions restricted the choice of a Vice-Chancellor to one of the High Court Judges. Dr. Mookerjee was only a practising lawyer and could not, therefore, be appointed Vice-Chancellor. He was, therefore, translated to the High Court Bench by way of official promotion undoubtedly, but at great sacrifice to himself personally as he had to give up a growing and lucrative practice that he was building up as a junior under that veteran lawyer Sir Rash Behari Ghose. Dr. Mookerjee agreed to the sacrifice with alacrity as education was always nearest to his heart and had the benefit of the

collaboration of that eminent Mahratta patriot, the late Gopal Krishna Gokhale, in the formation of a scheme of national education for India. He accepted the High Court Judgeship to attain to the Vice-Chancellorship and the University, as he himself put it. He applied himself heart and soul to the framing of the new regulations and reforming the University in such a manner as to make University education in Bengal accessible to the widest possible number of students that can benefit by it and to give it a thoroughly national tilt. He gained the opportunity for putting his ideas into practice when the Government of India commissioned him to take upon himself the responsibility of re-organising the University of Calcutta in accordance with the new Act. In the circumstances of Bengal education at the time it was a settled conviction of Dr. Mookerjee that the best way of reforming the University education with a view to bring about its expansion without unduly sacrificing efficiency was to concentrate all post-graduate teaching at the University and leave the scholars to pursue their function within the comparatively limited field of educating the youth of Bengal up to the degree examinations. In the pursuit of this aim he had to meet a very considerable opposition from various quarters : from those about him, from the Government above him and from a considerable body of people who had to work with him. He set his eyes firmly fixed upon the object to be attained and fought till he won all along the line. As Mr. Archbold, one of those that fought the hardest against him, said "we always fought against him all of us and he always won." This is not the place nor is the time come for a dispassionate examination of the merits of the alternative schemes and how far the successful scheme as inaugurated by the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee served the purpose it was intended to. So much, however, can be said without fear of contradiction that from 1908 to 1924 the Calcutta University was for good or evil regarded as Mookerjee's University and as such it was

assailed front, flank and rear, and it must be said to the credit of the late lamented Mookerjee that he was able to hold his own, not without benefit to the University and higher education in Bengal. After a term of eight years of Vice-Chancellorship he ceased to be the Vice-Chancellor as he put it humorously, but still stuck on to the Fellows' Bench. It has become the tradition with the Calcutta University that if Sir Asutosh Mookerjee were present at a meeting it was impossible that anything could be done which did not meet with his approval even by way of carrying a resolution. Vice-Chancellors came and Vice-Chancellors went, but Mookerjee's influence prevailed.

The post-graduate scheme of the Calcutta University was entirely a product of Sir Asutosh's brains. It is on this part of his University reform that he has been the most assailed all these many years, and posterity will have to judge of him as an educationist on the success or failure of this scheme as providing for the highest interests of higher education. Such as it was the scheme had been inaugurated and put into operation by him and during the almost fifteen years of its existence it has turned out work which cannot be described at all as not creditable to the University. Responsible opinion has undergone a slow change from mere contempt to a generous acknowledgment of the achievement by those responsible for the work of the Calcutta University. That there are defects and deficiencies is only in the nature of things human, and that all of them that are engaged on the high work have not attained to the same level of performance is only to be expected. Judged on the whole the opinion of Dr. F. W. Thomas, the Librarian of the India Office, may be regarded as eminently just when he remarked in his own quiet fashion that "on the whole the Calcutta University has done good work as shewn by its publication in its post-graduate department."

This post-graduate section of the University is under the

management of the Council of Post-graduate Teaching of which Sir Asutosh remained President from its initiation to the day of his death. Such a President he was that it would be difficult, nay almost impossible, to find one to take his place. There are two departments of this post-graduate section; one of them Arts and Letters, and the other Science. The Darbhanga Buildings and the great Library House therein is a monument of the efforts of the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee on the Arts and Letters side, and the result of his efforts is visible in the eleven volumes of the Journal of Arts and Letters produced in the last quinquennium and about fifty to sixty works of various value issued by the Calcutta University Press in these departments. Sir Asutosh's work in this branch of University administration may be stated to have attained to an even higher level in his achievement in the field of Science. He is primarily, if not solely, responsible for the Palit and Rash Behary Ghose's foundations which have contributed to place on a permanent footing the Calcutta University College of Science well-equipped and doing work in branches of science which have come in, recently at any rate, for recognition by the highest authorities in Europe and America. It was one of his ambitions that if Sir Rash Behary Ghose had lived longer he would make his donation mount up to fifty lakhs, the additional sum going to perfect the College of Science. But Sir Rash Behary Ghose passed away sooner than was expected for him to have achieved this. But that department of post-graduate teaching is placed on an assured footing for growth and expansion in the course of years, and there is every indication that the nobler sons of Bengal would see to it that the department does not languish for lack of support. He had his own scheme for putting the other section, Arts on a similar footing which he would have succeeded in achieving had he only lived a little longer. He was devoted out and out to the promotion of a study of Indian culture in all its manifold branches, and that was the feature that he wanted to give to this department

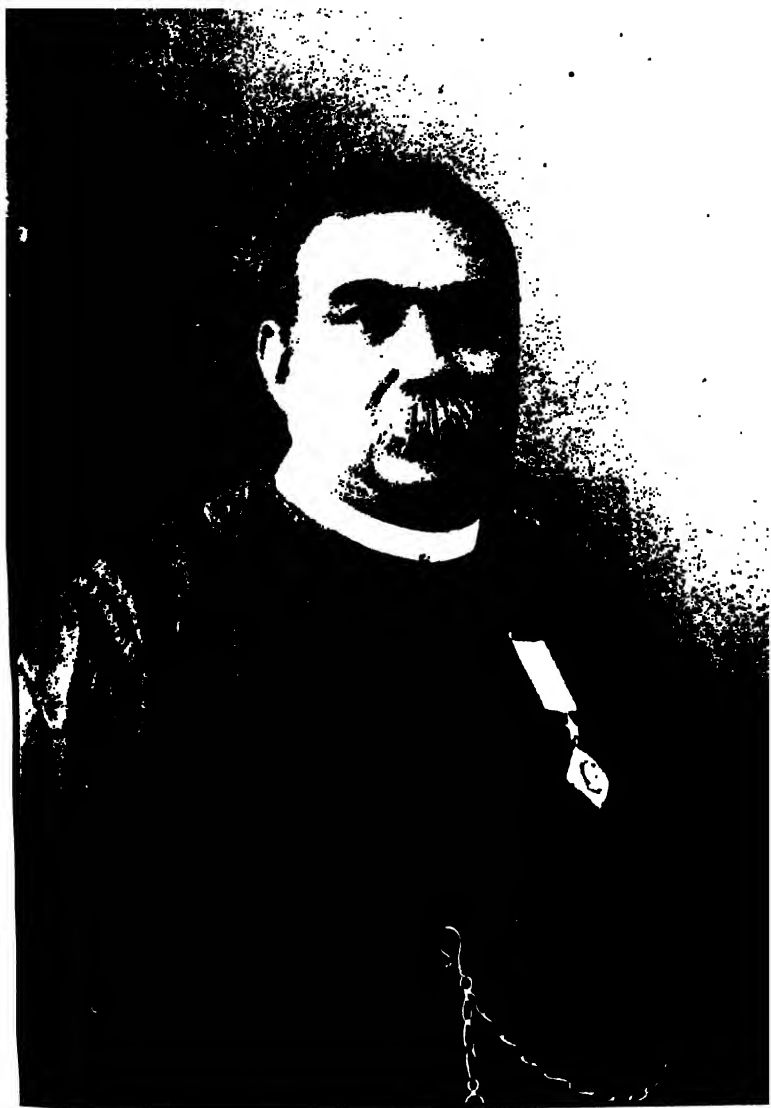
of the Calcutta University. He used to point out to his friends with the simplicity which is in lurid contrast to what one usually hears of him, his bust which is placed in the Darbhanga Hall with an inscription on the pedestal which is but a copy of an Address presented to him. He was obviously proud of his achievement and particularly that part of it which is indicated in the last couplet "he gave to the mother-tongue a place in step-mother's hall" as indicating the position which he gave to Bengali in the scheme of the University.

The late Sir Asutosh was not a narrow-minded provincialist but regarded himself always an Indian first and Bengali only afterwards. His patriotism took a larger sweep and his whole scheme had for its object the vindication of Indian talent in the fields of higher education and research. He was thoroughly convinced that Indians had a long enough period of tutelage and if Indian talent was worth anything the time had come for giving it an honest trial. He felt very strongly the injustice done to Indian talent by the denial of opportunities for rising to its full stature. Hence in manning the Calcutta University post-graduate section both in the science and arts departments, he made it a point to give as many Indians a chance as he possibly could of distinguishing themselves by work. In selecting the personnel he did not narrow himself down to the limits of his province as lesser patriots might have done. It was not his desire to sacrifice efficiency at all, and would certainly prefer a Bengalee if one of sufficient calibre were available. Failing this he looked out elsewhere in India for an Indian, and it is only when he failed in that that he thought of appointing a European to a position; but whether it was a European or any other that he appointed he took care to select one who, as far as human power could foresee, he believed would do full justice to the position for which he was called. Notwithstanding all that has been said to the contrary it may now be said without fear of contradiction that his policy has proved a success in the main. That

such was his ideal is exhibited best in the way that the visit of the Prince of Wales to Calcutta was signalised by the Calcutta University. The Calcutta University, in accordance with precedent, proposed the conferment of an Honorary Degree upon His Royal Highness on the occasion of his visit to Calcutta, and the proposition was readily accepted as it was in full accordance with precedent, but Sir Asutosh was not prepared to be satisfied with this. It was through his efforts mainly that he was able to celebrate the occasion by calling a Special Convocation and conferring Honorary Doctorates upon a number of men eminent in the field of learning each in his own particular field of choice. In this scheme he found room for a representative for every province of India in addition to finding a suitable representative almost for every branch of learning. His Address on the occasion was quite worthy of his reputation, and in regard to every one of these scholars he managed to put his finger on the feature peculiar to his scholarship. He was invited by His Highness the Maharajah of Mysore to deliver the Address to the graduates on the occasion of the first Convocation of the Mysore University. He delivered similar Addresses at Lahore, Benares and elsewhere. He was to have presided over the Science Congress in its Bangalore session, but had to keep away on account of ill-health. He was similarly invited to preside over the Third Oriental Conference that is to assemble in December at Madras, but, alas, death carried him away before he could do this. The latest Address that he delivered was before the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, and death overtook him just in that great capital of historical fame after a brief illness. His activities were thus many-sided and he leaves a place vacant which it would be very hard to fill.

Criticism of the Calcutta University centred round the activities of the Councils of Post-graduate Teaching and it is with a view to examining what exactly was the character of

this post-graduate institution and on what lines its advance would be in the best interests of that institution that a commission of enquiry was appointed under the greatest educationist of the day, Sir Michael E. Sadler. The Calcutta University Commission, as it was called, went out collecting evidence and making inquiries during the years 1917 to 1919 and issued its Report in thirteen volumes. The report is too well known and has been ever since its issue too much before the public to require an exposition regarding its character. The late Sir Asutosh's influence upon the Committee in the shaping of the final recommendations was considerable, and though the recommendations in the form in which they were placed before the public finally did not meet with Sir Asutosh's approval there is no denying the fact that the general tendency of the recommendations owe a great deal to him. He was subsequently appointed a member of the Pope Committee to inquire into the working of the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore. There again he bore his part honourably and it was said at the time that it was through his influence that the unanimous report was finally accepted and signed in December, 1921. The administration of the Earl of Ronaldshay saw that the working of the Calcutta University, such as it had come to be, was impossible without him and he was asked to take over the Vice-Chancellorship again. He occupied that exalted office for a term, and he may have continued to hold the office but for the unfortunate Lytton-Mookerjee incident which advanced to the crisis that it did chiefly owing to the fact that neither party understood what exactly the point of view of the other was, though it must be said that the ultimate aim of both was perhaps the same. In regard to this one cannot do better than quote the words of His Excellency Lord Lytton himself who handsomely acknowledged the great work of the late Sir Asutosh, and said that "for many years Sir Asutosh was the University and the University was Sir Asutosh," and that



SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE, KT., C.S.I.

"no worthier memorial could be conceived of than the endowment of that post-graduate department which he had created." He followed up this suggestion with "let each one of us severally resolve that this cherished creation of his life shall not suffer because he had left us. While his great work is still fresh in our minds, while we almost seem to see him sitting in our midst and can still hear echoes of his commanding voice, let all differences be forgotten, all mistakes be forgiven, let us build over his ashes the temple of reconciliation; let us unite in common determination to work together for those changes which are inevitable. If our University is to keep its fair name before the world, let the foundation stone of that temple of reconciliation be joint and the common purpose to receive the teaching University of Calcutta as a sacred trust from his dying hands, and, in years to come, whatever changes may be found essential in the general organization of the University, to allow nothing to threaten its stability, its prosperity, its freedom or its future development." No greater tribute could be paid to his work and by no other than His Excellency Lord Lytton his antagonist in the unfortunate incident. Let us only hope that through the efforts of Lord Lytton and his colleagues in the good work, the Post-Graduate Teaching University of Calcutta would remain a permanent memorial of the cherished activities of late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee.

Great and forceful personality that he was in public life he was a very simple man with strong family affections and exceedingly fond of children. He was simple in his habits, sincere in his dealings with his friends and always put one at ease that went to him in trouble. He loved his children and no jewel or trinket was made ~~for~~ them without his approval, and when he went to his friends he always regretted if he were unable to play with children and speak to them in their language. He could be described, therefore, as a simple good man at home, and, at the same time, be appropriately

described as a Royal Bengal Tiger when his best powers were drawn out in a keenly contested controversy. He had his weaknesses and some of them were serious ones, but they were all of them weaknesses of a strong character. Taken all in all he was a good man and true, did handsomely in life and died in the fulness of a career which promised a great deal more of good to the country.

S. KRISHNASWAMI AYYANGAR

ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE : TRIBUTE OF THE LEGISLATURE.*

I. THE COUNCIL OF STATE.

THE HONOURABLE DR. SIR DEVA PRASAD SARVADHIKARY (West Bengal : Non-Muhammadan) : Sir, it is indeed with a heavy heart that I desire to mention the great loss that the country has sustained in the untimely and painfully sudden death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, late a Judge of the High Court and its Officiating Chief Justice for a time. He was, as Honourable Members will remember, a Member of the old Imperial Council to which he came as a representative of the Bengal Council, where he was representing the University of Calcutta, and from his seat on the Imperial Council he went up to his seat on the High Court Bench which he had just recently vacated.

Three of the most important spheres of work where Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was a distinguished figure were the University of Calcutta, the Imperial Council here, and the High Court, and the record of his life during the three periods of his connection would be the history of these three institutions. A man of massive intellect, of wonderful power of organization, an untiring, devoted and ceaseless worker, he was a towering personality. His loss is not only a loss to his friends and to his province, but to the whole country. When yesterday Members of both the Houses heard the sad news, there was a consensus of opinion that, as representing the people of India in the Legislature, it may be recorded in both the Houses what a great and grievous loss has been sustained by the untimely removal of this wonderful personality. Sir, I have no desire to detain the House at any length, because all who knew him knew his worth. Suffice it to say, the whole country feels the great loss that it has sustained and this House shares in

* An Extract from the Proceedings of the Council of State, dated the 27th May, 1924.

that grief. I request you, Sir, as President of this Chamber, to communicate to his bereaved family this sense of our loss.

THE HONOURABLE DR. DWARKANATH MITTER. (West Bengal : Non-Muhammadian) : Sir, I desire to associate myself with Dr. Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary in the expressions of deep sorrow which the whole country feels at the death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, whom I knew since 1897 when I joined the Bar of the Calcutta High Court. After a brilliant career in the University, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was elected a Member of the Bengal Legislative Council for three continuous sessions. He was elected in 1903, during the Government of Lord Curzon, a Member of the old Imperial Legislative Council, and, although he was there only for a very short time, his outspoken utterances in the Council which was presided over by Lord Curzon—one of the most brilliant Indian Viceroys—made a deep impression on the public mind and gained for him popularity. He was soon elevated in the year 1904 in the month of June to the position of a Judge of the Calcutta High Court which he occupied with conspicuous ability for a period of nearly 20 years. As a profound and erudite lawyer, his decisions will enrich the legal literature of India to an extent to which it has never been enriched before. But, Sir, apart from his work as a Judge and as a jurist of very great repute, his services to the cause of education will make him most remembered not only in Bengal but throughout the whole of India. His ambition was to make the Calcutta University the centre of learning which would attract to it distinguished men of letters, not only from India but from outside India, and the present post-graduate lecturers and readers of the University, who are drawn from different parts of the country, from America, from Great Britain and from Germany, show that he realised to some extent the ambition which he entertained of making the Calcutta University approach the fame of ancient Nalanda. Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was a masterful personality, and his life and example, Sir, will

serve to inspire generations of my countrymen. It seems to me, Sir, that it is only fitting and proper that this Council should send a message of condolence to his sons and other members of his family.

THE HONOURABLE SIR MANECKJI DADABHOY (Central Provinces: General): Sir, I desire to associate myself in the expression of sympathy and condolence in the loss the country has sustained in the death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was a great patriot and a great Indian. Apart from his work as a lawyer in the Bengal High Court which will always remain a monument of his great industry and his great juridical knowledge, the judgments which he had from time to time pronounced will for ages to come be regarded in this country as monuments not only of great learning but as torchlights for future guidance and information. So far as his energies were concerned, they were mainly confined to Bengal, but India, as a whole, had also received the advantage and benefit of his knowledge, his versatile experience and his wide information. I need only sympathise with the loss which the country has sustained, and I sorrowfully join in the proposal to send a message of condolence to his bereaved family.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: The news of the death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee came as a great shock to all of us who knew him, and I am sure, also to those, if there are any, who did not know him. I know that the Council will desire that I should convey to his relatives our sympathy on the loss of an old Member of the Imperial Legislative Council, and of such a distinguished son of India.

II. THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.*

DR. H. S. GOUR: (Central Provinces Hindi Divisions: Non-Muhammadian):.....Another death I have to bring to your

* An Extract from the Proceedings of the Indian Legislative Assembly, dated the 27th May, 1924.

notice. Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was a Member of the late Imperial Legislative Council. He was one of the most distinguished Judges of the Calcutta High Court. As Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, he has rendered memorable service in the cause of higher education. After serving his full term, he reverted to his first love, the Bar; and, while in harness and in the actual discharge of his professional duty, he has suddenly expired. I request you, Sir, to convey to his son the sad loss which the country has suffered by his death.

MR. BIPIN CHANDRA PAL (Calcutta: Non-Muhammadan Urban): I desire, Sir, to associate myself with the statement of my Honourable friend Dr. Gour in regard to the friends whom we have lost since we met last time.

The news of the death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee came to us yesterday at about 3 or 4 o'clock through the *Associated Press* and it literally stunned those of his countrymen who heard of it last evening. We have not as yet fully recovered from the shock which that news gave us when we have got the news of the death of one of the Members of the last Assembly, Babu Satish Chandra Ghosh. As regards Mian Asjadullah we had heard of his death during the recess.

I will not detain this House by dilating upon the excellent services which all these gentlemen rendered to their country in the various spheres of their public activity. The one thing that most impresses us all is the irreparable loss which the cause of Indian education, the cause of University education, and I might add the cause of the Indian political progress also, has suffered from the death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. He was the maker of the present Indian Calcutta University and we were looking forward eagerly and with great hopes to the day when he would come to this House, either on this side—who knows that he was not coming on the other side also—but whichever side of the House he would have elected to come to and occupy, we were all looking forward to

having him as a great pillar of strength to the cause which we all have at heart. But God has willed otherwise. The Calcutta University, my *Alma Mater*, stands widowed, Sir, to-day, and the place which has been left vacant by the death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee will never be filled in our time. The cause of Indian education, the cause of Indian progress, the cause of Indian culture has suffered a loss which it will be impossible to repair in the lifetime of this generation. I will not dilate upon the great character of Sir Asutosh, but this only I will venture to say, and I think we will all agree in saying it, that he was one of the best, one of the strongest, and one of the most capable administrators, educationists and public men that India has had for many and many years past.

SIR P. S. SIVASWAMY AYYER (Madras: Nominated Non-Official): Sir, I desire to associate myself with the tribute which has been paid to the memory of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. The news of his death has come to us all as a great shock. It was only the other day that he retired from the Bench of the Calcutta High Court, and we had looked forward to a long career of public usefulness before him. Unfortunately our hopes have been disappointed. As one who knew him for over 20 years, and as one who belonged to the profession which he adorned, I desire to pay my humble tribute to his great work as a lawyer, as a Judge, and as an educationist. He was a man of brilliant intellect, of varied accomplishments, of prodigious industry and great energy. He had no difficulty whatever in making his mark whether in the academic world or in the legal profession in which he occupied a conspicuous place to the admiration of all. As a lawyer and as a Judge he was a commanding figure. His death removes one of the most outstanding personalities of this generation of Indians. The history of University education in India and especially in Bengal during the last quarter of a century is practically identified with the activities of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. He was

largely instrumental in shaping the Universities Act of 1904, and he took a predominant part in the management and guidance of the Calcutta University. His was a dominant personality and it is an irreparable loss that the country has sustained by his death.....

THE HONOURABLE SIR ALEXANDER MUDDIMAN (Home Member) :.....As to Sir Asutosh Mookerjee I had the highest admiration for his wonderful powers of industry, for his capacity and his devotion to all forms of learning. He was the most industrious man that I ever knew. As Registrar I saw a great deal of his work. He devoted hours to elucidating points of law with the utmost care. It was with the greatest regret that I heard of his death, which came to me with a great shock.

MR. DEVAKI PRASAD SINHA (Chote Nagpur Division; Non-Muhammadan) :.....Sir, coming from Bihar, I think a word of tribute is due from me to the memory of the great Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, who died at Patna, the capital of Bihar and Orissa. Only four days before I started for this place, I had the honour of attending a party which was given by the President of the Bar Association of Patna in his honour. Then he mixed with us and talked to us freely, and no one suspected that in a few days the country would hear the news of the terrible loss caused by his death. In his death, Sir, India has undoubtedly lost one of the greatest men of this generation, and this loss is irreparable.

MR. PRESIDENT : I beg to associate myself with what has been said with regard to the loss sustained by the Assembly and by the country in the deaths of Mr. Ghosh, Moulvi Asjadullah and also of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. In Sir Asutosh Mookerjee the country loses a great lawyer, a great educationist and a great patriot.

SOME REMINISCENCES OF THE LATE SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

I was at Simla in connection with the Universities' Conference when the news of the sudden death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was received. Only two days earlier, some of us, delegates to the Conference, were about to send him a telegram requesting his very presence at the Conference which we felt to be an urgent necessity at the turn the discussions were taking on some important and highly controversial topics on which no one could speak there with greater knowledge or authority. To those of us who were privileged to know him intimately, the Conference, as it went on, appeared more and more like the enactment of the play of Hamlet with the part of Hamlet left out! But I am not tempted into this expression by its mere literary flavour: for there has hardly been during the last two decades any important educational movement or development in the country which has not associated itself with Sir Asutosh, whether it was the Indian Universities' Commission of 1901, or the Calcutta University Committee of 1904 for drafting Regulations at Simla, or the later Sadler Commission. Some of the new Universities like Mysore and Lucknow sought the inspiration of his Address at the outset of their career.

I am unfortunately not one of those who have served under him directly, and have had daily experience of his outstanding abilities in every sphere of educational or public work. But I know of the public opinion about him outside Bengal, and that opinion is perhaps more to be valued as being more detached than the purely Bengal opinion based on a too close view of him, which is likely to be lacking somewhat in perspective, or obscured by the clouds of controversy that always gather round a dynamic personality. At the University of Mysore in a distant native state under Hindu

Swaraj, I recall with pride how unanimous and universal was the opinion that Sir Asutosh Mookerjee should address its first Convocation and give to the youngest University of India the guidance of the oldest. I recall, too, with pride how great were the expectations formed of the Address and how greater were their fulfilment. His manners contributed not a little to his popularity in a strange place. His well-known dress and accessibility were a surprise to Mysore, pre-eminently a land of formalities. He brought to us an invigorating change from an atmosphere of conventions and courtly etiquette, and bureaucratic reserve and restraint to an atmosphere of freedom, to the frankness, fraternity, and equality of social intercourse, to the abiding relations of affinity between man and man on and for which Sir Asutosh always stood in every sphere of his activities. Thus he made himself felt as a great moral force during his brief sojourn in Mysore. Its effects were felt even at the Court of Mysore, the citadel of conventions and formalities. The Maharaja of Mysore wished to honour Sir Asutosh at a party for which invitations were very select, and special court dress prescribed according to the traditional rules of Mysore sovereigns. But Sir Asutosh won't hear of any formalities: his own national dress claimed his supreme allegiance and he was not prepared to accept any other dress, even if it were the passport to the highest honour and dignity. The prince of Mysore, known for his refined tastes and sensibilities, grasped, and saved, the situation by laying courtly etiquette aside and permitting full liberty to Sir Asutosh in respect of an important convention of the Darbar, and extending that liberty even to his son, Shyamaprasad, who was then with him. How important and strict was this convention will be apparent from the fact that it has been in application ever since the days of the Empire of Vijayanagara whose courtly forms are preserved in the State of Mysore, one of its remnants. And yet the moral

force of an individual stood successfully against the force of a long history! Sir Asutosh also made himself known in Mysore for his untiring energy. He was the very spirit of Work! He won't give himself any rest in his waking hours. His Mysore hosts had to arrange for him days overcrowded with engagements to which he was more than equal. Some of these included visits to the many historic places of Mysore where his learned curiosity had to be satisfied by trained guides deputed for the purpose. When he came for the second time to Mysore with the Sadler Commission, I was deputed by the Mysore Palace authorities to receive him in the early hours of a winter morning at the station of Seringapatam in response to his desire that he should first visit that historic place as the gateway to Mysore. Some of his colleagues of the Commission did not feel themselves equal to the task and were less interested in antiquities than in their health and comforts. But Sir Asutosh represented a different type of culture; he felt he could not pass by Seringapatam associated with the memory of Hyder Ali and Tipu with whose descendants in Calcutta he had moreover, as he told me, intimate connexions. It must be said to his credit that Sir Michael Sadler caught the spirit and enthusiasm of Sir Asutosh, and at 4 A.M. in winter the two old gentlemen with the enthusiasm and energy of youth had to be conducted to all the historic monuments of the locality with the strain it meant on their physical powers after long railway journeys continued for days.

In the course of my personal contact with him at Mysore on two different occasions, I was struck very much by another aspect of his supremely unconventional nature and simplicity of manners. It was his homeliness, his abounding sympathy for one's domestic difficulties. One could easily establish a touch with Sir Asutosh through private joys and sorrows which would go straight to his heart, and stir it to its depths. Then he would appear as the best of friends. The way to

approach him was through his heart. A warm heart was always beating inside, while the man externally appeared to be nothing but Logic and Intellect, Business and Practicality. Yet those who knew him intimately could not have failed to notice the robust idealism which was his real driving power. The man of action was essentially an uncompromising idealist. This was one of the secrets of his highly complex character. I shall ever remember how at the meals in my humble house at Mysore, he made all kinds of searching personal enquiries into the details of my domestic life and circumstances, with his very kind and sympathetic feeling for my old mother who was there on her way to Rameswaram and had prepared some of the sweets for which he expressed an extra relish. I think I am giving voice to the universal experience about him that it is these small incidents of domestic life which really forged the links in the chain that bound so many of us to him in life, and will ever bind to his memory !

The same honour of entertaining him, and the same experience, I again had quite recently at Lucknow in January last, when the University invited him to deliver the Address to its Convocation. But I had a direct experience of him in one particular matter of which I had hitherto only indirect and hearsay evidence. That was his superb debating skill. Of this we had a very delightful personal experience in the wonderful exhibition of dialectical capacity to which we were treated at one of the debates organised in his honour by the Lucknow University Union at which Sir Asutosh Mookerjee allowed himself to figure as the mover of the proposal that Universities should be deemed independent of the control of Ministers or Government. This was one of the principles which engaged his deepest feelings and made him fight the hardest and up to the last. It was the very foundation of his academic creed. We saw him at his best as he set about handling this topic with the free air and manner of a giant flooring a pigmy. The audience was spell-bound by the finest display

imaginable of debating powers and parliamentary oratory. Great as a Judge, Sir Asutosh was perhaps greater as an Advocate. It is a pity, nay, nothing short of a tragedy that the country has been deprived by the cruel hand of Death of such an intrepid Advocate to champion its cause. The Lucknow public will ever remember the *im promptu* speech of Sir Asutosh as the best they had heard for a long time. It became then quite clear to me how Sir Asutosh could establish his autocracy over the democracy of the Calcutta University Senate representing the most intellectually advanced community of India. I could easily understand how his dictatorship was inevitable in any organisation or constitution in which he chose to take a place. It was his intellectual supremacy, his power of advocacy, his unrivalled grip over facts and figures, and precedents bearing upon his case that enabled him to wield a public meeting as if it were only "one man's show." Much of the criticism levelled against him for his autocracy at the Calcutta University has missed the natural foundations, and the inevitableness, of that autocracy. He ruled at the Senate by the suffrage of his Fellows, and his methods were really those of unqualified democracy.

It is not for me now to attempt even the barest estimate of his manifold achievements in the spheres of thought and action in which he has led for so many years. I would conclude by summing up his achievements with reference to the Calcutta University as they appear in the detached view of an outsider. When we graduated (1901), the Calcutta University was an examining body, pure and simple. It has since been transformed almost beyond recognition into a regular teaching University. The University now runs three full-fledged post-graduate colleges, which are unique institutions in India; the Colleges of Arts, Science, and Law. Under Arts, the Calcutta University is the only centre in India of certain important modern studies like those of the Indian Vernaculars, Anthropology and Sociology, Pali, Tibetan, and Chinese and Ancient Indian

History and Culture in all their aspects and branches. In the College of Science, the Department of Experimental Psychology is unique in India. The Law College counts about 2,000 students and 50 teachers—which is unthinkable in any other part of India! There have also been started Schools of Agriculture and Commerce by which an old classical University, the home of the Humanities, is gradually modernising itself. All this expansion of Post-graduate study and research in different directions has been due to one man who has both conceived and executed it against all odds. It is by this development that the Calcutta University has easily taken the premier place among all the Indian Universities and become known in the West as the University of India. To condemn some of this development now as rank growth, or to try to reduce it within the so-called limits of its resources, would be to put back the cause of Culture itself in India and deprive the country of the only seats of certain important studies. And a University must not readily admit of limits to its resources, as it does not admit of limits to knowledge! Its resources must expand with every expansion of its activities. A University worth the name must be dynamic. This was the whole position as taken up by Sir Asutosh in his stand for the Post-graduate departments against its many powerful opponents. As regards resources there is a good deal of misconception in the air. The Calcutta University, as I have roughly calculated from its latest Budget, has an annual income of nearly 2½ lacs from its own properties, the endowments received from private sources. Is it a very unreasonable or extravagant demand if the University asks the State to make an annual grant of say 5 lacs against its own income of 20 lacs? The suggested proportion of the State grant to the University's own income would be considered flagrantly unjust in any other part of India. It violates the governing principle of government grants to public utilities, which must be at least equal to the contributions from private

philanthropy. On this accepted basis, the demand of the Calcutta University must be considered to be extremely modest. Quite recently at Lucknow, Sir Asutosh himself told me in all seriousness that he could engage to have the University with all its departments managed efficiently on a permanent Government grant of only 5 lacs per annum! It is to be hoped that in his absence the collective intelligence of the present governors of the Calcutta University would be able to arrive at some sort of understanding with Government whereby the above very modest estimate of Sir Asutosh of the present and future needs of the University may be finally accepted by them. The time is now opportune for presenting and pressing the claims of the University upon the Government of His Excellency Lord Lytton who, as Chancellor, has so sympathetically dwelt upon them in his last Convocation Address.

RADHAKUMUD MOOKERJI

ASHUTOSH MUKERJI

It is with deep sorrow that I offer my tribute of appreciation to the memory of Ashutosh Mukerji.

Men are always rare in all countries through whom the aspiration of their people can hope to find its fulfilment, who have the thundering voice to say that what is needed shall be done; and Ashutosh had that magic voice of assurance. He had the courage to dream because he had the power to fight and the confidence to win,—his will itself was the path to the goal. The sudden removal of the vigour of such a personality from among our people has caused it a reeling sense of dizziness, like the blankness of exhaustion following a dangerous loss of blood.

The complex personality of Ashutosh Mukerji had its various channels of expression. It is not in my power to deal in detail with his many gifts which found scope in so many different fields of achievement. My admiration was attracted to him where he revealed the freedom of mind needed for work of creation. He had not the dull patience and submissive efficiency that is content to keep oiled and working the clockwork of an organisation; he despised to try and win merit by diligently turning the official prayer-wheel through an eternity of perfect monotony. It had been possible for him to dream of the miracle of introducing a living heart behind the steel framework made in the doll factory of bureaucracy, though this could only be done through a revolution upsetting the respectability of rigid routine and incurring thereby the displeasure of the high priest of the Machine-idol.

The creative spirit of life which has to assert itself against barren callousness must, in its struggle for victory,

wreck things that claim only immediate value. We can afford to overlook such losses which are pitifully small compared to the great price of our object, which is freedom. Ashutosh heroically fought against heavy odds for winning freedom for our education. We, who in our own way, have been working for the same cause, who deserve to be treated as outlaws by the upholders of law and order in the realm of the dead, had the honour of receiving from him the extended hand of comradeship for which we shall ever remember him. In fact, he removed for us the ban of untouchability and opened a breach in the barricade of distrust, establishing a path of communication between his institution and our own field of work, but never asking us to surrender our independence.

Ashutosh touched the Calcutta University with the magic wand of his creative will in order to transform it into a living organism belonging to the life of the Bengali people. This was his gift to his country, but it is a gift of endeavour, of *tapasya*, which will reach its fulfilment only if we know how to accept it.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE

THE CULTURAL NATIONALISM OF THE LATE SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

THE REGIME OF OPPOSITION.

Seldom has a man concentrated all his hopes in a single institution. Seldom has an institution owed so much to a single man. It is a truism that the Calcutta University was Sir Asutosh and that Sir Asutosh was the Calcutta University. But the truism was never more keenly acknowledged than after his death. By devoting himself whole-heartedly to the work of the University from the year 1889 when he first became a Syndic to the last hours of his life, he made himself absolutely indispensable; his success as a University administrator was due not merely to his organising ability and powers of persuasion and eloquence but also to his complete mastery of details which left absolutely no chance for his adversaries. And his adversaries from time to time were not few. There was a critical period in the history of our University when every liberal advance in courses and studies was misconstrued as the lowering of the standard and the University labelled at the Vakils' conclave. Renowned and influential teachers like James, Wheeler, Archbold, and Watson leagued themselves in the opposition, which attempted to overthrow whatever new measures that were contemplated. But that opposition was ultimately scattered to the winds by the might of Sir Asutosh. Trouble was anticipated when Lord Curzon's University Bill was on the anvil. But the fears and suspicions of the public that the opportunities of higher education were being stinted were allayed by the skill and tact of Sir Asutosh. He adapted the new machinery to the new and expanded needs of a University which was being moulded into shape by the ideals of the rising generation.

Another storm blew over the head of Sir Asutosh and the University during the nationalist revival, a phase of which exposed itself in the boycott of an alien education. The

Senate House was then dubbed as 'Golamkhana'; the most distinguished Post-graduate students boycotted the University examinations. Sir Asutosh defied public opinion and became for a time unpopular. What he felt was that the Indian control of the University administration provided the golden opportunity for reconstructing the University on national lines. And time shewed that he was right. No one defied more the authority of the Government when it encroached upon the jurisdiction of the University. Sir Asutosh found an occasion for gathering the reviving patriotism in the strongly worded protest against the ukases of Sir Bamfylde Fuller who sought to punish the boisterous nationalism that burst forth in some of the schools of Eastern Bengal. Sir B. Fuller wanted to control the schools which he thought necessary in the interests of discipline. But the University claimed its right to interpret discipline and resented the interference of the Government. In the end Sir Bamfylde Fuller had to leave Bengal. Many were the institutions which were thus saved by Sir Asutosh from the unwarranted interference by an exasperated Government, and the importance of his achievement will be manifest from the following list of schools that were threatened from time to time:

1. Habiganj H. E. School.
2. Bhola H. E. School. .
3. Batajore H. E. School.
4. Jamalpur Donough H. E. School.
5. B. M. Institution, Barisal.
6. B. M. Collegiate School, Barisal.
7. Baburhat H. E. School.
8. Serajgunj B. L. School.
9. Rajkumar Edward Institution, Bajitpur.
10. Chikandi H. E. School.
11. Jhalakati H. E. School.
12. Serajganj Victoria H. E. School.
13. Kartickpur H. E. School.

14. Banaripara Union Institution.
15. Faridpur Isan Institution.
16. Bangora H. E. School.
17. Gaila H. E. School.
18. Madaripur H. E. School.
19. W. B. Union Institution, Wazirpur.
20. Rahamatpur H. E. School.
21. P. M. College, Tangail.
22. Chittagong National High School.
23. Baisari H. E. School.
24. Maharajganj Merchants' H. E. School.
25. Patiya H. E. School.
26. Bogra H. E. School.

HIS FAITH IN MODERN LEARNING.

That autonomy of the university which was threatened on many occasions has been sturdily and persistently maintained only because Sir Asutosh formulated the University policy for more than three decades. To this autonomy was harnessed the rising tide of Indian Nationalism which profoundly touched art and literature, the social and humanistic studies in Bengal. Yet Sir Asutosh maintained the right to interpret the educational demands of Indian Nationalism in his own way. Thus when the non-co-operation movement launched its first passion and fury against all educational institutions, Sir Asutosh stood by the *Alma Mater* as her most devoted and unperturbed son defying odds. No assembly within the walls of the Senate covered such an entire gamut of passions as that of the packed mass of students whom Sir Asutosh faced after the classes were all deserted. Sir Asutosh thundered that he would be there even if all the benches were empty. He scolded and he persuaded ; he scoffed and he cajoled. He thus won the day and the next morning found all the classes full. Sir Asutosh had too intense a faith in modern science and learning to accept the panacea of the non-co-operator. He believed, on

the other hand, that Science and Modern Thought were the only roads to national efficiency and power. It was thus he served the cause of Indian Nationalism by providing for it a habitation and an opportunity for free self-expression undisturbed by political excitements. Indeed, though himself a lover of free speech and public criticism, his influence within the walls of the University contributed not a little in the direction of studying political sentiment and in clarifying the revived national idealism.

THE FOUNDATIONS OF CULTURAL NATIONALISM.

His long and arduous task of Post-Graduate educational reconstruction where even his close and intimate colleague, the late Sir Gooroodass Banerjee differed from him was meant to subserve the needs of the educational renaissance. But Sir Gooroodass, who was connected throughout with the National Education movement, came to the Senate with his sixty amendments! In his successful effort for introducing the study of the Indian Vernaculars, Sir Asutosh laid the scientific foundation of Indian Nationalism wide and deep. There is no university in India which teaches Bengali, Assamiya, Marathi, Gujrati, Hindi, Urdu, Tamil, Telugu, Kanarese, Malayalam, etc. The treasures of our rich vernacular literatures are thus brought home to students, who have hitherto revelled only in a foreign literature. Everywhere an attention to folk-ballads, plays and songs has preceded a romantic, nationalist revival. The impress of the Indian mass-mind over modern creations and movements will inevitably be one of the finest fruits of the culture of vernacular languages and literatures in the premier university of India. Scattered throughout India in the important seats of Mediaeval learning there have long existed the various schools for the teaching of Indian Philosophy and Theology. But the specialisms are segregated. In Calcutta there has been established a veritable modern Nalanda.—Vedanta and Nyaya, Smriti and Mimansa, Jyotish and

Alankara have all gathered together in their different schools and interpretations. The scientific and historical study of Hindu Philosophy according to the methods of the Western Scholars supplies here a sorely needed corrective of the methods adopted by the most distinguished Indian savants, who find quite a different scheme and method of teaching adopted next door and often in the same hall within hearing distance. Besides, there is the cultivation of Buddhist and Jaina learning. The Sramans from Ceylon and Burma, and the monks from Tibet, the Acharyyas from Benares and Maharashtra and the erudite Sanskrit scholars from the western Universities, the Maulanas from the Madrasas and the Pundits from Hindustan all make a motley show that truly represents the variegated culture of India. Ancient Indian History and Culture has, on Sir Asutosh's initiative, now formed a subject for M. A. teaching and examination. Indian epigraphy and numismatics, iconography and religious history, architecture and fine arts* all form the subjects of special papers. Not less useful for laying the scientific foundations of cultural nationalism has been the orientation of Indian Anthropological studies with special reference to physical anthropology and ethnology. India is a veritable museum of races, and exhibits all the types of social development from animistic and primitive to the more advanced. Yet there is no other university in India which teaches systematically Indian Ethnology and Anthropology. Anthropologists and historians now speak of the diffusion of cultures throughout the Eastern world. There is no doubt that the civilisation which was first nurtured in the level plains of the great rivers of India extended beyond the frontiers of India to Chinese Turkestan and Khotan where the sand-buried cities hide its survivals. It also spread to Burma, Siam, Cambodia, Java and the palm-clad isles of the Archipelago. The history of this Greater India remains yet to be written, while the anthropological study of the affinities and differences between the Negritos

of Eastern Asia and Africa and the forest tribes of Southern India will perhaps throw light one day on the ethnic and cultural relation of India with her neighbours. It is in the Calcutta University that the most effective method of solving such important culture problems has been initiated by a correlation of Indian historical and ethnological studies. It is thus that we can really understand the hidden springs and activities of Indian cultural nationalism which undertook for itself the most difficult task not merely of assimilating the diverse races, creeds and cultures within the borders of India but also of diffusing culture among, and assimilating, the more primitive neighbouring stocks beyond the confines of the continent. The new school of Experimental Psychology, that was for the first time in India associated with the study of the Mental Sciences in the Calcutta University, may one day study experimentally the levels of intelligence amongst the diverse stocks and strains, and thus contribute towards the social direction of education of diverse layers of the population.

THE SOCIAL DIRECTION OF RESEARCH.

Many of these trends of Post-graduate education are incipient. They have been discerned only by the master mind and perhaps may have escaped the attention of specialists. But the idea was there, slowly being worked out by the organisation of higher studies, and research. And Sir Asutosh laid more emphasis on field investigation than on library work in such studies. I now recall sorrowfully an occasion which shows his unbounded sympathy for all kinds of first-hand study and observation. I was then teaching in the Calcutta University and had obtained leave in continuation of the Puja recess to study village organisations, castes and tenures in Southern India. The leave was spent and yet I was still touring as a sociological tramp in the tarawads of Malabar. The enquiries were unfinished but the

classes re-opened. I sent a wire to Sir Asutosh who most encouragingly preferred work in the fields to class lecturing. And, indeed, the class lectures became more concrete and detailed that session. A great deficiency in teaching Social Sciences in the Universities has been that field work and first-hand studies have been absolutely neglected while the students are given copy book maxims and second-hand generalisations from books that have little reference to the facts and conditions of India. No Indian Vice-Chancellor has as yet acknowledged that both students and teachers of the Social Sciences must as a part of the University routine engage themselves in field work and investigation for which separate funds and opportunities ought to be set apart in every University session. Not merely for field investigation but also for research, pure and applied, Sir Asutosh's enthusiasm knew no limits. No other University provides in its supply of books and scientific periodicals, and other facilities such systematic encouragement of research. And on more than one occasion he has expressed to us the necessity of directing research by social ends.

THE CHANGE IN EDUCATIONAL POLICY.

Perhaps the critic would now ask, what about the more immediate economic problem? By the side of the preparation of the future greatness and fruition of Indian Culture, the problem of its barrenness due to economic deficiency stands paramount and more claimant in its demands. To the solution of such a question, Sir Asutosh addressed himself by the organisation of the University College of Science. The objects of the founders were the promotion and diffusion of scientific and technical education and cultivation and advancement of science, pure and applied, amongst their countrymen by and through indigenous agency. It had been Sir Asutosh's dream to develop the technological side of the University so effectively as to correct and eradicate



SIR ASUTOSH IN 1922

the Bengalee's natural bias towards the literary vocation. This bias was no doubt encouraged by the fact that when the new education was introduced in India, the idea of scientific and technical education had not dawned upon the English Universities or teachers recruited from them. The University College of Science was well started but the deficiency of funds stood in its way and schemes of technological training and agricultural instruction which were devised after careful study of the conditions abroad could not be carried out effectively. The critics of the University emphasise that education has been distributed unevenly amongst the different classes of the population, the agricultural community as a whole having until very recently being backward in taking advantage of educational facilities. The only way of mitigating the wide divorce which has occurred between the educated university and the illiterate majority and of preventing the wide-spread unemployment of the *bhadralok* would be the stress of professional and technical instruction. Sir Asutosh's own educational policy could not but have undergone an inevitable transformation as new needs and ideals emerged. It was his dream to provide for every village in Bengal at least one graduate. There cannot be any doubt that we find mass life in the villages in Bengal on a much higher level than anywhere else in India. The extensive civic consciousness which has accompanied the spread of higher education has been Sir Asutosh's great contribution towards the modern revival. Sir Asutosh thus laid the basis of university education in community service and satisfied the cultural demands of Indian Nationalism. He contributed even to correct its narrowness and exclusiveness and undertook the difficult task of correlating the academic subjects in such a way as to express fully the needs and possibilities of Indian Nationality, a composite of diverse cultures in different regions. Next, he conceived the university as a true social and civic centre, feeding and being fed by the deep issues of life, designing

and inspiring social action and policy. Thus the university was no longer to be an examining body; it was not even to be a federation of colleges but would be a centre for the advancement of learning guided by the social inspiration. By the year 1908 he could declare that under the new constitution Post-Graduate teaching was definitely regarded as one of the duties of the university. Thus the university underwent a transformation like plastic clay in his hands. The elevation of the functions of the university was accomplished through re-organisation, reform, revolution, each term, as he himself puts it, expressing one phase only. But the founder of a teaching university as he was, the builder of the biggest hostels and students' messes in India, he always opposed the creation of a residential university in the suburbs. For he felt that a forced removal would in an atmosphere of academic aloofness and seclusion, postpone the date when the university would be constant in its watchfulness towards a fuller civic and social application of every sort of specialised capacity and training. Furthermore, the problem more pressing, more imperative, *viz.*, technological education arrested his attention. It was his persuasive skill and idealism that evoked India's largest educational benefactions. This work, more than any other, Sir Asutosh left unfinished and perhaps in the near future our policy will lay a special stress on this aspect of our university education. We have at present the purely literary and legal studies dominating. To the lack of opportunity for technological studies are largely due the predilections of Indian students for clerical occupations and the professions; and, indeed, the new teaching universities in other provinces in so far as they are deficient in offering facilities for such studies, do not meet the present educational requirement at all.

It is easy to isolate one aspect of university policy from the rest in order to decry it. The development of the Calcutta University in recent years has shown marked changes in the

policy and the continuity of ideals must not be sacrificed in the interests of consolidation. The more important aspects of transformation are represented by the developments of the teaching side and technological and professional instruction, with the control of the teachers over all academic matters. There cannot be any doubt that technological education is an investment which even a bankrupt government might undertake with borrowed funds. The claims of the lower classes who have not profited much from the present system of education and which are now being urged in certain circles will be satisfied not by the spread of a facade type of literary instruction in our primary and secondary schools but by training engineers, agriculturists and artisans in the university who will bring real science and technical education to the villages. In the second place, it is the teachers' initiative and independence which can work out best the highest ideals of a Teaching University, that at present imparts instruction on a much wider range and variety of subjects than found anywhere in India. And it is to the teacher and not to the minister which the country looks for the success or failure of the Teaching University which Sir Asutosh has built up. Only a far-sighted educational policy of the government which thinks in terms of decades rather than those of years, a wide-minded liberalism which keeps aloof from interference with internal developments even when needed, an unswerving loyalty of the teachers, and a conscientious and ever-vigilant public opinion which protects academic freedom, on the one hand, and checks intellectual clique on the other can save the University from the present *impasse*. Sir Asutosh died when he was in the thick of the fight for educational *swaraj*, for securing for the University the fullest independence and the amplest powers in working out its intellectual salvation. Seldom did a man die in the most critical hour in the life of an institution he helped to create.

EARLY LIFE OF SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was born on Wednesday, the 29th June, 1864, the corresponding Bengali date being the 16th Aṣāḍh, 1271. The child Asutosh was educated at the Chakraberia Bengali School (now known as the Chakraberia M.E. School) which was then held at a house to the west of the Nafar Kundu Memorial at the Chakraberia Road, South, Bhowanipore, Calcutta. Sir Asutosh's father, Babu Gangaprasad Mookerjee, M.B., was the best medical practitioner of Bhowanipore in those days. Gangaprasad Babu used to live with his younger brother Babu Radhikaprasad Mookerjee first in a house near the modern Jagu Babu's Bazar and then at a house where now stand the premises Nos. 5A and 6 Paddapookur Road. It was from this second house that Asutosh attended the Chakraberia School.

The great architect of the Calcutta University was born with an insatiable appetite for work and when he finished his preliminary course of studies in the Chakraberia Bengali School, he was far in advance of his classmates. Even in his childhood, he was never satisfied with what was his course of studies in the school and read much more at home. Many a day was this fine boy seen reading his text books while on his way to school, for he used to read so many things at home that he could hardly make time to prepare his daily lessons. Even when a boy of ten, he manifested the same dynamic personality which characterised his later days of many-sided activity. Endowed with a gigantic memory he could recite verbatim from the pages he had gone through once.

After having finished his course of studies in the Bengali School, in 1875, he was admitted into the Fourth Class of the Suburban School, Kalighat (subsequently named *The South*

Suburban School, Bhowanipore) which sat in those days at a house belonging to Moulvi Mahammad Habibul Hussein situated at the place where now stand the Empress Theatre Buildings belonging to Messrs. Madan & Co.

A strong determination to be great was Asutosh's even from his early boyhood, and because he wanted to surpass all other great sons of Bengal in after life, he directed every bit of his youthful energy in the pursuit of that end. He worked hard every day for 15 to 18 hours, and even while he was a school-boy he had finished the mathematics course for the J. A. Examination. In mathematics he was far in advance of his classmates, and while yet a school-boy he became a member of the London Mathematical Association and solved a large number of their geometrical problems and won many prizes. Some of these solutions were so excellent that they were accepted in England as original contributions to mathematical studies and these were named after their initiator "*Mookerjee's Theorems*." These "Mookerjee's Theorems" discovered by the school-boy Asutosh are still in favour at the University of Cambridge, the great seat of Mathematical studies, where they are still included in the University curriculum.

There is an anecdote about his extraordinary attainments in mathematics. When Babu Annadaprasad Basu, M.A., joined the Suburban School as a senior teacher of mathematics he heard of his talented pupil Asutosh and wanted to test his knowledge of the subject. Accordingly he set a very subtle problem of simultaneous equations with three unknown quantities for solution in the class. Asutosh solved it easily and began to read another book. It was his habit, unlike the ordinary students, who spend their leisure at school either in idling or in making noise. Certainly a boy that was destined to be so great could not spend the valuable minutes of his life in idleness. After some time Annada Babu wanted to know whether the sum had been worked out by any of his pupils. He knew that none but his illustrious

pupil could have done it. The teacher then went up to the board to explain the solution to his class, but unfortunately he himself could not work it out. After making many vain attempts with his forehead streaming with perspiration, he had at last to copy out the solution of Asutosh from his note book. Annada Babu never forgot this defeat from his young pupil Asutosh.

Babu Gangaprasad Mookerji, the illustrious father of this illustrious child, had made excellent arrangements for the education of Asutosh in his early life. As Gangaprasad Babu wanted to train his extraordinary child in many more subjects than were studied by an ordinary student in school, he appointed many good tutors to keep him well in advance of all his classmates. The Hon'ble Mr. Madhusudan Das, M.A., B.L., C.I.E., of Bihar and Orissa (the gentleman who has been known in recent days for refusing the ministership offered to him by the Government of Bihar and Orissa) was his tutor in English and it was from him that he studied Milton and Shakespeare at home while yet at school. Babu Panchanon Paladhi, Lecturer in Sanskrit in the L.M.S. Institution, Bhowanipur, was his teacher in Sanskrit and he used to teach him Kālidāsa. Babu Ramkumar Chakravarti, Professor in the same college and a fast friend of Babu Gangaprasad, supervised Asutosh's studies at home. Babu Syamacharan Basu and Babu Abinashchandra Banerjee were his tutors in mathematics. But, above all, his father, Gangaprasad Babu himself, used to supervise all the work done by his great son.

In order that Asutosh might keep his health in the midst of all this hard work Gangaprasad Babu controlled rigorously his diet and habits as was possible for Asutosh's father who was also a great physician. Asutosh was trained to take a long walk every morning and he kept this habit up to the last working day of his life. Asutosh was not allowed to mix with other boys except in class, so that he could never

have an opportunity to be acquainted with their idle and vicious games of cards and dice. He was not even allowed to join in such manly games as football and cricket lest he might contract evil habits from evil companions or otherwise injure himself. When Asutosh had to work hard he was not allowed to take rice, for it brings on drowsiness, but was given bread and broth with other nutritious diet sufficient to maintain health and to sustain him in his hard mental labour. To keep off drowsiness while reading, Gangaprasad Babu's contrivance was a breast-high table at which Asutosh had to read *standing*. Gangaprasad Babu was also a very strict disciplinarian whom Asutosh feared most.

Asutosh was by no means a meek and mild boy and showed even in his boyhood the germs of that courage which enabled him on a famous occasion in his later life to utter forth the soul-inspiring formula,—“*freedom first, freedom second, freedom always.*” The uncommon shrewdness that he manifested in all his educational work was surely not the outcome of a short apprenticeship.

There is an amusing anecdote about one of his youthful escapades. He bore some grudge against his father's landlord, a rather silly old person of drunken habits. So one day he went to the old man and pointing to a large wooden box wondered if it was large enough for such a big man. The silly old fellow fell into the trap and got into the box to show how it could be done. He was promptly shut in by Asutosh just as the jackal in the fable had trapped the foolish tiger.

There is an anecdote about his insatiable love of work and his repugnance of aimless pleasure. A dispute arose one Sarasvatipuja day between Asutosh and his younger brother, Hemantakumar, as to whether the day was to be spent in festive rejoicings or in reading new things. Asutosh insisted that the fittest manner of worshipping the Goddess of Learning was not in making useless rejoicing but in deep devotion to studies. Hemantakumar, on the other hand,

proposed to give up all work and join in the day's festivities. A reference was made to their father who decided in favour of Hemantakumar and asked them both to join the company of other boys at the temple of the Goddess of Learning. Asutosh had to obey his father's decision.

Asutosh appeared at the Entrance Examination of the University of Calcutta in 1879 and stood second in order of merit.

After passing the Entrance Examination Asutosh was admitted into the Presidency College.

A few days after he had joined the first year class in the Presidency College, he was reading Chaucer at home. A fellow student of his who happened to see this, exclaimed with surprise—"What are you doing, Asu? You are reading Chaucer now! It is included in the M. A. course in English and you are now only in the first year class!" Without a moment's hesitation Asutosh replied, "One day I must take the M. A. course in English, what harm in reading it now?"

He appeared at the F. A. Examination in 1881, but he got the third position in order of merit. This somewhat disappointing result was due to his overworking. On the day previous to the commencement of examination Asutosh kept up reading till late at night without the knowledge of his father, and in order to ward off drowsiness he was standing beside his breast-high reading table mentioned before. But he had reached the limit of his power of endurance and trying to exceed this limit Asutosh dropped down senseless. He remained senseless till he was discovered by his father next morning. With quick medical help he was brought to his senses and sent to the examination hall, for Gangaprasad Babu could not allow a year of his great son's life to be wasted.

Swami Vivekananda (then Narendranath Datta) was a fellow student of Asutosh in the first-year class, but subsequently he joined the General Assembly's Institution, whence he got his B. A. degree in 1884.



SIR ASUTOSH'S ELDEST DAUGHTER
BORN APRIL 18, 1895. DIED JANUARY 4, 1923

Asutosh took up the A course for his B. A. Examination, there being no honours courses in his time. The subjects he took up were English Literature, Mathematics, Sanskrit Literature and Philosophy.

While Asutosh was a B. A. student his knowledge of mathematics was acknowledged to be extraordinary, for he had already finished the M. A. course by that time. In the opinion of some he knew more than some of his teachers. In order to test the merit and patience of this uncommon boy, his whimsical teacher, Prof. Booth, used sometimes to set every day 50 to 60 problems to be solved at home as home-task for several days, but Asutosh was always Asutosh and was never to be defeated in this way.

When Dr. MacCann, his other teacher in mathematics, died in June, 1883, Asutosh started the MacCann Memorial Committee in the Presidency College and was himself its Secretary. In this capacity he displayed his great power of organisation and gave sure indications of his uncommonly fine abilities, which in future years he was to use in building up so many institutions with which he was connected. He found funds for the perpetuation of his teacher's memory and endowed the MacCann Medal in the Calcutta University.

He passed the B. A. examination in 1884 standing first among all the candidates in the A and the B courses combined. Within six months of his passing the B. A. examination he passed the M. A. in Mathematics in 1885, standing first in the first class. In the next year he passed the M. A. with Physical Sciences and he passed the Premchand Roychand Studentship Examination winning the Mouat Medal and a scholarship of Rs. 1,600 a year for a period of five years. Not satisfied with the P. R. S. in Mathematics and Science, he wanted to appear at the P. R. S. examination next year in literary subjects and applied for permission of the Syndicate, but the Syndicate did not entertain his application as he had already been receiving one scholarship.

Law was not at first the aim of Sir Asutosh's life. The one object of his life had been from the first the education of Bengal. But when he saw that he had no chance of being appointed in the superior service in the education department and that in spite of extraordinary intellectual attainments he was only offered a post in the Provincial Educational service in the Presidency College, he turned his attention to law as a profession. He had already won the Tagore Law Gold Medals for his proficiency in law as a student under Mr. Ameer Ali, M. A., the then Tagore Professor of Law. He read law in the City College and got the B. L. Degree in 1888.

As he had already completed his articles under Babu (afterwards Sir) Rashbihari Ghosh, Asutosh was enrolled as a Vakil of the High Court in the same year in which he took B. L. In 1894, he got his Doctorate in Law.

Although he took to law as a profession he never forgot his unshaken determination to lead the educational movement in Bengal. The first obstacle he met in not getting an educational appointment was insignificant in comparison with far greater obstacles he successfully overcame in after-life.

Such is the outline of the early life of the great personage who was at the helm of our University. His unceasing efforts to equip himself to be the greatest son of Bengal, his firm determination to accomplish whatever he undertook, and his insatiable love of work are examples for the younger folk to imitate and follow.

BASANTA KUMAR CHATTERJEE

REFERENCES TO THE MIGHTY DEAD

Minutes of the Syndicate

The 31st May, 1924.

The following resolution was adopted in solemn silence, all the members present standing :—

We, the members of the Syndicate, in a special meeting convened for the purpose, place on record an expression of our profound grief at the death of our revered colleague, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. As Vice-Chancellor or as an ordinary member of the Syndicate he had been intimately associated with its work since 1889. For thirty-five years he placed his outstanding intellectual powers and his unrivalled energy ungrudgingly at the service of his colleagues, thereby enabling them to carry out a task which year by year became more difficult, laborious and exacting. The remarkable developments in the work of the University during the last two decades which it was our privilege as the representatives of the Senate to direct, were largely the product not only of his constructive genius but of the selfless, incessant and devoted toil, which he brought to his task as a member of our body. The personal and private sorrow which we each individually feel at the loss of our distinguished colleague is intensified by our keen sense of the irreparable injury to our work which will be caused by the absence of his indefatigable energy, his directive skill and his unique knowledge and experience. In paying our sorrowful tribute of respect to the friend, colleague, and leader whom we have lost, and in placing on record our profound admiration for the services rendered to the cause of education by the work which he accomplished as a member of our body, we express the hope that the memory of his devoted labours may inspire those of us who remain, and those who follow us, to imitate his great example, and dedicate all the powers which they possess to the service of their University and to the achievement of that object for which he lived, the advancement of learning amongst the people of his motherland.

RESOLVED—

That a copy of the resolution be forwarded to the eldest son of the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, our colleague Mr. Ramaprasad Mookerjee, for communication to Lady Mookerjee and the other members of the family.

E. F. OATEN,
Chairman.

J. C. GHOSH,
Registrar.

Proceedings of the Council of P.-G. T. in Arts

The 30th May, 1924.

(1) On the motion of Mr. S. Khuda Bukhsh, M.A., B.C.L., seconded and supported by Mr. Panchanandas Mookerjee, M.A., and Mr. Nirmalchandra Chatterjee, M.A., the following resolution was passed *nem con* in solemn silence, all the members remained standing all the while.

RESOLVED—

That this Council places on record its sense of deep sorrow and irreparable loss to Post-Graduate Teaching of the Calcutta University by the sad and sudden demise of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, the President of the Council since its inauguration and the greatest educationist of India, as also its grateful recognition of his unflinching zeal to the cause of advancement of learning, of his fostering care to promote research by Indian scholars and of his constant solicitude for the welfare, repute and independence of the institution, and no less its genuine admiration and affectionate regard for his personality, genial, lovable and at the same time commanding.

(2) Dr. Benimadhab Barua, D.Lit., proposed and Mr. J. R. Banerjee M.A., seconded.

That a message of condolence be communicated to the members of the bereaved family.

The motion was put to the meeting and carried *nem con* all the members standing.

(3) Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar proposed and Mr. Satishchandra Ghosh, M.A., seconded

That a Committee consisting of the following members with powers to add to the number be formed to consider what steps should be taken to perpetuate the memory of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee in this Department.

Dr. Henry Stephen, M.A., D.D., Ph.D., President.

Prof. P. N. Banerjee, M.A., D.Sc., M.L.C.

Prof. S. Radhakrishnan, M.A.

Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D.

S. Khuda Bukhsh, Esq., M.A., B.C.L.

Dr. Adityanath Mookerjee, M.A., Ph.D.

Dr. W. S. Urquhart, M.A., D.Phil.

Prof. J. C. Coyajee, M.A., LL.B.

Dr. B. M. Barna, M.A., D.Lit.

Rai A. C. Bose Bahadur, M.A.

Dr. G. N. Banerjee, M.A., Ph.D.—Secretary.

Satischandra Ghosh, Esq., M.A.—Treasurer.

The motion was put to the vote and carried unanimously.

W. S. URQUHART,

Chairman.

G. N. BANERJEE,

Secretary.

Perpetuating Sir Asutosh's Memory

C. R. DAS—THE MAYOR OF CALCUTTA.

"A painting or a picture or the erection of a bust or a statue cannot commemorate the greatness of great Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. His was a dynamic personality. We want something living—we want something growing to commemorate in a fitting manner his greatness—something which will carry with it the message of the struggle of to-day with the fullness of to-morrow."

RAJA OF SANTOSH'S SUGGESTION.

The Raja of Santosh has made a suggestion to His Excellency the Chancellor to name the new University buildings, now under construction, in College Street, "Sir Ashutosh Buildings," or,

dedicate to and name after Sir Ashutosh the present historic Senate House as a stepping stone to further memorials to be erected in honour of the greatest educationist of Bengal.

A Humble Admirer of Sir Asutosh writes :

May I make a humble suggestion? It appears to me that one of the most permanent and the quickest way of perpetuating the late Sir Asutosh Mukerjee's memory is to re-name Russa Road, as Sir Ashutosh Mukerjee Road. May we not expect our new Corporation Councillors to see if this can be given effect to?

In this connexion I desire to recall for public information that when the present Harrison Road was under construction it was proposed to be called "The Victoria Road." All on a sudden Mr. Harrison the Corporation Chairman died and the Municipal Commissioners of those days unanimously and with full public support christened it after the deceased.

And it is to be noted that 'Victoria,' was then the Queen Empress.

ART GALLERY IN MEMORY OF LATE
SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

SCHOOL OF ARTS,

JAIPUR,

27th June, 1924.

To

THE EDITOR,

Calcutta Review.

SIR,

So much speculation is going on to find out the best means to perpetuate memory of the greatest Educationist of modern India, the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. May I humbly ask you to allow me a little space in your highly esteemed paper to propose on behalf of the artists of Bengal to erect a Memorial Art Gallery, for the public which will contain best representative collections of both ancient and modern

paintings of the country. As a matter of fact this is not a new and novel proposal I am making in this direction, as you know, Lord Carmichael, late Governor of Bengal, too, had felt the great need of a Public Art Gallery in India and wished to set apart a portion of the Belvedere Palace for the said purpose. But as ill luck would have it for Indian Art, his noble proposal was nipped in the bud owing to the great disastrous war. Lately, Sir Asutosh took great interest in the art movement originated by Dr. Abanindranath Tagore, C.I.E., and offered him a Chair in the University to instruct his post-graduate pupils in Indian Art. May we, therefore, pray to the public as well as to the students of Sir Asutosh to take the matter seriously in consideration for the sake of perpetuating art of the country by associating the name of the great man of our time who took such a lively interest in every branch of learning in Bengal. Let me also suggest here that the finest collection of Mr. G. N. Tagore may be purchased and preserved in the Gallery which I believe, otherwise, will unfortunately go out of the country to some rich man either in England or in America.

The Gallery should be designed by some expert Indian Artist and must be of a typical Indian style. Dr. A. N. Tagore may also be persuaded to take up the charge of the Gallery who will be able not only to improve it by his wonderful work but will also be able to inspire others in art. Why not, then, try to enrich India by adding a Memorial Art Gallery in Calcutta which we think will also be the fitting memorial of the great son of Bengal, late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. While concluding may I also suggest here that such a Memorial be connected with the Indian Society of Oriental Art, Calcutta, which is a living organisation founded by Dr. A. N. Tagore and supported by many notable men including the Governor of Bengal.

I remain,

Yours faithfully,

ASIT KUMAR HALDAR

Life Sketch

Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee, one of the most outstanding personalities in the public life of India, was born in Calcutta on June 20, 1864. His father Dr. Gangaprasad Mukherjee was an eminent physician and a much esteemed citizen of Calcutta. After finishing the preliminary course in a vernacular school (1869-72) Ashutosh was taken in hand by his father under whose direct supervision he prosecuted his studies till 1875 when he was admitted into the South Suburban School and Matriculated in 1879 at the age of 15 standing second in the list of the successful candidates. His under-graduate career in the Presidency College (1880-84) was one of uniform brilliance and in 1884 he topped the list in the B.A. examination. He took the degree of M.A. in Mathematics next year and in Physical Science in 1886. The same year he was awarded the Prem Chand Roy Chand Scholarship and admitted as Fellow of the Royal Society (Edinburgh). He completed his law lectures in the City College and passed B.L. in 1888. The same year he was enrolled as a Vakil of the High Court, having at the same time completed the period of articleship under the late Sir Rash Behary Ghosh. He had been a Fellow of the Calcutta University since 1889. The Doctorate of Law was conferred on him in 1894 and his "Law of Perpetuity" embodying the lectures delivered as a Tagore Law Lecturer is no less authoritative, though not so well-known, than the Law of Mortgage by his legal Guru Rash Behary.

Educational Activities.

He entered the Bengal Legislative Council in 1899 as the Representative of the University and was re-elected, two years later. He represented Bengal in the Indian Universities' Commission appointed by Lord Curzon and took his seat in the Provincial Legislative Council for the third time in 1903 as the representative of Calcutta Corporation. The same year the Bengal Council sent him to the Imperial Legislative Council as its representative. In 1904 he became a judge of the Calcutta High Court.

He was made the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University in 1906 in succession to Dr. Gurudas Banerjee, the first Indian to hold that honorary but highly responsible post. From 1906 to 1914 Ashutosh's indomitable personality, tact, perseverance and spirit of Reforms changed the somnolent atmosphere of the Calcutta University and the re-actionary character of the Indian Universities' Act—Lord Curzon's instrument for limiting the scope of High

Education—proved in his hands a veritable charter of a University under all but complete non-official control. The prestige of the University rose as it never did since its creation in 1857.

His name became a household word in Bengal, nay in all India.

Sturdy Independence.

His infinite capacity of taking pains enabled him to know during this unprecedentedly long period of continuous Vice-Chancellorship every nook and corner of the University administration, though all this time his duties as a Judge of the premier High Court in India were fairly exacting. His solicitude for students his devoted zeal to the cause of Indian Education and his independence made him as popular to his countrymen as an object of suspicion to the Indian bureaucracy. In 1914, therefore, at the expiry of the last term of two years, Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikary was appointed as his successor. Sir Devaprasad was a well meaning solicitor and educationist of some standing but his misfortune was that he succeeded a giant of overshadowing personality and indomitable vigour and energy—and this was the talk of the whole province. Sir Devaprasad was, not, therefore, able to make any impression and the same may be said of his two successors, Sir Lancelot Sanderson, Chief Justice of Bengal and Sir Nilratan Sircar. In 1921 when the movement of Non-co-operation was at the zenith of its success, the Calcutta University was saved from being altogether wrecked by the one man who could make some stand against the onrush of the popular tide of enthusiasm for the destruction of what was called the "golamkhana."

A Controversy Recalled.

He accepted the Vice-Chancellorship again in 1921 at the special request of Lord Chelmsford and Lord Ronaldshay—both of whom knew the stuff of which Asutosh was made. Those who were present at the memorable Convocation held in 1923 would never forget the severe trouncing the Government received at Asutosh's hands in the Vice-Chancellor's address in the very presence of the head of the province—the Chancellor—for the niggardly way in which the University was being treated. The acrimonious controversy which centred round the Post-Graduate department of the University and the general educational policy pursued by Asutosh is of too recent date to require mention. It is also needless to recall how taking advantage of this controversy which was gradually becoming crystallised into a personal attack against the "Tiger of College Square" as he was popularly called, the Government of

Bengal refused to help the University in its undoubted financial need and how Asutosh replied to the insulting letter of Lord Lytton. Suffice it to say that in the stiff fight that he carried on against the Government in its attempt to officialise the Calcutta University by legislation, Asutosh had the support of all educated Bengal except a microscopic number who had their own reasons for siding with the Bureaucracy in a vital matter like this.

Most Complex Character.

His was indeed a complex character which defies analysis. As Sreejut Bepin Chandra Pal remarks in his "Sir Asutosh Mukherjee — a Character Study":

"Sir Asutosh Mukherjee is the most complex public character that I have seen. And it has been my privilege to see, at more or less close quarters, most of the men who have made the religious, social or political history of India during the last half a century. This complexity is, I think, responsible for the widely divergent estimate that diverse people have formed in him. He has enthusiastic admirers, whose admiration often-times verges on fulsome adulation. He has persistent detractors whose detractions seem sometimes to take the colour of malice. But there is one matter in which both his admirers and detractors seem generally to agree and it is that he is by far the most powerful public character of his generation."

Sir Asutosh's membership or Presidentship in numerous Associations and public bodies, mostly educational, his service to the cause of education as a member of the Sadler Commission whose recommendations were not given effect to by the Government for want of fund, his addresses at the Mysore, Lahore and Lucknow Universities are only indications of what genius can do when aided by vigour, perseverance and an indomitable will.

Hardly had the people recovered from the shock of the death of Sir Asutosh Chaudhuri when the news of the sudden and so unexpected passing away of Sir Asutosh Mukerji came as a bolt from the blue.

The Fatal Illness.

It was on Sunday night the following message was received from Patna :—

Sir Asutosh Mukerjee, who had been here in connection with the Dumraon case, died this (Sunday) evening.

He had been suffering for the last three or four days from acute dilation of the stomach.

Till Friday morning last Sir Asutosh was apparently all in good health. On the same morning he as usual went out on his early constitutional walk. Suddenly he felt uneasy and returned home. He had several motions and felt a severe pain in the stomach and was placed under the treatment of local doctors. But as the day wore on the attacks became severe and information was sent to Calcutta to send a doctor at once. Accordingly same evening Dr. P. Nandy left for Patna and reached the place early Saturday morning. He attended to his illness at once and diagnosed that Sir Asutosh had been attacked with acute dilation of the stomach and declared the case hopeless. Babu Ramaprasad Mukerji, his eldest son and Babu Pramatha Nath Banerji, his son-in-law who were there at Patna, felt much concerned and wired to Lady Mukerji to come there at once with another lady for nursing. Meantime another wire was sent to Babu Shyamaprasad Mukerji, Sir Asutosh's second son, at Simla, to come down to Patna at once with Dr. Nilratan Sarkar who was there in connection with the University Congress. Babu Shyamaprasad with Dr. Sarkar and Dr. C. V. Raman booked for Patna at once but unfortunately reached their destination on Sunday evening just a little bit late when the great soul had already passed away. Lady Mukerji along with another lady who left for Patna by Sunday's Punjab Mail met at Jajha the special train conveying her dead husband and returned from there in the same train.

The news reached Calcutta late Sunday night and on Monday morning it spread like a lightning flash from mouth to mouth. Such a calamity people were not prepared for and they were at first inclined to disbelieve it. The morning papers however set all their fond doubts at rest. The news shocking as it was cast a gloom over the whole city and for a time the whole populace, especially the enlightened section of the community, were beside themselves with grief and forgetting their day's work all proceeded towards the Howrah Station, to pay their last homage of reverence and respect to the departed great, where the Special conveying the dead was expected to reach at 8 a.m. Streams of people, young and old, rich and poor in barefoot wended their way towards the direction.

At Howrah Bridge.

But unfortunately there on this side of the Howrah Bridge an unexpected incident checked the onrush of the mourners for a time as owing to the snapping of some iron chains the Bridge had to be kept upon from half past seven in the morning till noon and all traffic across was suspended. The ferry service being quite inadequate and irregular the river boats were in much demand and several thousands of people crossed over to the other side by that means. Before the appointed time for the Special to arrive at Howrah a vast concourse of people, the like of which has seldom been seen and which recalled the vast gathering that waited at the Howrah Station to receive Mrs. (Now Dr.) Annie Besant as President of the Indian National Congress, 1917—had already assembled there. A body of Congress volunteers with the National flag flying was already on the scene and quite a fleet of motor cars, and vehicles stood in a line to form a funeral procession. Punctually at 10 a.m. the special train conveying the earthly remains of Sir Asutosh steamed in and a shrill and mournful murmur passed through the huge assemblage that waited there. To the lowest computation not less than ten thousand of his countrymen gathered at platform No. 1 to pay their last homage to Sir Asutosh. Thousands that could not make their way inside the platform stood outside for more than a couple of hours in the hot sun. As soon as the train was sighted the Sankirtan party that was kept waiting struck up a mournful dirge and all eyes seemed wet with tears. The body profusely garlanded was then taken down and placed in a spacious bier heavily decorated with flowers and foliage. There was a wreath on his forehead. It lay in that state for about two hours, during which people of all condition, young and old, had a reverential glance at it. The mourning was universal and it was a touching sight to see that scarcely one had his eyes dry. Even the cartmen who numbered many thousands at Howrah, left their ply and kept standing for hours looking at the venerable body.

At the Railway Station.

On arrival of the train Lady Mukerji fell in a state of collapse and had to be removed to a motor car where she lay for some time and after some restoratives were applied she recovered a bit and was conveyed home.

Among those present in the platform to pay their respect to the late deceased gentleman were the Hon. Mr. A. K. Fuzlal Huq, the Hon. Justices Sir N. R. Chatterjee, C. C. Ghose, B. B. Ghosh, and

M. N. Mukerjee, Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, Deputy Mayor, Calcutta Corporation, the Maharajadhiraja Bahadur of Burdwan, Prof. C. V. Raman, Mr. Shamsunder Chakravarty, Mr. Subash Chandra Bose, Sjs. Mrinal Kanti Bose, Bejoy Krishna Bose, Nirmal Chunder Chunder, the Raja of Tahirpur, Raja Monilal Singh Roy, Raja Bahadur of Santosh, Mr. Anil Baran Roy, Mr. Hemendranath Das Gupta, Mr. S. M. Bose, Dr. J. N. Maitra, Nawabzada A. F. B. Abdul Ali, Messrs. C. C. Sinha, Nityadhon Mookerjee, Dr. Girindranath Mookerjee, Dr. Adityanath Mookerjee, Rai Bahadur S. C. Mitter, Rai Bahadur Dr. G. C. Sen, Mr. K. B. Barua representing the Bengal Buddhist Association, Mr. R. Mazumdar, Superintendent, College Street Market and staff, Krishna Kumar Mitter, Sj. Moumathanath Rai, Mr. H. D. Bose, Mr. S. C. Roy, Mr. D. C. Ghose, Dr. N. N. Sett, Prof. S. C. Ghosh, Mr. P. C. Mitter, Mr. J. C. Mookerjee, Deputy Executive Officer, Calcutta Corporation, Dr. A. Suhrawardy, Dr. J. M. Das Gupta, M.L.C., Sir Kailash Chandra Basu, Kumar Shiva Sekhaheswar Roy, Dr. Bhandarkar, Rai Bahadur A. C. Bose, Kavirajes Jumnini Bhusan Roy, A. N. Roy, Mr. Biraj Mohan Mazumdar, Mr. C. C. Biswas, Mr. N. C. Sen, Prof. Arun Chandra Sen, Mrs. Kumudini Bose, Miss Latika Ghose, B.A., and others.

Port Commissioners' Service.

The Port Commissioners' ferry service was perfectly scandalous. The bridge was to have closed at 9-30 a.m. and even till 1 p.m. traffic had not been resumed. But no proper ferry service was arranged for coping with the crowd and the rush. There were two ferries—but instead of plying swiftly for some unknown reason it took about an hour to cross over. The result was that about ten thousand people with the dead body in procession had to wait for two hours in the sun. Mr. Fazlul Huq telephoned to the Chairman, Port Commissioners for a special steamer in the event of the traffic not being resumed but to no purpose. The ferry service being inadequate the crowd at the ferry ghat began to swell and the police used sticks to keep back the rush. As a result, several gentlemen were injured.

The Procession.

Placed on the bier and carried shoulder-high by several students, two of Sir Asutosh's sons and Dr. J. N. Maitra being the pall bearers, the body was then taken in a procession to the bridge-head where owing to the opening of the bridge they were held up for a considerable time. After a delay of nearly two hours the body

was taken across in the ferry steamer *Buckland* to the Calcutta side where a procession was formed composed of thousands of people waiting there. Congress volunteers with Swaraj flags flying taking the lead. It moved on amidst cries of 'Horibol' and "Bande Mataram" and proceeded slowly towards Harrison Road. All pedestrian and vehicular traffic were suspended for the time along the route the procession passed and men and women of all ages thronged the footpaths and highroads. The housetops, balconies and windows having had their human loads men and women in full. The huge procession passed in silence the crowd looking at it with great reverence.

At the Senate House.

The procession passed along Harrison Road and College Street and reached the Senate House. The bier was taken to the portico of the Senate building where besides a large number of students, barefooted Senators, Syndics, Fellows and Professors made their last obeisance to their friend, philosopher and guide. Among those present here we noticed: Mr. Justice Suhrawardy, Dr. P. K. Mahalonabis, Dr. Meek, Mr. Tribhubandas Heerachand, Dr. A. Suhrawardy, Mr. Hemendra Prosad Ghose, Mr. Khondkar, Babu Kishorilal Ghose and Rai Bahadur K. C. Bose.

Here a most touching scene presented itself. The people present, specially students and professors, were visibly moved to see their hero lying in-state in a place which was the scene of activities of the great man they were honouring. After a halt of about half an hour the procession restarted and passed through College Street, Wellington Street, Dhurrumtollah Street and Chowringhee. At Chowringhee the processionists instead of walking through the main road passed through the shady walk on the eastern side of the maidan where Sir Asutosh used to take morning constitutional. The procession made a temporary halt before the house of Sir Asutosh to enable the ladies to have a last look of him. From Bhowanipore to the Keoratola Burning Ghat the procession grew, immensely in dimension, fully fifteen thousand people following the bier to the burning ghat. Here again people of all ranks, high or low, without distinction joined the procession, the Maharajahdiraj Bahadur of Burdwan in his car lending the way and clearing the road.

At the Cremation Ground.

At the Keoratola Ghat a crowd of at least 15,000 had collected. The Calcutta High Court and other Government offices were closed in the meantime in honour of the deceased and lawyers

and clerks flocked to the burning ghat. Practically the whole of Bhowanipur turned out, men, women and children and elbowed each other to catch a last glimpse of the departed and the whole place, the big area of the burning ghat and surroundings were one sea of human heads. The two sides of the river Adi Ganga on which the ghat stands were lined with mourners. Judges of the High Court, lawyers, merchants, representatives of the Press, professors, students, Syndics, Senators, and Fellows of the Calcutta University, in fact all interests and classes, were well-represented at the homage that was paid to one of the noblest and greatest sons of India and the pride of Bengal. Among those present we noticed Maharaja of Natore, Maharajdhiraj of Burdwan, Messrs. K. N. Chaudhuri, N. Chaudhuri, Aswini Kumar Chaudhuri, N. N. Sarkar, Langford-James, Surendra Nath Mallik, Santosh Kumar Bose, Hemendra Nath Das-Gupta, Hemendra Nath Guha Roy, Raja Janakinath Roy, Dr. C. V. Raman, Capt. O. Ahmad, Babu Basanta Kumar Bose, Babu Ramprasad Chanda, Dr. A. Suhrawardy, Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, Messrs. Daud, Hidayat Hossain, Abdur Razak, Prof. Tarapurwalla, Justices C. C. Ghose, B. B. Ghose, N. R. Chatterji, Dwarakanath Chakravarti, Babus Mudan Mohan Burman, Manmatha Nath Roy, Dr. Urquhart and many others.

The body was then carried outside the compound of the Burning Ghat and placed on the river bank. Flower wreaths, bouquets from friends, relatives and admirers poured in and the body was literally embedded in the heap that was made. It was kept surrounded by his sons, relatives, the volunteers forming a cordon round the bier. The scene that followed was touching to the extreme.

At about 4 p.m. the body was placed on the funeral pyre just by the side of the place where only a few months ago the body of another of Bengal's great sons, the late Aswini Kumar Dutt, was turned into ashes, one of Sir Asutosh's sons performed the last rites and set fire to the pyre and his mortal frame was consumed to ashes by 8 p.m.

Patna's Last Homage.

At about 12 midnight the dead body of Sir Asutosh Mukerji was conveyed to Calcutta by a special train.

His eldest son, Babu Rama Prasad Mukerji, and son-in-law, Babu Pramatha Nath Banerji, were present throughout his brief illness, but his second son, Shyama Prasad, arrived with Sir Nilratan Sarkar an hour and a half too late. They decided that the last rites should be performed in Calcutta.

As soon as the tragic news spread throughout Patna a large number of people of all communities flocked to pay their last

homage to one of the greatest men of the world. Over five hundred persons were present at the station at midnight when the body was sorrowfully placed into a special train and carried away to the city which was Sir Asutosh's centre of activity.

COURTS AND PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS CLOSED.

As a mark of respect to the memory of Sir Asutosh Mukerji the High Court and all the subordinate courts were closed on Monday.

Alipore Courts Closed.

On account of the death of Sir Asutosh Mukerji a reference was made to the District Judge, Mr. G. N. Ray, I.C.S., yesterday morning. The Judge after expressing his deep regret ordered for the suspension of all business and closed all the Courts.

A similar reference was made to Mr. J. H. Lindsay, I.C.S., the District Magistrate, 24-Parganas, by Babu Upendra Chandra Das-Gupta, Vakil, headed by all the criminal practitioners. The Magistrate remarked that he was so sorry that pre-eminently the biggest man of any nationality had expired and consequently he had already ordered for closing of all the Courts and offices.

Pleaders of both the Courts, the muktears, the officers and the litigant public left to attend the funeral ceremony of the departed great at the burning ghat.

Scaldah Court.

In memory of the late Sir Asutosh Mukerji the Scaldah Police Court remained closed on Monday.

Police Courts and Office Closed.

Reference was made to the death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, by Rai Bahadur T. N. Sadhu, Public Prosecutor, at Bankshall Street Court yesterday.

The Public Prosecutor said that it was with sincere regret that they assembled there to mention the death of one of the greatest sons of Bengal, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. He was the greatest jurist, educationist, and social reformer of the present day. He had made the Calcutta University what it was now, and had strengthened the position of the University by securing the services of the greatest educationists wherever he could find them. He was a friend of the country and of the Government.

Continuing, the Rai Bahadur said: "Many of us have lost in him a friend, patron and benefactor. He was aptly described as the 'Tiger of Bengal.'" Sir Asutosh's personality was towering,



THE LAST REMAINS AT THE SENATE HOUSE

his energy and perseverance surpassing, while his tact and resourcefulness saved many a critical situation in the annals of the Calcutta University.

"During the twenty years that he sat on the High Court Bench—sometimes as the Chief Justice—his judgments were full of profound learning and erudition and many of the Judges owed a great deal to him. His death has caused an irreparable loss to the country and even the Government will find it difficult to fill his place by any other man."

Mr. Roxburgh said he endorsed every word of Rai Bahadur T. N. Sadhu with regard to the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, who, he said, was really one of the greatest men of Bengal and whose death was a sad loss to all.

The Police Courts were then directed to be closed.

Imperial Library.

The Imperial Record Department and the Imperial Library were closed at 1 p.m. on Monday as a mark of respect to the memory of the late Sir Asutosh Mukerji.

Dhukuria Public Library.

The Library and free reading room remained closed on Sunday last in honour of the death of Sir Ashutosh Choudhury and will remain closed to-day (Tuesday) in honour of the death of Sir Asutosh Mukerji. A special general meeting will be held at the Library hall by the 1st week of June under the distinguished presidency of some eminent literary man of the town to express sorrow at the death of the two greatest men of Bengal, nay of India.

Empress Theatre.

As a mark of sorrow at the untimely death of Sir Asutosh Mukerji, the Empress Theatre remained closed yesterday and there were no shows in the evening.

Scientific Supplies Co.

On account of the demise of Sir Asutosh Mukerji, Kt., the greatest Educationist of the day the office of Scientific Supplies (Bengal) Co. of College St. Market, was closed yesterday.

Indian Association.

The officers of the British Indian Association were closed yesterday in honour of the memory of the late Sir Asutosh Mukerji, a past member of the Association.

Great Educationist.

The sudden death of Sir Asutosh Mukerji, which occurred at Patna, on Sunday, came as a great shock to Bengal. Although he had been unwell for some time, his end was totally unexpected.

Sir Asutosh is the second prominent Bengali ex-judge of the High Court to die during the past few days, Sir Asutosh Choudhuri's death having occurred only on Friday last.

Sir Asutosh Mukerji was a son of the late Dr. Ganga Prasad Mookerjee of Bhowanipur and was born in 1864. He received his school education in the South Suburban School, and after passing the entrance examination, joined the Presidency College, Calcutta, whence he graduated in 1884 with high honours in mathematics. He passed his M. A. examination in the same subject the following year and secured the first place in order of merit. The next year (1886) he passed the Prema-chand Roychand Studentship Examination which was then the most difficult and the final examination, and carried off the handsome scholarship attached to it. He passed the B.L. examination from the City College where Mr. S. P. (now Lord) Sinha was one of the lecturers. This practically closed the student life of the great man who played such an important part in connection with the development of higher education in Bengal.

Tagore Law Professor.

Sir Asutosh intended to be a vakil of the High Court of Calcutta and according to the rules he had to be article'd as a clerk to a senior vakil. He was fortunate enough to be so under the late Sir Rash Behari Ghose who was a friend of his father. He joined the High Court in 1888, and in a very few years built up a practice almost unprecedented in the case of a junior. Sir Asutosh, however, did not confine his attention to his briefs but studied law in all its branches most carefully, and wrote his thesis for the Doctorate which was highly spoken of by his examiners. He received the degree of D.L. in 1894. Subsequently he presented his synopsis of the Tagore Law Lecture which was approved of by the Syndicate and he was appointed Tagore Law Professor of the Calcutta University in 1898.

Sir Asutosh, who was then known as Dr. Mookerjee, was recognised by all shades of opinion as the most brilliant young man in Bengal and his connection with the University of Calcutta was considered so useful and valuable that in the following year he was elected to represent the University in the Legislative Council of the province where his criticisms of the Municipal Bill at once

made him famous. As soon as the Act came into force the Government nominated him as a Commissioner of the Calcutta Corporation and he was on the Corporation till he was elevated to the bench of the High Court. In 1901, he was returned to the Bengal Legislative Council for the second time and in 1903 went to the Legislative Council of the Governor-General, defeating such opponents as the Maharaja Bahadur of Durbhanga and Babu (now Sir) Surendra Nath Banerjea. Here he vigorously opposed the Official Secrets Bill and strongly supported the Universities Bill.

Sir Asutosh joined the Asiatic Society while quite a young man and made valuable contributions to the Press on mathematical subjects. These attracted the attention of many mathematicians of repute in England and on the recommendation of Professor Cayley of the Cambridge University he was nominated a Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh.

High Court Judge.

Sir Asutosh was made a Judge of the Calcutta High Court in 1904, and his elevation to the bench ended his career as a politician which gave great promise during the period of his membership first of the Provincial and then of the Indian Legislative Council.

From this time onward Sir Asutosh devoted his entire attention to the welfare of the Calcutta University of which he was the second Indian Vice-Chancellor appointed in 1906, the first being the late Sir Gurudas Banerjee. In 1907, he was elected President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and in 1908 he was temporarily relieved of his duties in the High Court and placed on deputation in connection with the reorganization of the Calcutta University, a task which he performed with infinite credit to himself and profit to the future generation of Bengal. In 1909, he was elected President of the Trustees of the Indian Museum, and about the same time became President of the Board of Sanskrit Examination in Bengal. He was the founder and President of the Mathematical Society of Bengal and in that capacity gave encouragement to the study of the science of mathematics, which will be treasured by the *śaṅkṣa* for generations to come.

Unique Position.

As a judge of the Calcutta High Court his position was unique. He was known to be a deeply learned jurist and his knowledge of law in all its branches was generally admired. Besides his duties on the bench, he used to do a lot of work in connection with administration of the offices of the High Court and his help and

advice was always considered valuable by his colleagues. He officiated for the Chief Justice for a few months and after a brilliant career retired in December last.

It was believed that Sir Asutosh would return to the field of politics after his retirement and probably he would have done so had not something come in his way rather suddenly. The history of the famous Dumraon Raj case is well known in Bengal and Bihar. This case had been going on now for years and Mr. C. R. Das had been acting on behalf of the Raja since its commencement. It so happened that Mr. Das, who had given up practice at the call of the non-co-operation movement, refused to appear in the Patna High Court, just when Sir Asutosh retired from the bench. The Raja at once briefed the great Bengali jurist and since then he had paid frequent visits to Patna in connection with this case. He was there at the time of his death.

Many opponents.

It would not be true to say that Sir Asutosh Mookerjee had no opponents in his activities in connection with the Calcutta University. He had many, but it is admitted by everyone that he did wonders in the field of high education in Bengal. His thorough grasp of the affairs of other seats of learning throughout the civilised world, and above everything his strong desire to make the University of Calcutta a real and valuable seat of learning, have been admitted by all, including Sir Michael Sadler, who presided over the University Commission. The postgraduate and the law departments of the Calcutta University will ever remain as tributes to the memory of the great man who was the life and soul of the Calcutta University for twenty-five years. It was Sir Asutosh Mookerjee who recognised the fact that to neglect the mother tongue of the nation was fatal to its proper development, and it was he who gave the Bengali language its proper place in the curriculum of the Calcutta University. His activities in connection with the development of the University were so varied and manifold that it is impossible to review them all in a brief notice.

Sir Asutosh was an orthodox Hindu in religion and used to have different pujas, particularly the great Durga Puja, in his Bhowanipore house every year. In social matters he had progressive views and it was with almost unique courage that he overlooked the orthodox Hindu opinion and had his widowed daughter of tender age remarried. Sir Asutosh suffered a good deal for its courage but he never grudged that. In his mode of living he was a Bengali

of Bengal. Except for his scholarship and deep knowledge he had nothing of the West in him.

The death of Sir Asutosh removes one of Bengal's greatest and most forceful figures, and it will be difficult to fill his place not only as a jurist and a man of letters but also as a public-spirited citizen with the good of his native city and province as one of the compelling motives of his distinguished and useful life.

High Court Closed.

As a mark of respect the High Court was closed by order of the Chief Justice and the flag was half-masted.

The offices of the Bengal Secretariat, Imperial Secretariat, Corporation offices and the Police offices at Lall Bazar and other public offices and institutions were closed yesterday as a mark of respect to Sir Asutosh's memory.

The shops in Sir Stuart Hogg Market, and the College Street Market and most of the shops in College Street, Wellington Street, Dharrumtolla Street, Harrison Road and Chitpore Road were closed when the news of his death spread.

Business was also suspended by the shop-keepers of Bhowanipore, Kalighat, Shambazar and Belliaghata.

Mofussil Sympathy.

The members of the Hooghly Bar Association, at a meeting held yesterday, recorded their deep sense of sorrow at the sudden and unexpected death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee.

The court of the Additional Sessions Judge, Barisal, was closed yesterday as a mark of respect to the memory of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee.

[*The Statesman*]

A Bolt from the Blue.

It came like a bolt from the blue—the news that Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was no more. The suddenness of the shock was almost paralyzing. Many people were incredulous and thought there must be a confusion with the other Sir Asutosh, whose ashes, alas, are not yet cold. They almost thought, could such a man die who was the personification of power, who had occupied so large a space in the public eye for about a quarter of a century? But the crash is there and nobody knows how terrible it may prove to be. When therefore we say that the void is not likely to be filled, the loss is irreparable—we know and our countrymen know how far removed

is such apprehension from more conventional words usually used on such occasions.

What is Sir Asutosh to Bengal? He is the one Bengali who, perhaps more than any other, represents the best type of our race. He is the one Bengali in whom we had such confidence that wherever he might go, in any part of the world he would make his race respected by the massiveness of his intellect and the force of his personality. He is the one Bengali whom we believed to be competent to cross sword with any adversary. In the present generation of Bengalis none has inspired more terror in the hearts of men and none more confidence. He was variously described as the "Bengal Tiger," the "autocrat," the "generous patron of learning." All these descriptions fitted him in one or other aspect of his character. He was perhaps the most criticised man in all Bengal, but none was more respected by friends and foes alike. He was a Man everybody agreed and there can be no higher tribute. We cannot say that he was a "star," he was so great and yet so near. Among the great folk none was more approachable, none so ready to listen to the humblest and do his bit if he could. No wonder that if the sorrow for the death of no other Bengali in modern times has been more universal, none has also been more personal in its note.

Another reason of the great popularity of Sir Asutosh was that he never pretended to be anything but a Bengali 'Babu.' 'Asu Babu' as he was familiarly spoken of by his countrymen never allowed his great official position, his deep knowledge of the western lore to take away by one jot of the pride that he felt for being born a Bengali. He has done more than any other man, to impress on his countrymen that what is called orthodoxy was not necessarily inconsistent with true culture. The official position he held prevented him from standing forth as the high priest of nationalism but what he has done to foster the new spirit that is abroad through the University and his own personal example is by no means negligible.

But the Bengali in him had transcended the limits of his province. The University of Calcutta which bears so large an impress of his personality he tried to make not merely the centre of provincial culture as most other Universities are, but the disseminator of culture that is also of all India. His broad outlook as the greatest Indian educationist of the day was so much appreciated throughout India that he had the rare distinction of being invited to give the benefit of his advice to other Indian Universities. It seemed that the unique position of an all-India intellectual leadership was about to be created for him when the cruel hand of death snatched him away.

Sir Asutosh gave his best to the Calcutta High Court and the University. The laurels he won in these bodies have earned for him undying fame and shed lustre on the race which is proud to own him. But greater things were expected of him and we all remember the speculations that were rife when he resigned from the High Court. If in office he was formidable to the powers that be, and had used his giant's strength to very good purpose on occasions what could he not do out of office? True he was close upon sixty when he came out in the open arena of public life. But his mind and body were as vigorous as ever. The foremost place in the public life of all India was for him. Sooner or later it was expected he would accept it. But where is he now?

The University that he loved more than his life and for which he gave his best—what will become of it? In the universal grief that is felt almost everybody has expressed his anxiety about its fate. But we think if there is any patriotism in Bengal, if the memory of Sir Asutosh is respected by his countrymen, the University has no reason to fear.

[Forward]

It is with a feeling of profound sorrow that we have to announce the death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. The melancholy event took place on last Sunday evening at Patna where Sir Asutosh had been for sometime past in connection with the Dumraon Case. The news of his sudden death is verily a bolt from the blue. A wail has gone forth from thousands of hearts of his countrymen who have felt the shock. It is impossible to describe adequately the magnitude of the irreparable loss which the country has suffered by the premature death of this great son of India—indeed one of the greatest that India has produced.

It is hardly an exaggeration to say that modern Bengal is mostly to-day what Sir Asutosh chose to make her. Despite what the critics of the Calcutta University might say—we have ourselves also sometimes criticised it—the outstanding fact remains that the main-spring of all our National activities is the University. And it is the genius of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee which has mainly guided and moulded the University of Calcutta. By controlling the educational activities of the Province, Sir Asutosh has exercised the greatest influence over the life and mode of thought of his countrymen. The political, social and moral activities of the people are only the reflections of

the education imparted to our countrymen. And this being the patent fact, he had a large hand in making Bengal what she is. The younger generation of the educated community of the country is more or less his handiwork. In fact, there is scarcely any domain of thought in Bengal which has not been directly or indirectly influenced by this great intellectual giant. The impress of his mind is indelibly inscribed on all the varied activities of the country.

The greatness of Sir Asutosh was manifest in every sphere of his work as a Judge, he enjoyed the unstinted confidence of the litigant public and extorted the love and esteem of the members of the legal profession who at the time of his retirement bore eloquent testimony to his profound legal knowledge, his unbending independence, untiring patience and never-failing courtesy towards them. He had a great discernment of character and talents and nothing gave him greater pleasure than to help any younger man in whom he could detect any special trait of character or a spark of genius. He was cosmopolitan in his appreciation of talents. His address as Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University for several years as well as special addresses to other Universities will ever remain as the monument of his vast erudition and of the deep and abiding interest he always evinced in matters educational. In expounding the intricacies of law as a Judge of the highest tribunal in the province, in guiding the affairs of that learned body—the Asiatic Society of Bengal or in controlling the affairs of the Calcutta University, Sir Asutosh felt equally at home. Bengal has produced greater jurists, greater orators and public men than Sir Asutosh. But she has not given birth to a greater educationist than him. He was a man of most versatile genius but it is as an educationist that he will be chiefly enshrined in the memory of his grateful countrymen. The keynote of his life was the expansion of the domain of culture and thought of his countrymen. He was a genuine patriot who believed that the mainspring of national activities in all directions was the advancement of learning.

Critics have not been wanting who have tried to discredit the work of the Calcutta University and have sought to minimise its utility. They forgot, however, the limitations under which Sir Asutosh had to work. The public has not, perhaps, an adequate conception of the tremendous odds which Sir Asutosh had to encounter in his efforts for the expansion of the various activities of his Alma

Mater so as to enable her to become a perennial source of inspiration and guidance to her votaries. Now that Sir Asutosh has left this world, a great apprehension will naturally be felt for the future work of the University. We find no man on whom his mantle may justly fall. His death is thus nothing short of a national calamity.

The University Act of 1904 which has laid the foundation of the University on a more or less democratic basis owes not a little to the transcendental genius of Sir Asutosh himself. The Post-Graduate Department, the initiation of the Research work by the students, the foundation of the University Law College and the Science College, brought into existence by the princely munificence of Sir Taraknath Palit and Sir Rash Behary Ghose, will ever remain as the undying monuments of his wonderful genius, his great devotion to learning his genuine patriotism.

If the private life of a man gives the real insight into his character, Sir Asutosh was unique also in this respect. Always accessible to the high and low alike, his charming smile and unconventional manners at once created a happy atmosphere in which his visitor would always feel at home. He forgot for the time being that he was in the presence of the "Bengal Tiger." The only effective passport to Sir Asutosh's favour was talent. A few minutes' talk enabled him to find out if there was any worth in his interviewer. And once he was convinced of its existence, Sir Asutosh would be unsparing in his efforts to promote the interest of his visitor. No one had, perhaps, a greater claim to his affection than the student community of the country. He was their best and never-failing friend, guide and philosopher who ever watched their interests with untiring vigilance and patience. He was a Nationalist in the best sense of the term. Either in dress or mode of living, he had a repugnance for foreign imitation.

It is impossible to do justice to the memory of this wonderful man within the narrow compass of a newspaper article. He was justly the pride and glory of India and particularly of this province and Bengal has lost her brightest jewel by the death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. She is distinctly poorer to-day and it is no language of mere convention to say that the premature death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, for he was only 60, is simply an irreparable loss to the country.

He had his failings which are the common lot of human beings.

But these were nothing when compared to the innumerable sterling virtues, which adorned him and which have shed an imperishable lustre on his motherland. It may truly be said of him that taking all for all it will be impossible to find the like of him again. We offer our heart-felt condolence to the bereaved family whose sorrow is shared by the whole nation. May the soul of Sir Asutosh enjoy eternal bliss at the lotus-feet of Sri Bhagaban ! All that was of earth and earthly in him has been consumed by the funeral pyre but the memory of his patriotic work for his country will ever remain a standing monument of his unrivalled genius and his great and warm heart.

[*The Amrita Bazar Patrika*]

Within the short space of three days Bengal has been called upon to suffer the loss of two of her most distinguished sons, that of Sir Asutosh Chaudhuri on Friday and that of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee on Sunday. Both men had been distinguished Judges of the High Court: both had made considerable pecuniary sacrifices in leaving their lucrative practices for the judicial bench: both had recently resigned their judgeships and had returned to their earlier love of advocacy: both were prominent educationists, the one as President of the Council of National Education and the other as the most notable Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University has ever had: both were esteemed by all who knew them. But there, indeed, the catalogue of similarities between these two great Bengalees must cease. In character, in temperament, in personality, in creed and in ways of life the two judges were strikingly in contrast. Sir Asutosh Chaudhuri, though he first graduated at Calcutta University, was very largely a product of Western education. He crossed "the black water" to go to Cambridge and as a Brahmo-Samaj man acted as a link between the East and the West. And though he had been a President of the National Congress and had been in his day a tolerably advanced politician, he always stood for conciliation and compromise. Tactful and kindly, supple in intellect and in ideas, he was an embodiment of that type of Bengalee culture which invites and welcomes the breezes from the West. He was fond of letters and fond of the arts. Endowed with a genius for hospitality and friendship, he kept open house for both

his Indian and European friends alike and by his genial and persuasive influence did much to break down the barriers of racial prejudice.

Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was of another stamp. Orthodox of the orthodox, he had never been to Europe, though as a scholar and a philosopher he had necessarily imbibed certain Western ideas. But he stood above all for the maintenance of a Bengalee culture that should be as little affected as possible by Occidental influences. Nor was a genius for compromise one of the chief characteristics of "the Bengal Tiger." Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was, by temperament, an autocrat and during his long and loving administration of Calcutta University which he served with supreme and self-sacrificing devotion he would brook no contradiction and no challenge to his authority. At an hour when men of all schools of opinion are united in mourning the loss of one whom many hold to be the greatest Bengalee of the present generation, it would be supremely inappropriate to re-open the distressing personal controversy with the Governor of Bengal upon which Sir Asutosh Mookerjee embarked rather more than a year ago. It may, however, be said without injustice or without seeking in the least to detract from the greatness of a towering personality that Sir Asutosh might perhaps have achieved even more than he did for his beloved University—and it is chiefly due to him and to his passion for pure learning, not as a means to an end, but as an end in itself, that Calcutta University has a world-wide reputation in certain branches of knowledge—had he sometimes been of a more accommodating temper.

His position on the judicial bench where he was noted for his learning, his tireless patience, his courtesy, and not least for his staunch independence, coupled with his long labours in the cause of the University, had precluded his adoption of a political career, though some believed that when his work in the Dumraon Raj case at Patna was finished he might then decide to enter political life. Whatever cause he might have elected to espouse would have won a most powerful recruit. A born leader and inspirer of men, and one who was gifted with the faculty of remembering everyone with whom he had ever come into contact, a most valuable asset to the politician, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, had he once thrown the weight of his great personality into the scale, might well have turned the scale in favour of whatever cause his conscience had taught him

to adopt. Of his views upon the present troubled state of politics in Bengal we are ignorant. All we know is that he bravely and successfully opposed the educational boycott preached by Mr. Gandhi in the days when the Non-co-operation movement was at its height. Despotie as he was and ruthless in his opposition to causes or to men with which he was not in sympathy, Sir Asutosh was nevertheless the most approachable of men. He had an eagle eye for merit in others and he was as staunch a friend as he could be stark an enemy. In the present crisis of her fate Bengal can, indeed, ill afford to be deprived of the services of this great genius of whom not one of the least experienced or least shrewd British officials in Bengal once said : " If Swaraj were to come in a night the only chance for Bengal would be a despotism with Sir Asutosh Mookerjee as Dictator. He at least would see to it that the machine moved."

" The death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee removes from the public life of Calcutta a forceful and remarkable personality. As mathematician, scientist, lawyer, judge, and historian he displayed extraordinary versatility, and his enormous capacity for plenty of hard work, with only four hours' sleep a day, enabled him to engage in many activities with a zest and thoroughness beyond the normal. Some of his judgments from the Bench have become classic, and his Vice-Chancellorship of the Calcutta University, dating from 1906 until a few months ago, gave him scope for the exercise of his keenness in educational matters. He certainly rendered valuable services to the University ; but his anxiety to increase numbers regardless of standards, led him to agree to measures which have not tended to improve the University's reputation and have definitely retarded its progress owing to the cheapening of the degree. He devoted much time towards the encouragement of the Post-Graduate courses at the expense of the rest of the University, and he could point in his time to the election of two Calcutta graduates to fellowships of the Royal Society. He was not quite 60 years of age and took practically no interest in politics. Altogether he was a man of an exceedingly wide literary knowledge, his library being one of the finest in India."

. [The Englishman]

The sudden announcement of the death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee who had gone to Patna in connection with the Dumraon case, must have come as a great shock to the country. Possessing as he did a splendid constitution and exceptional vitality it was thought that after his retirement from the Bench he will live for many years to serve his country and his province in his position of greater freedom. But it was not to be. In his death not only Bengal but the whole of India has suffered a heavy loss. He possessed a massive intellect. He was a many-sided man, and as a lawyer, as a mathematician, as an educationist, as a man of affairs, and as a scholar it will be difficult to find in the whole country a man to compare with him. He was nicknamed 'Bengal Tiger' for his fighting qualities and there were not many men who ventured to pitch themselves against him. His services to his province especially in the field of education, were many and in him Bengal has lost one of the most forceful and outstanding personalities. It was a wonder to many how he could find time and energy to do all he did for the Calcutta University as its Vice-Chancellor. He was one of the greatest sons of India which is the poorer by his death. We offer our heartfelt condolence to the bereaved family.

[*The Leader*]

The late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee will be lamented all over India as one of the leading Bengalis of his day. A man of brilliant and versatile intellect, Sir Asutosh was an outstanding example of a type in which Bengal has always been rich. Having at first made his mark by his skill as a mathematician, he proceeded to climb to the Bench of the Calcutta High Court, and to become famous as a patron of Bengali literature and learning in general. It was as Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University that Sir Asutosh was most widely known and did his best work. His labours on behalf of the University were ceaseless and were largely responsible for the striking changes which have taken place in it. When Sir Asutosh was himself a student the University was a mere examining body. He fully realised its limitations and set himself to remedy them by creating University professorships and developing the teaching work and at the same time encouraging research and Post-graduate studies, which in the past were unknown in India. The result has been that

Calcutta now leads in the University world. Much of the research done at Calcutta has been of real value and added to the international reputation of India for culture, and the staff of Calcutta University is the envy of Universities in other parts of India. Unfortunately the cost of the new developments was not correctly estimated, and the overwhelming responsibilities of the University towards education in general in the Bengal Presidency proved too much for it. This led only recently to a deplorable controversy over the finances of the University in consequence of which Sir Asutosh resigned from the Vice-Chancellorship. He retained to the last the high esteem of those who knew him and will be remembered as one of the makers of modern Bengal.

[*The Times of India*]

We have been shocked to hear of the sudden death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. No one suspected that he had been seriously ill, but from the brief message received from Patna it appears that he was suffering from a dilated stomach.

By his death India loses one of her greatest sons, a man whom a remarkable capacity for work and an equally remarkable force of character marked as a born leader. The two fields of work he chose are the High Court and the University of Calcutta. In the first, legal scholarship of an encyclopaedic nature combined with rare sympathy for the weaknesses of human nature made him an ideal judge; while in the second it would not be an exaggeration to say that the Calcutta University is what it is to-day because of Sir Asutosh. Ever since he became Vice-Chancellor Sir Asutosh's sole passion in life has been to fashion and mould the University according to his ideas and to convert his *Alma Mater* into an institution which shall be a monument to the intellect of Bengal and an object of pride for the whole of India. To this cause he unstintingly gave of his best; and whatever differences of opinion some of his countrymen had with him it is indisputable that he had won the regard and esteem of all by the indomitable energy and undaunted courage with which he administered the University.

India is distinctly the poorer by the premature death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, a man whose equal is hardly to be found in the educational world of India. We offer our heart-felt condolence to the bereaved family.

[*The Serravallo*]

Within three days Bengal has become the poorer by the death of two of her most eminent men, who had long been colleagues on Bench of the Calcutta High Court and were both widely known for their services to social and political causes, as well as for distinction in their own profession. Sir Asutosh Chaudhuri had suffered from weak health for some time past and had retired from public activities. Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was apparently still in full vigour and strength when he retired from the bench last December. Resuming practice as a Vakil, he had taken up new duties with all his usual energy and competence, and his untimely end comes as a great shock to the province he had done so much to adorn.

After a University career in which he gave abundant evidence of extraordinary gifts, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee settled down to practice law and to indulge his enthusiasm for the promotion of higher education. Endowed with a rare ability and courage, and possessed of amazing vigour of body and mind, he was built for success in whatever he undertook, and soon became known as an able lawyer and a doughty champion of educational reform. Pursuing both interests with strong tenacity of purpose, he was while yet comparatively young, raised to the highest distinction that each offered, becoming Judge of the Calcutta High Court and Vice-Chancellor of the University. As a Judge he quickly won a deserved success, and was regarded as one of the ornaments of the Calcutta Bench. With learning and acumen, a powerful knowledge of Indian law, and an astounding capacity for work, he added to an already high reputation, and it was matter of universal gratification to his countrymen that he was in due course selected to officiate as Chief Justice of Bengal, the highest honour open to an Indian Vakil.

But Sir Asutosh Mookerjee will be best remembered for his constructive work in education. Identifying himself unreservedly with the reorganisation of University Education consequent upon Lord Curzon's legislation, he was early regarded as a coming power, and his appointment in due course as Vice-Chancellor, in succession to Sir Gooroo Dass Banerjee, was welcomed as a fitting recognition of his courage and labours. It was an old tradition that the Vice-Chancellor should be a Judge of the High Court or some other high officer of State, but the position was regarded as little more than a sinecure, the Vice-Chancellor merely presiding on occasion over meetings to record and appreciate the work done by others. This

tradition was now to be disregarded. The new Vice-Chancellor, abounding in energy and ideas, at once made himself master in his own house, and the dominant power in higher education in Bengal. He trusted no second-hand advice, but himself investigated every department, laboured at every detail, controlled every development, and initiated every improvement, and even those who knew him best marvelled at his prodigious thoroughness. Continued in this office for many years, he built up an almost unassailable position, until at times it was almost forgotten that vigilant criticism is a condition of healthy progress. Even after he ceased to be Vice-Chancellor, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee's influence was undiminished; indeed, his prestige and experience, his membership of many University bodies and committees, and, above all, his position year after year as elected President of the two Post-Graduate Councils which regulate and supervise the highest work of the University, gave him a position little inferior to that of the Vice-Chancellor himself. It was therefore in keeping with general expectation that after the introduction of the reformed Government in 1921, Mr. P. C. Mitter, the first Minister of Education for Bengal, invited him with Lord Ronaldshay's warm approval to resume the Vice-Chancellorship which he held until a year ago.

In his first Convocation Address as Vice-Chancellor Sir Asutosh Mookerjee clearly envisaged the situation that lay before him. The University, he pointed out, would no longer be a mere examining body—not even a federation of colleges; it would be these and more, a centre for the cultivation and advancement of knowledge. To this he devoted his term of office as Vice-Chancellor. Fortune sent to his aid the large Palit and Rashbehary Ghose endowments, and enabled him to build up the University College of Science as the nucleus of a teaching University. The co-operation of all resources for the concentration of higher teaching in the University itself, as distinct from its constituent colleges, was the ideal to which he gave his great energies, and the present organisation of the University is due chiefly to the force and ability with which he pursued his aim. If a University has life within itself, there will always be controversy about great issues, and there are those who have held with equal courage and sincerity that such concentration of higher interests does not make for the mental health of the province. The controversy still endures, the interests of the University and of its Colleges have

not yet arrived at perfect adjustment, and it is a calamity to Bengal that the greatest of its educationalists has passed away at so critical a juncture in its affairs.

It were too long a task to recount Sir Asutosh Mookerjee's other interests and titles to fame. Whether as educationalist, as member and President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, as promoter of Sanskrit congresses, or in a hundred other capacities, he was always dominated by the same generous idea, that the welfare of his country was to be found in the pursuit of knowledge and in contact with intellectual progress the world over. Few will deny that he was the greatest Bengali of his age, with powers and ideals that would have won him equal reputation in any country, and the sympathy of all in Bengal, Indians and Europeans alike, will be with his family in their sorrow.

[*The Statesman*]

The death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee removes from the public life of Calcutta a forceful and remarkable personality. As mathematician, scientist, lawyer, judge, and historian he displayed extraordinary versatility, and his enormous capacity for plenty of hard work, with only four hours' sleep a day, enabled him to engage in many activities with a zest and thoroughness beyond the normal. Some of his judgments from the Bench have become classic, and his Vice-Chancellorship of the Calcutta University, dating from 1906 until a few months ago, gave him scope for the exercise of his keenness in educational matters. He certainly rendered valuable services to the University; but his anxiety to increase numbers, regardless of standards, led him to agree to measures which have not tended to improve the University's reputation and have definitely retarded its progress owing to the cheapening of the degree. He devoted much time towards the encouragement of the Post-Graduate courses at the expense of the rest of the University, and he could point in his time to the election of two Calcutta Graduates to fellowships of the Royal Society. He was not quite 60 years of age and took practically no interest in politics. Altogether he was a man of an exceedingly wide literary knowledge, his library being one of the finest in India.

[*The Pioneer*]

TOUCHING SCENES AT HIGH COURT.

TRIBUTE BY BENCH AND BAR AT HIGH COURT.

Eloquent and sympathetic reference to the memory and career of the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was paid at the High Court on Tuesday, when prior to the work of the day being taken up, all the Judges assembled in the Chief Justice's court room, which was packed with members of the various branches of the legal profession as well as the general public.

Mr. S. R. Das, Advocate-General, on behalf of the Bar said: "It is only a few months since your lordships and the members of the legal profession assembled to bid farewell from the Bench to Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, and to wish him a happy and a long life during his retirement. No one then imagined that we should so soon meet again to bid him an eternal farewell and to mourn his loss. I wish it had fallen to a better man to represent the Bar on this occasion; I feel I am not capable of doing justice in giving expression to the irreparable loss the country has suffered.

"Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was born on June 20, 1864. In 1879, at the age of 15 he matriculated, standing first in the whole university. In 1884, at the age of 20 he graduated with high honours in mathematics. In 1885 he took his M.A. degree, standing first in the whole University in mathematics. In 1886, he sat for the Premchand Roychand Studentship, which was then the most difficult and the highest examination in any subject, and succeeded in winning the handsome scholarship attached to it. He again sat for the M.A. degree in Physics and passed successfully. He then took up the study of law and attended the law lectures at the City College where the present Lord Sinha was one of the lecturers. He also attended the Tagore Law Lectures and for three successive years won the gold medal awarded for proficiency in the subject of the lectures. While still quite a young man, he joined the Asiatic Society of Bengal and his contributions in mathematical subjects attracted the attention of Professor Cayley of Cambridge, on whose recommendation he was nominated a Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh.

ELEVATION TO THE BENCH

"In 1888, he took his B.L. degree, and was enrolled as a vakil of this court. He served his articles under the late Sir Rashbehary Ghose. He continued the studies in law even after he joined the High Court, and in 1894 he received the degree of Doctor of Law from the Calcutta University. In 1898 he was appointed Tagore Law Professor. In the meantime, he had been taking a keen interest in the University, and in 1899 he was elected to represent the University in the Bengal Legislative Council, where he did much useful work in connection with the then Calcutta Municipal Bill. On the Bill being passed he was nominated by the Government, a member of the Corporation of which, I believe, he continued to be a member till his elevation to the Bench. In 1901, he was re-elected to the Council and in 1903 he was elected by the members of the Bengal Council to represent them in the Council of the Governor-General, where he took a very active part in the discussions on the new Universities Bill. In 1904, he was appointed a judge of the High Court.

"His activities had covered a wide field while he was building up a large practice, and we all know the labour and time which that involves. But he made time in spite of his practice to take an active and a conspicuous part in the work of his University, in politics and in municipal affairs. He would even devote his spare time to the solution of mathematical problems, which was one of his hobbies. On his elevation to Bench he was obliged to give up his activities in political and municipal affairs and devoted his entire attention, outside his judicial duties, to the University. In 1906, he was appointed Vice-Chancellor, the second Indian to be appointed to that high office, the first having been the late Sir Gurudas Banerjee. He continued to occupy that position for a number of years. In 1907 he was elected President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, an office to which he was subsequently repeatedly elected. In 1908 he was temporarily relieved of his duties as a judge, and placed on deputation in connection with the re-organisation of the Calcutta University, a task which he took up with his characteristic zeal and thoroughness. In 1909 he was elected President of the Trustees of the Indian Museum, and at about the same time he became President of the Board of Sanskrit Examiners in Bengal. He

was also the founder and president of the Mathematical Society of Bengal which has given considerable encouragement to the study of that subject in Bengal. There is one other matter that I must mention before I come to his retirement from the Bench. It was due to his persuasive eloquence and his great work at the University, that the late Sir Tarak Nath Palit and Sir Rash Behary Ghose were induced to make such munificent donations to the Science College attached to the University.

"A history of his life would not be complete without a mention of the very bold step he took in giving in marriage his widowed daughter. A thoroughly orthodox Hindu in all matters he did not hesitate to risk social persecution when he saw the sad state of his daughter, a widow from childhood. In December 1923 he retired.

A VARIED CAREER

I have now related in very bald terms the main features of the life of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. Can more words however graphic, speak more eloquently of his life and work than the bare facts I have stated. It is only a man of extraordinary talents, of extraordinary industry, of great forcefulness of character, burning with a zeal to make his life of some use to his fellowmen, who could have within the short space of 59 years accomplished all that I have related to you.

"We have had, and we have among us, men who have risen to high fame in the one particular line in which they have specialised. We have, and have had, great physicists, great chemists, great educationists and doctors and lawyers of great eminence. But I know of no one who has taken part in such varied activities as the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee and in every one of which he occupied a prominent position. He was barely sixty years when he died. Bengal—nay India, hoped he had still before him many years of activity for the benefit of his country. But it was not to be. A great man has passed away and we can only bow to the decree of Providence."

"A GREAT MAN."

Babu Basanta Kumar Bose, President of the Vakils' Association, said that he had seen many Indians of very great intellect, but he had

never seen a greater mathematician, or a greater lawyer or a greater judge than Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. Bengal had lost one of its most brilliant sons in modern times.

Mr. Mohini Mohan Chatterji said :—" On behalf of the Incorporated Law Society of Calcutta and generally of the attorneys of your lordships' court, I desire, with your lordships' permission, to associate myself with every word of the warm and eloquent tribute to the memory of the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. The suddenness with which he was struck down by the hand of death while engaged in professional work is an impressive reminder, that in life we are in the midst of death. Sir Asutosh Mookerjee's courageous, persistent and wholehearted labour in many spheres of usefulness evoked, as was natural, a diversity of estimation, but every unlovely thought directed towards him was burnt to ashes on his funeral pyre in the presence of a gathering, unprecedented on such an occasion—a gathering which represented all sorts and conditions of men, irrespective of caste, creed and sect. But the assertion may be made with some confidence, that his memory is, and will long continue to be, an altar flame to enkindle his countrymen with enthusiastic and purehearted devotion to the good of others."

CHIEF JUSTICE'S TRIBUTE.

His lordship, the Chief Justice said :—" As the learned Advocate General has said, it is not six months since we assembled in this court on the occasion of the retirement from the Bench of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. We then paid a tribute to his great ability, his untiring energy, his unceasing work and we expressed the hope that, though he was retiring from the Bench, his life would be spared for many years so that he might serve his country in other capacities. Our hopes have been shortlived for we are here to-day mourning his sudden death.

" There is no doubt that his death, as far as our human limitations enable us to judge, is a great calamity. I think that no one will deny that Sir Asutosh stood prominent among his fellow countrymen. He was the greatest Bengalee of his generation. I do not think I should be wrong if I were to say that in many respects he was the greatest Indian of his day.

"When he retired from the Bench he was in full possession of his great faculties, his mind was indeed a store of knowledge. He was of ripe experience, his energies appeared to be unabated, and his health, though temporarily not so good as usual, was not such as to cause his friends any anxiety. Now India and Bengal are suddenly bereft of his service—services which might and probably would have been, invaluable to the country in many respects. The cause of education in all its branches has lost a staunch friend and an untiring advocate. What the Calcutta University, to which he ungrudgingly devoted so much of his life, will do without him, it is difficult to imagine.

"It has been stated that it was probable that he would take part in politics. His knowledge, experience and powers of debate would have stood him in good stead and might easily have led him to a prominent position in public life, which would have given him an opportunity of influencing the future of this province, and perhaps of India itself. The loss, therefore, which the country has sustained through the death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee is indeed a severe one. It will be difficult if not impossible to find any one, who will adequately fill the gap caused by his death.

"We deeply regret his death for reasons of a public nature, we mourn the loss of a friend with whom we have been intimate for many years. We venture to extend our sincere sympathy with the members of his family in the great affliction which has so suddenly and so unexpectedly befallen them."

BY PATNA BENCH AND BAR.

Equally eloquent and sympathetic tributes were paid to the memory of the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee by the Bench and Bar of the Patna High Court. Mr. Manuk and Mr. S. Lal spoke on behalf of the Bar and Vakils' Associations respectively.

TRIBUTE BY CHIEF JUSTICE.

The Chief Justice, Hon. Sir Dawson Miller said :—"On behalf of bench I desire earnestly to express our deep regret at the sorrowful event which you and Mr. Manuk have referred to in such moving terms. Only a few days ago Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was amongst

us taking an active part in our discussions and to all outward appearances in full vigour of his manhood. Thought of death must have been as remote from his mind as it was from minds of those with whom he was in daily intercourse. To-day with appalling suddenness he has passed away from us for ever but the memory of his great personality remains so strongly impressed upon us all who have been so intimately associated with him in these last months of his life that it is difficult to believe that he is no longer with us. The shock of his sudden death has been so great that it is hardly possible yet to realise the full force of loss which not only his friends but the whole of legal profession, I may say the whole of India has sustained by his untimely death. Although after many years of a brilliant career as a judge of the Calcutta High Court he had retired from the bench and had earned if anyone had right to rest for a time from his labours. I know from a conversation I had with him only last week that he was still looking forward to many years of a useful career to be spent in the interests of his fellow countrymen and especially in the furtherance of welfare of the Calcutta University to which he had already devoted so much of his time and energy and which was an object very near to his heart. Although more eloquent tongues than mine will at proper time do justice to his achievements and to his character, I may say that the name of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee is a household word throughout the High Courts of India. His judgments were invariably lucid and a masterful exposition of law on every subject with which they dealt. They had only to be read to feel at once how difficult it would be to arrive confidently at any conclusion. They had only to be quoted to command universal respect. Associated with him as we on this bench have been for the last four months we could not fail to be impressed by his keen intellect, his quick grasp of essentials and his power of lucid exposition, nay more it would be impossible not to be impressed by his commanding personality but perhaps of the qualities which most impressed itself upon me during the time which we have had advantage of his assistance in dealing with a long and intricate case, was one which is not always conspicuous in a person of great intellectual power and strong character. I refer as you have referred Mr. Manuk to his unfailing courtesy and kindly feeling which he has exhibited on all occasions. But his loss after those months of close association with him I almost feel as if I had lost a personal

friend. His loss to those more intimately connected with him is inestimable. My feeling at this moment are too tense to say anything more. On behalf of the bench I desire to express our profound sympathy with Lady Mookerjee and his family who have been left behind to mourn his loss. Out of respect to his memory, the Court to-day will be closed for further business.

CONDOLENCE MEETING AT BHOWANIPUR

Eloquent and touching tributes to the memory of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee were paid at a meeting held at Harrish Park on Wednesday evening under the auspices of the South Calcutta Congress Committee and attended by thousands of men. Babu Basanta Coomer Bose presided. A water colour portrait of the "Bengal Tiger" decorated with garlands was placed on an elevated table. The proceedings of the memorial meeting commenced with the reading of two poems specially composed for the occasion.

In moving the resolution giving expression to the deep sense of sorrow suffered by the people of Bhowanipur at the sudden and untimely death of Sir Asutosh, one of the greatest and noblest sons of India, and expressing condolence with the members of the bereaved family. Justice C. C. Ghose said that they met there in the shadow of a great calamity—in his judgment the greatest calamity that had fallen in this country within the last fifty years. A prince among men—a man among men—had suddenly been called by his Master to the region beyond the known at a time when his services, if ever they were in requisition, were more in requisition at the present moment than at any time in the history of India.

Sir Asutosh is no more. Their hearts were filled with grief unspeakable—no words in the vocabulary of any language that they were familiar with, whether English, Bengalee, Hindi, Urdu or Persian, he was certain, were adequate to give expression in a fitting manner to the depth of the sorrow that had been evoked throughout the length and breadth of this vast Indian Peninsula. He had seen the official telegrams which had poured in Calcutta from south, north, east and west. They proclaimed in one voice that the people of this country had really been stricken down

by the passing away of this great man. Of his own personal relations with the illustrious deceased he dared not trust himself to speak in any gathering great or small. But what was the secret of the influence which the deceased exercised over the general masses of his countrymen. He had received an ovation in death which he never received in life, great as had been the ovations which had been accorded to him in life. As far as his small and limited experience enabled him to say he had never seen a crowd moved as the crowd was which assembled at Howrah station on the morning of Monday last, a crowd each member of which felt that he had suffered a deep personal loss, a crowd each member of which felt that all that he or she could do was to pay a silent tribute of genuine respect and reverence to the memory of the illustrious dead and to have a last lingering look at those features which were delineated in the picture which they saw before them. Never were the members of the various sections of the community more united than when they repaired to the burning ghat and stood in silent reverence to the memory of the great departed. But he was asking them if he might, what was the secret of the influence which the great man probably unknown to himself exercised over the minds of his countrymen? The secret lay in this that he had fixed his eyes steadfastly and continuously upon that ideal which was so near to his heart, namely, that one day his countrymen, his dumb countrymen might be so elevated through the process of education not naturally English education but through the process of education that they would one day sooner if possible, but surely one day occupy a place in the commonwealth of nations respected at home and feared abroad. That was the ideal which that great man had set. Secondly in the execution of the great purpose of his life his motto was 'whatever thy hand giveth do it with all thy might.' He was a hater of careless and slipshod work. Whatever he did, great or small, he did it well and he did it with a self-sacrifice which was beyond parallel.

Referring to his daily routine of work Mr. Justice Ghosh said that those who had experience of his work at High Court would bear him out that after his work at High Court Sir Asutosh had energy, herculean energy, left in him to work in the University every day till 9 o'clock with a devotion, should he say with affectionate devotion, the interests of his countrymen which if it were reproduced in the rising generation even to the extent of one-twentieth part would bring them

nearer to that goal for which he set his eyes. What he wanted was that his countrymen should be possessed of character, character in the higher and wider sense of the word, character which aimed that a man should be able to stand on his own feet, erect and fearless. He only feared the divine providence whose ways were inscrutable and to whose decree they had bowed on Monday last but fear of man, however exalted the man might be, whether he belonged to the race the colour of which was white or to a race the colour of which was black or brown he had none.

He was, if the speaker could touch upon that aspect of his life, an intensely religious man. Those of them who were privileged to be admitted into the secrets of his inner life knew what influence religion exercised upon him. He was an intensely religious man and this was the speaker's conviction and this was his abiding faith that his strength came from religion because Sir Asutosh realised that without true religion which did not consist in merely going to the church or temple, religion which consisted in a pure daily life, religion which consisted in the performance of duty, social and moral, nothing could be done. It was as he had said his abiding faith and conviction that Sir Asutosh's strength came from the Most High, that his strength came from the Divine Dispenser of what was good and true. And he felt almost everyday of his life that so long his health and strength were spared to him his God would never fail him. And therefore he wanted his countrymen to be possessed of character—character which would come from the cultivation of the natural talents of the man, character which would come through education. He wanted his countrymen to be possessed of true character of that religious spirit without which no work however great or small was ever successful in this world.

Sj. N. C. Chandra.

Babu Nirmal Chandra Chundar on rising to speak said that he was very grateful to the departed great, for his relations with him were very cordial and he was unable to speak any further as his heart was filled with bitter mental agony. Babu Prafulla Kumar Chakrabarty remarked that it was on Monday last that he felt that Sir Asutosh wielded so much influence over his countrymen. The gap caused by his demise would not soon be filled up. When Sir Asutosh left the High Court, they fondly expected that he would devote his time and energy for the good of the country in a wider sphere, but all their

hopes were dashed to pieces. The bold stand of Sir Asutosh before Lord Curzon in the Calcutta University reform showed how an independent man at the helm of affairs could withstand insurmountable odds and ends.

Babu Anil Baran Roy said that the first thing which struck him most at the Howrah Station was that when they had learnt to honor and pay homage to such a man their goal was near. Firmness, and not vacillation was the keynote of his life. Unlike most of the Bengalees who had no grim determination, but only "Hujug," Sir Asutosh would stick to his work with leech-like devotion. The speaker then narrated how Sir Asutosh told him that "like steam-roller work must be done."

His whole life was a life lived after that ideal. Independence, Anil Babu remarked was wedded to his life. Unlike others, Sir Asutosh did not sell his conscience when patted on his back by the powers that be. He did not care for the frowns or favours of the Bureaucracy and his whole life's activity was a typical instance of that.

Babu Sriish Chandra Chatterjee said that the best and noblest way of reviving the memory of Sir Asutosh would be to follow in the footsteps of the illustrious deceased. He then said that his deep and genuine love for Indian dress showed the metal of which he was made. It was Sir Asutosh who had made Bengali an optional subject up to B.A. Examination of the Calcutta University.

Babu Subhas C. Bose on rising to speak, said that he was grateful to Sir Asutosh Mookerjee for being able to speak in Bengali and for this they should forever be so.

Sj. Subhaschandra Bose.

The main cause of their sorrow was that they expected much of Sir Asutosh then, not that they would have been a bit less sorry even if he had died later, but that their sorrow was now greater inasmuch as they expected that his whole time, unsurpassed intellect and undaunted energy would be consecrated towards the emancipation of their motherland. Even on the 27th May some people enquired as to when Sir Asutosh would join the Congress. Whether they agreed with the teaching of the Calcutta University was altogether a separate thing but the one thing which he had done was that the University was solely in the hands of Bengalees. The Calcutta

University could not be destroyed when the storm of N. C. O. blew over the country since the people had faith in Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. They might not agree with him, but it could not be gainsaid that many people had faith in him.

The chief trait in his character was his towering personality, the like of which could not be found in Bengal, India and rarely in the world. He had a soft corner in his heart for young men, but that was not the reason why his was a bye-word, in the country. There were leaders who loved young men, but his personality was the greatest of all. Many of their countrymen who had not high posts in the Government did not always maintain their self-respect, but that could not be said of Sir Asutosh. He under all circumstances, kept his dignity and prestige intact. His daily life showed how he behaved with Europeans, and his latest tussle with Lord Lytton would be written in letters of gold.

Young men were always easy of access to him. One day's acquaintance would enable him to appreciate the worth of a student. He then appealed to the young men to emulate the teaching of the illustrious deceased.

The President said that Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was the greatest jewel of India. The place left vacant by him could never be filled up for many years to come, if at all. In his lifetime he had seen many great educationists, great lawyers, great judges but he had never seen a greater educationist, a greater lawyer and a greater judge than Sir Asutosh Mookerjee.

Then Babu Hemendra Nath Das Gupta moved the following resolution which was carried unanimously all standing. That this meeting of the inhabitants of South Calcutta grieved at the sudden demise of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, the pride of Bengal and one of the greatest men of India, offer their heart-felt condolence to the bereaved family.

A copy of the resolution was also sent to the eldest son of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee.

After the meeting had terminated the garlanded photo of the savant was taken in a procession to his house.

THE LATE SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE.

Last week we announced the illness at Patna of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. Little did we then know that this week it would be our painful duty to record the end of his great career. On Sunday last at about a quarter past six in the evening, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee in the height of his glory, in the plenitude of his powers and of his authority, breathed his last. He was stricken down in the midst of his work, a martyr if ever there was one, to conscience and to industry. No man in our time has been more justly beloved by his family and his friends. By the unsearchable counsels of the Disposer of Events he has been called suddenly and without warning to his account. We are still dazed under the blow which has befallen us. It is too soon, as yet, even to attempt to realize its full meaning, but this, at least, we may say at once and with full assurance that he has left to his people a memory and an example which they will never forget—a memory of great opportunities greatly employed and an example which the humblest of his countrymen will treasure and strive to follow, of simplicity, courage, self-denial, tenacious devotion, up to the last moment of conscious life to work, to duty and to service.

It is difficult, perhaps it is impossible to define or even to explain the subtle power of his personality. He had none of the vulgar marks of a successful leader either of thought or action. He founded no school, nor was he the author or the apostle of any system, constructive or even ethical. In a sense it is true that he left behind no disciples and to those who think that no man can stamp his impress upon his generation unless he is either a dogmatist or a partisan his great career will be a constant puzzle. But to those who knew him and saw him in his daily life as an erudite and patient judge of the Calcutta High Court or as the most powerful Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University the secret of his power is no mystery. We cannot hope to see again the counterpart of that gigantic mind in whose presence intellectual lethargy was stirred into life and intellectual pretentiousness sank into abashed silence. Still less can we hope to see a character such as his, the union of worldly sagacity with the most transparent simplicity of nature, an intelligence keen and unsleeping, but entirely detached and absorbed in the

fortunes of the great institution of the Calcutta University. Upon his generosity no call could be too heavy, with his delicate kindness he was ever ready to give the best hours of either the day or the night to help and to advise the humblest of those who appealed to him for aid. These are the qualities or some of the qualities which were the secret of his personality. On the moral, as on the intellectual side he had endowments rare in themselves, still rarer in their combination. No man of our time, and few men of any time can be more truly said to have lived for the sake of his work.

Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, in whatever environment of circumstances or condition he might have been placed would have been, as he was always and everywhere a great and dominant personality. As a judge he has left his impress upon the administration of justice in India by his legal lore and wide and extensive knowledges of the development of legal institutions. We had in him an arbiter ripe in experience, judicial in temper, at once a reverent worshipper of our traditions and a watchful guardian of our liberties. As the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, as a Syndic and a Senator for over thirty years, he has earned the gratitude and affection of millions of Bengali students for whose sake the best energies of his great life were given. Both the country and the Calcutta University are the poorer by his death. Bengal has lost in him a man of letters, who did more than any one to unlock to Bengalis the treasure-house of their literature. It is as difficult for us to think of the Calcutta University without Sir Asutosh as it would have been to think of Sir Asutosh without the Calcutta University. For the best part of 40 years, their lives have been closely entwined and we shall not be guilty of exaggeration if we say that during this time his character and influence more than any other single force have been the thread which has connected unbroken the continuous identity of the University of Calcutta and bound together successive generations of students. That thread worn out by ceaseless service has snapped.

Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, perhaps of all men of this generation came nearest to the mould and ideal of manhood which every Indian would like, his son aspire to and if possible to attain. The bounty of nature enriched and developed not only by early training but by constant self-discipline through life blended in him gifts and graces which taken alone are rare and in such attractive union rarer still

Body, mind and character, each made its separate contribution of faculty and of experience to a many-sided and harmonious whole. What he was, he gave, gave with such ease and exuberance that it may be truly said of him that wherever he moved he seemed to radiate vitality and charm. He was, as we all know, a strenuous fighter. He has left behind no resentments and no enmities, nothing but a gracious memory of a manly and winning personality, the memory of one who served with an unstinted measure of devotion his generation and his country.

It is such a career that has been cut short while still in the exercise and promise of unexhausted powers and possibilities. Providence, in its wisdom, has given him sudden release from his burden of care and toil. He has been snatched away in what we thought was the full tide of a buoyant life, still full of promise and of hope. What more can we say? We can only bow once again before the decrees of the Supreme Wisdom. Those who loved him—and they are countless—in all schools of opinion, in all ranks and walks of life when they think of him will say to themselves:—

“ This was the happy Warrior; this was He,
That every Man in arms should wish to be.”

[*The Behar Herald*]

BENGAL IN MOURNING.

Bengal has sustained an irreparable loss by the sudden death in quick succession of two of her foremost sons. In Sir Aentosh Choudhury Bengal loses a gentleman ‘to the manner born,’ an erudite scholar, an imperial judge and a life-long worker in the cause of social and political reform—and more especially in the cause of National Education. The Council of National Education started in Bengal in the hey-day of the Swadeshi agitation of 1905 owes not a little of its brilliant success to the sage counsel and unwearied vigilance of Sir Choudhury. In fact, after the death of the late lamented Sir Rashbehary Ghose, the piloting of this indigenous effort was left mainly to the illustrious gentleman whose loss we mourn to-day. The National Council of Education has now opened out a big Technical College with modern equipments and buildings on an extensive plot of land within a few miles’ distance from Calcutta: and this will be a more enduring testimony to Sir

Choudhury's life-work than any monument in colour or marble. Alongside of this beneficent work, Sir Choudhury was an ardent believer in the cause of female education and temperance and was ably helped by his illustrious spouse (now deceased). In Politics Sir Choudhury was an honest independent: it was he who had the insight and courage to speak out at Burdwan "A subject nation has no politics"—meaning, we believe, that constitutional mendicancy, the way of the moderate, had no place in any sincere effort at India's getting rid of slavery. He attended the eventful Nagpur Session of Congress and though later on he entered the reformed Council in Bengal, he was shrewd enough not to go in for any of the Ministerships, though as Minister for Education he would have shone out much better than the gentleman who ultimately ran the Education portfolio. Honestly speaking Sir Choudhury stood in a class apart—the pink of refined courtesy and a patriot—working for his country within the limitations of his training and temper, a finished scholar and a gentleman of true Indian tone and tint. Bengal's life is very much the poorer by the loss of such a personality.

In Sir Asutosh Mookerjee not only Bengal but entire India is a loser. Mathematician, jurist, judge, educationist, a Bengalee to the tips, fearlessly independent and aggressively nationalistic in inner mind and outer habits and habiliments, dictator and organiser of Bengal's University life for at least a quarter century, patron and protector of scholars and savants of the old school and the new, the students' eternal refuge. Asutosh Mookerjee did more for the intellectual Bengal of the present generation than any other single man. He adroitly resisted the Curzonian efforts at repressing higher education in Bengal: he made, by unwearied effort and skilful distribution of patronage and power and by sheer grasp of the fundamentals as well as details of University problems, of the Calcutta University, a magazine of power, "a state within a state," a miniature replica of Swara'. He fought Bureaucratic influences at Calcutta-Darjeeling and Delhi-Simla with annoying success, observing the rules of the game much better than his adversaries: he broke down the Civilian and European ring-fence of autocracy in the realms of Higher Education for ever: he opened out promising careers of research and advanced study and teaching for brilliant Indians of all Indian provinces on an Indian scale of remuneration and gave a big impetus

to Indian subjects : he gave an important place to all Indian Vernaculars in the University curricula—and he had been engaged in changing the University from an Examining Body to a more or less residential type fostering corporate life and higher research with increasing public support and sympathy. As a member of the Sadler Commission, it is an open secret that he influenced the whole show by tactful handling and superior resources of an informed intellect. His manly stand against the unseemly overtures of Lord Lytton with regard to the Vice-Chancellorship has become by now a matter of history and his spirited letter of remonstrance is now literature.

His sudden death removes one of the most arresting figures of modern India and is a serious blow to the cause of Indian Education.

Sir Mookerjee's encyclopædic knowledge of law is matter of common knowledge and his learned judgments are models of concentrated legal acumen and scholarship ; his general scholarship were extensively varied and his later passion seems to have been historical and archaeological studies favourable to the new Indian renaissance as much as higher mathematical and scientific researches. In matters social he was an orthodox Hindu and yet stood rooted to the real principles of the Hindu Samaj which transcends mere *Desachara*, the temporary adjustments of passing days : so that he felt in honour bound to remarry his daughter who had been widowed shortly after the first marriage and he stuck to his guns unbowed by blasts of popular prejudice and orthodox hue and cry. Born in an unlucky country, the play-ground of extra-Indian power and greed, Sir Mookherji kept his ideals high, his life unsullied, his domestic relations pure and sweet—and kept autocracy at bay. He was a man of blood and iron ; a true Bismarckian type, a brilliant student of human psychology, a past master in the management of men, a real kshatriya in the guise of a Brahmin, swaying circumstances to his will, an idol of the people, a terror to entrenched privilege—he would have risen to the very highest position in the country under a Swaraj Government. His memory of names and faces was wonderful : his grasp of details was the envy and the despair of his opponents : his strong, hilarious optimism disarmed opposition and carried everything before it : *relentless as Fate, beneficent as the Seasons, his will was indomitable*. His very faults were the excess of his strong virtues. The *Bengal Tiger* is dead : the man who rhinoceros-like traversed the ways of fruitful work is no more : may he in his new incarnation emerge as

a Lion, the undisputed master of the four corners of a Resurgent India! From this distance, across the foamy waters of the Bay, Indians of all classes in Burma will join in the chorus of wail that will be voiced from one end of Bengal to the other, that will reverberate in all Indian centres of culture and education, at this loss which cannot be repaired. For who could hope to step into the shoes of the illustrious deceased?—all India has not his equal, in his specific field of work. We send out, with hearts heavy-laden, condolences to the bereaved family. May God take His faithful Servant to His bosom! And may He prosper the Indianised University of Bengal, the legacy of a life's work left to posterity by Sir Asutosh Mookherji!

[*Rangoon Mail*]

THE LATE SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE.

It is with the deepest regret that we have to record the unexpected death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee just announced by the Associated Press. This sad news following immediately the death of Sir Asutosh Chowdury has had a shocking effect on the public mind as it removes two of the best sons of the present generation from the public life of Bengal. Not only people in Bengal but all Indians will deeply mourn the death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, the most distinguished leader and patriotic worker of Bengal. Sir Asutosh Mookerjee only recently retired from the Calcutta High Court, after completing a distinguished career in the Bench for about two decades. He would have completed the sixtieth year next June but it was understood that for some private reason he retired a little earlier than the scheduled time. Sir Asutosh is perhaps best remembered as a distinguished scholar and "father" of modern education in Bengal. All that he did for the reform of the Calcutta University and his valuable work in connection with the Calcutta University Commission are matters that cannot be dealt with in a brief paragraph. It is he who practically made the University of Calcutta what it is at present. At one time it was regarded that it was impossible to think of Sir Asutosh apart from the University: he was so deeply identified with it. After a distinguished career in the University, in which he never stood second in his life, he

entered the Bar and in an incredibly short time he commanded a high practice in the Calcutta High Court on the appellate side as he was barred from the original side being a Vakil. In recognition of his high talent he was raised to the Bench from which he retired in December last. He was engaged in the famous Dumraon Raj case at Patna. He was an orthodox Brahmin, but his orthodoxy was based upon deep study of religion and enlightened conduct in social sphere. In spite of great social opposition he had the courage to marry his daughter a second time after she became a widow very early. He was a member of the Imperial Legislative Council during the Viceroyalty of Lord Minto in the pre-reform days. He has left four sons, the eldest being a Vakil of the Calcutta High Court and a Senator—a daughter and wife. We offer our condolence to the bereaved family in their sorrow.

[*The Tribune*]

SIR ASUTOSH MUKHERJEE.

The news of the death of Sir Asutosh Mukerjee, which occurred yesterday at Patna whither he had gone to conduct the famous Dumraon case will cast a gloom all over India, but the shadow will be deepest in Bengal, the scene of his beneficent life-work. His tireless efforts for the welfare of the Calcutta University, and the resultant achievements furnish a great and inspiring example of what one man of energy can do in his own lifetime to promote the cause of education in his country. His tenacity and even his occasional ferocity in defence of things which he thought worthy of defence earned him the nickname of 'The Tiger of Bengal ;' but the nickname was not given in abhorrence as was the case with the nickname of another "tiger," but in admiration of his courage and tenacity. Sir Asutosh was for many years a Judge (and for some time acting Chief Justice) of the Calcutta High Court, a post which he resigned less than a year ago in order to devote himself entirely to his work for his beloved University, of which he has been many times Vice-Chancellor. He was a member of the famous Calcutta University Commission ; and in his more recent correspondence with Lord Lytton, always in defence of the University, he won fresh laurels in the opinion of all Indians. The Post-graduate scheme of the Calcutta University was his work. In fact he loved

and cared for the University as a husband loves and cares for his bride ; and his death must leave that institution in a widowed state. Sir Asutosh was sixty years of age. His death was sudden, for he was ill only for four days previously, and the serious turn the illness took was not anticipated. His memorial is the Calcutta University. All India sorrows with Bengal to-day for the loss of one whose service to Bengal reflected glory on all India.

[*The Bombay Chronicle*]

The death of Sir Asutosh Mukerjee deprives India and particularly Bengal of not only a great lawyer and distinguished judge but also of an eminent educationist and courageous patriot. He was one of the most forceful personalities of his day in the province and with his versatile genius indomitable will and rare energy easily became the master in every sphere of work he chose to enter in the service of his country. This brought him the reputation of a self-willed autocrat and gave room for various charges being levelled against him by his colleagues and opponents. But judged by the solid work he has been able to show to his credit and the stupendous nature of the obstacles he overcame by his zeal and determination, winning not a few victories against the bureaucracy who stood in his way, we must say he used his strength and qualities on good and noble purpose. It was he more than any other man in Bengal who made the Calcutta University what it is at the present day. The passion with which he desired freedom from official interference for our Universities was seen from the courageous fight that he put up as Vice-Chancellor, with Lord Lytton and his Education Minister before he resigned his post. He had a high conception of the functions of a University and his incessant labours in connection with reforming the Calcutta University bore fruit not only in reconstructing the latter into an edifice which challenges comparison, judged by other tests than examinations with any advanced University in Europe, but also inducing other provinces to take up to University reform and reconstruction with a zeal and earnestness unknown in the history of Indian educational progress, so far. His contribution to the cause of Indian educational renaissance was thus epoch-making and his loss at a time when much still remains to be done should be considered irreparable.

[*The Hindu*]

It is with profound regret that we have to record elsewhere the death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, which sad event took place at Patna on the 25th evening. Sir Asutosh had been on a visit to that City in connection with the Dumraon case, but acute dilation of the stomach developed during the last three or four days, and the end came last Sunday evening quite unexpectedly. A pallor of gloom will descend over the whole country at the news of the death of this illustrious Indian; for Sir Asutosh stands among the greatest of India's cultured sons, as one who has worked hard and well in the arduous task of the Nation-building. His sterling independence, demonstrated many times in the course of the fights he had to put up on behalf of the Calcutta University with both the Central and Bengal Governments, had won for him the title, 'The Tiger of Bengal'; but with his independence, Sir Asutosh combined a versatility and culture which very few can claim. His legal learning was profound; as an authority on mathematics he occupied a very distinguished place, and there are to his credit many books on that subject; his acquaintance with the ancient learning of the Hindus was deep and considerable.

Born in June, 1864, Sir Asutosh was educated in the Presidency College and later the City College, Calcutta, from which he took his B.A. degree in 1884. He stood first in Mathematics in the M.A. examination next year. In 1886, he won the Prema-chand Roychand Studentship, and in the meanwhile joined the Asiatic Society making contributions in mathematical subjects to the press, which have been since incorporated in the text books of the Cambridge University. In 1888 he was enrolled as a Vakil, and from 1887-92, was Professor of Mathematics at the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science, while, in 1897, he was appointed Tagore Professor of Law at the Calcutta University.

It was but fitting that upon such a man, honours should have fallen thick. 1899 saw him a representative of the University in the Bengal Council, to which he was again returned from that constituency in 1901. In 1903, the contest for the Bengal seat in the Imperial Council was between the Maharaja of Darbhanga, Sir Surendranath Banerji and Sir Ashutosh, and the latter came out successful. His opposition to the Official Secrets Bill and his strong support of the Universities Bill are well-known, and his work on the Council terminated only by his elevation to the Bench of

the Calcutta High Court in 1904. As a Judge, Sir Asutosh has fully sustained the high traditions of the Calcutta High Court, and his judgments have been always looked upon as weighty, and full of learning, serving to develop Indian law in all its branches. His retirement from the Bench took place only a few months back.

There is one aspect of Sir Asutosh's activities to which especial attention should be drawn, and that is as the executive head of the Calcutta University, as its Vice-Chancellor, since 1906. It is not too much to say that to Sir Asutosh mainly, the University owes its premier position in India; and the gain has been not only that of Calcutta but of all India, for Sir Asutosh's example as a zealous guardian of educational freedom has had a stimulating effect on the country. His service on the Calcutta University Commission, the Indian Universities Commission and similar bodies, is a matter of educational history. Sir Asutosh's contributions to Indian National life, educational, cultural, juridical, have been truly great. His simplicity has been a marked feature, and of him it can be said that he led a life of plain living and high thinking. As President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, his contribution to Oriental learning, to the task of unveiling to the West and Westernised Indians the glory of India's past has been immense. Though he has been removed from us by the hand of Providence—sixty is not an advanced age, even for an Indian—the memory of his life, so great and lofty, yet so simple, will be treasured for long by his grateful countrymen.

[*New India*]

The demonstration on Monday, paying respects to the earthly remains of the illustrious Sir Asutosh Mookerjee and expressing grief at his demise, had no parallel, quite in keeping with the *non pareil* nature of the man. The list of the mourners admitted of no distinction, not only as to religious persuasions, creed or colour, but also as to friend or enemy, admirer or detractor and vilifier. His unique greatness closed all ranks and formed the entire Indian population into a homogeneous whole. The extremely tragic suddenness of his exit from various fields of earthly activities, particularly from the University, which is in a state of transition, is such as to fill all thinking minds with misapprehension in reference to the future. But as fatalist and optimistic Hindus having an unlimited

and unshakable confidence in providence being the fountain-head of pure good, we gather consolation from the belief that it is He, who has summoned his servant to eternal rest, of course not a moment too previously, for to think so would be a sin, will bless his surviving lieutenants and comrades and give them strength enough to fight to a finish the war that he leaves unfinished against the enemies of Indian progress up in arms to reduce Calcutta University to a state of dependence. We conclude with our expression of hearty condolence to Sir Asutosh's bereaved family, whose burden of grief will, we hope, be lightened by the whole nation bearing it as one man.

[*The Telegraph*]

POOR BENGAL.

Bengal is peculiarly unfortunate in losing her greatest son of the age, at a time when he had cast off the fetters of Government service and was prepared to give all his time for the service of the mother. He had not yet completed his sixtieth year and was in full vigour of body and mind; no change took place in his health that might give the slightest hint that the earthly career of the person, whom the people in all spheres of activity looked forward to for counsel and guidance, would close now. This however came with such dramatic suddenness that the news as flashed by Associated Press stunned all Bengal. The sense of loss caused by the death of Sir Asutosh Chaudhuri, which took place on Friday, plunged the people in profound grief, and, just two days after, the nation was confronted with the news that Sir Asutosh Mookerjee passed away at Patna. The affairs at Tarakeswar are crying for counsel from him. The political field is demanding his leadership. The University has to be re-organized and its affairs re-adjusted. But where is Sir Asutosh? From Patna his presence here was requisitioned at least once a week, and the business of the University, that had waited for him being released altogether from the case at Patna, is still waiting. But where is Sir Asutosh? He is translated to that plane, where there is no sting of malice, no animosity, no underhand, surreptitious dealing and no undertone tale-bearing and eaves-dropping. But is this time for the translation of the person, who is a *sine qua non* to Bengal? Who is there to take his place, particularly

in the affairs of the University? Who is there to smooth angularities of Government? Where is the man to "stand above all for the maintenance of a Bengalee culture that should be as little affected as possible by occidental influences?" Who is to be the mainspring of the University and to supply the motive power? Who is there with the regulations at his fingers' ends and with the history of the last 30 years to the minutest particulars so much at his command? How is then the University to be re-organised and re-constructed? The senators have so long strenuously fought under the generalship of the deceased worthy against attempts at demolishing the autonomy which has ever been the privilege of Calcutta University. Will that autonomy be kept intact, or will it be a thing of the past, and the autonomous Institution reduced to a Government department? The *Englishman*, while paying due respects to the departed great man for his genius and for his towering personality, makes a reference to his autocracy and says that, but for that autocracy, he could have served the cause of the University even better. But this leads us to the question—Will democracy be able to steer the vessel of the University to the great goal, which the autocracy of the departed great man has set up before it? Calcutta University, as it is, is a unique Institution. How much greater would it be, if the goal for which Sir Austosh was steadily working, were reached. But, if, instead, a less ambitious project were adopted with no regard for the high and lofty ideal of the deceased sponsor, then it would mean nothing short of a disaster, which every son of Ind and everyone, who has the welfare of this country at heart, ought to exert his utmost to avoid. All Calcutta was in mourning on Monday and all India must be mourning his loss. But this feeling of grief and the exhibition of it will rather be a source of uneasiness to the high soul if the mourners finish their portion by weeping and do not pledge themselves to the leading of the University to its goal with its autonomy and high ideals quite intact. It behoves all classes, in the same way as they have done honour to his memory, to be united like one man to support his scheme and his ideal so that his beloved Institution, that he leaves in a state of imperfection—a factor which must be a source of solicitude to the departed soul, may be led to its goal in the fulness of glory and triumph.

THE LATE SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE.

The gloom in which the demise of Sir Asutosh Chaudhuri had plunged the public had scarcely time to abate, when it was overwhelmed on Monday morning last by the newspaper announcement of the death at Patna of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. Sir Asutosh Mookerjee retired from the Bench only the other day, in all but full possession of his usual bodily vigour and carrying with him the universal desire that, freed from the trammels of office, he would be able to use his great powers of brain and body, undimmed by age and undiminished by use, in rearing up and rehabilitating the political life of Bengal and through Bengal of India. But the Fates have ordered otherwise, and Bengal stands to-day bereft of her noblest son and stunned by a blow of well-nigh incalculable magnitude. Monday morning, when his remains arrived by rail at Howrah, witnessed a scene unparalleled in the history of this City. The usual communication between Howrah and Calcutta could not be re-established owing to a break-down of the mechanical arrangement of the bridge : but members of the public from High Court Judges to clerks in offices and schoolboys took whatever other means of transport were available to cross in order to obtain a last glimpse of the departed, so large a space did his great personality fill in the thoughts of the population, irrespective of rank and education. This spontaneous exhibition of love and reverence on the part of the general public was suitably responded to by his Lordship the Chief Justice immediately ordering a complete closing of the Court and its offices for the day. The bier was practically taken possession of by the crowd which led it, very appropriately, first to the Senate House of the Calcutta University, to which Sir Asutosh had given of his best, and followed it in procession to the burning ghat at Kalighat, which in the evening presented a spectacle not likely to be repeated within the life-time of the present generation.

Tributes to the memory of the great departed are being paid all over the country, and the newspapers are ringing with expressions of unfeigned sorrow from every quarter. In other columns of this issue will be found those paid on Monday last at the Patna High Court and on the following day at the Calcutta High Court. Nearly every aspect of the deceased's public activities has been suitably recognised in the speeches made on those occasions, and all that

remains for us to do at the present moment is to stress the fact which is apt to be overlooked in all such notices of a man who stood for nearly forty years as the very embodiment of brain, life and power, that his heart was even larger than his brains. The public feel not merely that they have lost a leader, but a friend. The student population of Bengal in particular have lost in him one who loved them as no one else in Bengal has done since the passing of Pundit Vidyasagar. To them and to the members of his bereaved family we offer our sincerest condolence.

[*The Calcutta Weekly Notes*]

The week-end recorded two notable deaths in Bengalee society. On Saturday quietly passed away Sir Asutosh Chaudhuri and on Monday morning all Calcutta was startled by a Patna telegram that Sir Asutosh Mookerjee had died there after a brief illness on Sunday evening. Sir Asutosh Chaudhuri had been bed-ridden for some months past, and for the last few days his end was being momentarily expected. He came of a very ancient Brahmin family of Haripore in Pabna (North Bengal), and was a distinguished graduate of both Calcutta and Cambridge, and when he was called to the Bar and joined the Calcutta High Court his success was almost immediate. But the drudgery of the law could not crush his other noble impulses, and he could always make time to devote a considerable portion of his attention to politics, arts and literature. He was an unsparing critic, but he never hit unfairly. And he never dipped his pen in vitriol. It is more than thirty-five years ago that he first administered a well-directed attack on the methods of the Calcutta University at a meeting of the Chaitanya Library held under the presidency of Mr. Justice Norris, and the attack coming from a pet child of the University served as an eye-opener and its affairs from that day forward ceased to be sacrosanct. In his footsteps many followed in subsequent years. In politics he was a Moderate and during the Partition agitation he was a prominent member of Sir (then of course, Mr.) Surendranath Banerjee's Cabinet.

But all his activities were confined within constitutional limits and even when along with his chief he fretted most he never thought of making a false step and walking into the extremist parlour, then just being fitted up with the necessary tapestry.

Yet as President of the Burdwan Conference, about that period, he let fall the dictum that a "subject-race has no politics"—a dictum upon which the extremist built up the whole fabric of his politics. Sir Asutosh was an ideal father, husband and brother. He was fondly attached to the family and the family fully reciprocated that feeling. In social life he was courtesy personified.

Sir Asutosh Mookerjee's death was quite unexpected. He had been at Patna since his retirement from the Calcutta High Court in connection with the Dumraon case and used to come down to Calcutta for the week-end. The week before the death he was here and his friends found him quite fit and nobody suspected that the shadow of death was deepening upon him. He was a remarkable man of his times and Bengal is distinctly the poorer by his loss. An eminent Judge, Jurist, Mathematician (of European reputation), and an educationist he occupied a very large space in the public life of Bengal. And why of Bengal?

Latterly he used to be looked upon as an All-India national asset. Distinguished Englishmen, who came in contact with him bore admiring testimony to his towering intellect, some going so far as to freely bracket him with men like Lord Haldane. And both Englishmen and Indians were impressed by his sturdy independence in every sphere of life—on the bench or as a member of a departmental committee. Asutosh was no respecter of persons, and in spite of his wide Western culture he was an Indian of Indians. But when his work as a Judge will be forgotten, posterity will gratefully contemplate the Calcutta University as it is to-day as a glorious monument to his genius, for a very considerable portion of his life's activities were bound up with this very ancient seat of English education on this side of India. The University was to him the breath of his nostrils and its expansion on its present lines is his work. He lived, moved and had his being in the University—purely a work of love inspired by the English patriotism of carrying the torch of knowledge to every Bengalee home. And if the University authorities perpetuate his memory—as they must—by a statue, the fitting inscription at the pedestal would be "*Si monumentum queris circumspice.*" Sir Asutosh was a great patron of the merit wherever found and he had many times raised a hornet's nest about his ear over this question of the distribution of patronage. Evil tongues were let loose, slander flew about with unremitting ferocity, hearts

burnt like molten lava in a volcano—but Asutosh's instincts were always clear. He was seldom got hold of by wrong men and they have invariably justified his choice. Bengal has lost one of her greatest sons, and she is in deep mourning.

[*Capital*]

The death of Asutosh Mookerjee causes a gap in the public life of Bengal and India which will long remain unfilled. Among his contemporaries there is no one who can take his place. Among his juniors we do not know of anybody who can do justice to all his various roles even after the lapse of some years of strenuous preparation. Others there are who are eminent in their respective spheres of scholarship, culture, professional work, or public usefulness, but there is no one who is so eminent in so many fields of activity, who is so great a scholar in so many languages and branches of knowledge, so great a professional man, so great a man of affairs and of action, so great an administrator and so great an architect and builder of institutions as Asutosh Mookerjee was in his one but many-sided personality.

The boy Asutosh gave promise of his future greatness. His academic career was brilliant. The present writer remembers him as his senior fellow-collegian at the Presidency College. His one and only brother Hemanta Kumar Mookerjee, long deceased in youth, was our class-fellow. That gave us an opportunity to know Asutosh later somewhat closely. At the Presidency College we knew him as leading orator of the College Union and a student who was reputed to know more than some of his teachers, particularly in some branches of higher mathematics. His looks, his movements, his whole demeanour betokened perfect self-confidence. He was never a fashionable young man, though born of well-to-do parents, and, to our knowledge, never indulged in any luxuries or caught any of the bad habits of the young men of the day, as smoking, etc. He came to college clad in a plain white Panjabi shirt and a *dhoti* of which the plaited front-tuck scarcely or just reached down to his shoes. We do not remember his youthful figure usually or ever carrying a chadar on its broad shoulders; for which reason he was playfully styled President of the Chadar Nibarini Sabha or Society for the Disuse of the Chadar.

There is an anecdote that before finally adopting the law as his profession, he had intended to be a professor, but that he gave up the idea because he was given hopes of an appointment, not in the superior, but in the provincial service by the head of the education

department. As was natural for a young man with such great powers, he could not reconcile himself to occupy a secondary position in the educational department. He would be in the front rank and in the long run first, or he would not be there at all. Had he been given a chair in the superior service, he would certainly have been able to do much notable original work in mathematics, as even while a student he had done some original work in that subject; but probably he would not have been able to accomplish for the cause of education and research what his position and influence enabled him to do.

Of his work as a lawyer and a judge, we do not possess adequate first-hand knowledge and are therefore not competent to speak. But we have heard of his profound and extensive knowledge of the law, his remarkable forensic ability, his independence as a judge, and the great pains he took with his judgments.

He was for some time one of the municipal commissioners (as the municipal councillors were then called) of Calcutta, and also member of the provincial and imperial legislative councils, and did useful work in all these capacities. Had he chosen to devote as much of his time and energies to municipal work as Pherozeshah Mehta did in Bombay, he could have easily achieved as much distinction as, if not greater than, what Mehta did in his native city. If he had elected to be a politician and statesman and specialized in Council work, he might have rubbed shoulders with and possibly surpassed Gokhale. In fact, no achievement, no distinction were beyond his reach in any field in which great intellectual powers, uncommon capacity for mastering details, remarkable debating powers, wide range of information, self-confidence, courage, patriotism and indefatigable energy are passports to success.

But it was the advancement of the causes of education, knowledge and culture which was his chosen field of work, and here he achieved eminence. For these he laboured with exemplary devotion in various degrees as no one of his generation, and perhaps none of any previous generation in modern India, as far as we are aware, did. Therefore he was justified in saying as he once did:

"Of myself I may say with good conscience that, if often I have not spared others I have never spared myself. For years now, every hour, every minute I could spare from other unavoidable duties—foremost among them the duties of my judicial office—has been devoted by me to University work. Plans and schemes to heighten the efficiency of the University have been the subject of my day-dreams, into which even a busy man lapses from time

to time; they have haunted me in the hours of nightly rest. To University concerns, I have sacrificed all chances of study and research, possibly, to some extent, the interests of family and friends, and, certainly, I regret to say, a good part of my health and vitality."

It is a matter for deep regret that, in consequence, he has not been able to leave behind any original work which is commensurate with his massive intellectual powers.

He was repeatedly elected president of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. In 1909 he was elected president of the Trustees of the Indian Museum, and at about the same time he became president of the Board of Sanskrit Examiners in Bengal. He was also we believe president of the Mahabodhi Society. He was the founder and president of the Mathematical Society of Bengal. Nowhere was he a mere ornamental figurehead. His amazing power of work enabled him to do much useful work in every capacity.

Of the Calcutta University, as we know it to-day, he was the chief architect and builder. In this work he had colleagues and helpers, no doubt; but no architect and builder does everything with his own hands--and Asutosh Mookerjee did even that to a great extent. For the facts that the Calcutta University is the first and foremost teaching University in India, that it teaches more students in more subjects than any other Indian University, that in many sciences and arts it has turned out a laudable amount of genuine research, the chief credit is due to the man who has served it longer and with greater devotion as a senator, a syndic and a vice-chancellor than any other person. He was president of both the departments of post-graduate study, in arts and science and of most of the Boards of Study and Faculties and Committees; but absenteeism was not his forte.--ceaseless activity was. This unrestrained indulgence of his voracious and insatiable appetite for work was not prudent; it must have told on his health though that was not apparent, and possibly sometimes on the quality of the product, too. But we presume, his devotion and overmastering self-confidence prevented him from entertaining any thought of spending his energies frugally.

It was evidently his patriotic ambition that his University should be not only the first in India but also among the first and in course of time, the very foremost, in the world, though it cannot be said that the policy and means and methods adopted for realizing that object were *all* calculated to produce that result. He was a believer not only in his own intellectual capacity but in that of his countrymen. Hence it is that we find that in his University,

every branch of study is taught at least by some Indian professors. He had, of course, no narrow ideas of boycotting foreign talent to the detriment of the cause of education. At the same time, he took effective steps to prevent the discouragement, repression and suppression of indigenous talent, and for its encouragement; and he had the satisfaction to see that his faith in the capacity of his countrymen had been justified. In both the Palit and Ghose trusts the deeds provide that all the professors, fellows, etc., were to be of pure Indian extraction. We have no definite information as to whether this provision originated with Asutosh Mookerjee, but it may be presumed that he had something to do with it. In paying a tribute to his memory Mr. S. R. Das the Advocate General, said at the High Court :

"It was due to his persuasive eloquence and his great work at the University that the late Sir Taraknath Palit, and Sir Rash Behary Ghose were induced to make such munificent donations to the Science College attached to the University."

Other donations, such as the Khaira Endowment and many lesser ones, were obtained for the University by this its most distinguished alumnus.

Asutosh Mookerjee quite rightly thought that the work of appraising the ancient civilisation and culture of India should not be the monopoly of foreigners--and that certainly the final judgment should not rest with them. He, therefore, gave great encouragement to the study of and research in the history of ancient India and its culture and civilization. Some of the university workers in this field have done good work. The encouragement of the study of Pali and Tibetan and Chinese has indirectly the same object in view. Rejuvenation of an ancient civilized people requires a knowledge of its past life and ideals. The university may be expected to do more in future to supply this knowledge than it has yet done.

One hears frequently of the evil effects of Western education in India. This is not the occasion to discuss the subject. But one may be permitted to refer here to at least one or two good results of Western education. It has furnished us with a *lingua franca* for the educated classes in India by means of which they can exchange thoughts and ideas, know one another, and gradually become unified. The English language has also become a medium of communication with the outside world. This has broken down the isolating walls of India's self-immurement and brought her to the centre of the current of world-thought. The greater the spread

and expansion of education, the more are these results brought about. Lord Curzon's University Act was intended to hinder the growth and expansion of higher education. Asutosh Mookerjee turned it into an instrument for that very growth and expansion—though quality was often sacrificed to quantity. It is by means of Western education that we have also been enabled to know our past, and thus to rejuvenate and re-nationalize ourselves. We have already referred to what the university has done in this direction.

But the development of India is not confined to only hoary antiquity. It has gone on down to our own times. And the story of Indian life and culture is not confined to only Sanskrit and Pali works and ancient buildings, ruins, sculptures, paintings, coins and inscriptions. Much of it has to be pieced together from the many vernacular literatures of India. These have to be studied. Under Asutosh Mookerjee the Calcutta University has inaugurated their study. There is no other university which offers teaching in so many Indian vernaculars. No doubt, we are still only in the inaugural stage. But if these studies are pursued under genuine scholars with real enthusiasm, we should in course of time have a better conception of Indian culture, character and ideals to inspire our lives and unify us as a people, than could otherwise be obtained.

The Calcutta University, along with some other institutions and men, has given an impetus to the study of the Bengali language and literature. Mighty developments would await the future of this study encouraged by Asutosh Mookerjee, once it got out of its present ruts.

He once presided over the Bengali Literary Conference and gave expression in his address to his noble dream of the glorious future of his mother tongue and literature.

The University has in view education in science and the arts not only of the academic kind, but desires also to foster technological, commercial and agricultural education. Under proper guidance and with the receipt and proper utilization of funds, these practical departments ought to have a great future. The greatest alumnus of the University had in him the power to ensure this guidance and control. But he has been cut off while still in full possession of his vigour of mind and body. So we are precluded from seeing what he would have done.

One of the latest, if not the latest of the studies in which the University had begun to do something under the initiative of Asutosh Mookerjee, is fine arts. This shows that he was responsive to contemporary forces and exigencies. His ideas were growing; he

had recourse to new devices to gain his ends. Contrary to appearance, he was not in *reality* indifferent to criticism; for he not infrequently wanted his critics to give him constructive suggestions.

It is not possible in a Note to do justice to the multifarious activities of so great a man. So let us now conclude with a few observations on the *man* who was known all over Bengal as Asu Babu. Asutosh is a very common name in Bengal; every village and town has some Asutoshes. Persons bearing the name of Asutosh Mookerjee are also plentiful. But when in Bengal people talked and wrote of Asu Babu, there was no mistaking, who was meant. *Babu* Asutosh Mukhopadhyaya remained and was proud to remain a Bengali Babu to the end of his days. Except when official work or functions made it absolutely necessary, he would never doff his dhoti and put on any other garments. For instance, he attended the meetings of the Sadler Commission in his national dress. He lived like a Bengali Babu, dressed and ate and spoke and moved about like one. That was an outward manifestation of his patriotism and nationalism. He was perfectly accessible to every one, from the humble student upwards. He would listen patiently and sympathetically to all that one had to say, and would *really* do what he could, not merely say he would try. One cannot be sure, but it is probable, that there are in Bengal more men under obligation of some sort or other to him than to any other Bengali. No wonder, that there have been sycophants and others who have taken undue advantage of his disposition to help.

His was a masterful personality. If it came to that, he could outstare your biggest official bully going. In no tussle or controversy with foreigners did he ever come out second best. He knew more about the Calcutta University, and in fact about all other Universities than any living Indian. As regards educational information, he would not have suffered by comparison with foreign authorities on the subject. His eminence as an educationalist and scholar was recognised outside the limits of Bengal also. With Herculean capacity for work and unusual powers of organization, he combined such tactfulness and the power of adapting means to ends, not being oversqueamish in the choice of means, that he could make men of various creeds, races, temperaments and tastes work together. In diplomacy and the use of secret sources of information, he was the equal, or perhaps more than the equal, of the Anglo-Indian bureaucrat. Had he lived to enter the field of politics, he would have been a formidable opponent. Such was his skill and courage in weathering storms, that though he had to face many he neither bent nor broke.

Though often stern and unbending in public life, and therefore feared, he was a most loving father. When his oldest daughter became a widow while still a girl, he got her married again, facing a storm of opposition and vulgar and libellous abuse. The untimely death of his daughter, who had again become a widow, was a great blow to him. It is surmised that this bereavement, combined with the illness of his wife, had much to do with sapping his vitality.

He was an example of plain living and high thinking. He was an orthodox Hindu of the modern type. We know of no reasons to doubt his sincerity. But it may perhaps be added that his orthodoxy was part of his nationalism. For a nationalist he was—with this difference that whereas other nationalists aim at national self-realization and self-assertion by direct political endeavour, he wanted to reach the same goal through education and culture. We had some revealing talks with him once on the progress of nationalism in the country.

Not that he had no defects. He had the defects of his great qualities, and the institution on which he had lavished so much devotion and for which and through which he exercised his unusual capacity for recognising the worth of an encouraging men, has also its defects. But this is not the time to refer to or discuss them. This is a time when we may and should derive an impetus for work from a contemplation of the work of his life. A foreigner who is a mere onlooker may, if he knows all the facts, take a detached and dispassionate view of his life. But few Bengalis who have the heart of a Bengali can think of his sudden and untimely death unmoved by feelings akin to those which are, roused by a personal bereavement.

[*The Modern Review*]

LATE ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE.

So suddenly and unexpectedly overwhelmed by a calamity whose magnitude it is yet too early to forecast Bengal's emotion at the passing away of Asutosh Mookerjee is akin to what is produced by death by lightning of one's dearest and nearest relation. That there is absolutely no ring of exaggeration about this estimate of the effect of this unforeseen and unforeseeable catastrophe must be admitted by those who had the honour and good fortune of being at Howrah station at 10 o'clock yesterday morning when a special train brought the dead body of this illustrious countryman of ours to the thickly crowded railway platform. Every five minutes the

our of the anxious crowd was craned to catch the sound of the long-expected special. The congregation mostly composed of the intellectual elite of Bengal did not show the least signs of impatience though many had to wait in these dog days of May from 7 to 10 a.m. The sense of indescribable loss was written on every face; everybody who was somebody hastened to the Railway Station to have the last glimpse of those long familiar moustaches. That Asutosh was no more seemed to be an event to which no one was capable of reconciling himself. Though every inch of the station platform was occupied yet an unfillable void appeared to have been gaping all around. Even those who had no accurate appreciation of his intellectual greatness felt, and that with the whole of his being, that a giant of energy and work had disappeared from our midst. We hardly realised till the supreme hour of the death of such a forceful personality that the world has an unerring instinct for the perception of greatness no matter in what sphere it works. The suddenness of Asutosh Mookerjee's death was perhaps intended to bring home to his countrymen the enormity of the loss caused and sustained. He died literally in harness. Work was the very breath of his life. A Bengalee from the sole of his foot to the crown of his head he showed all his life a capacity for work hardly possible even in inhabitants of more salubrious climes. He grew and thrived on one single idea—the educational welfare of his countrymen. That was his "Yoga" and that was his "Samadhi." The University was his all-absorbing mistress. Though a highly successful lawyer and Judge, neither the Bench nor the Bar could claim even a fraction of the passion which he felt for his "Alma Mater." The brick and mortar of the Senate House was really the blood of his heart and the marrow of his bones. It is no figure of speech that he lived, moved and had his being in the University. He could bear a stab at his heart but not a disparaging word about the university of his own making. A man of such one passion and one obsession is bound to commit mistakes which only heighten his glory and throw into bolder relief his unsurpassable achievements. His so-called limited horizon and shortness of sight only helps the fullest development of all the powers of his manhood. He is able to create and organize where others of broader vision fail. Great men do many things unconsciously. This was the case with Asutosh. He was not a professed, social, political and religious reformer; yet he was all three combined in the born educationist that he was. Not a sworn nationalist yet he was one of the greatest, if not the greatest, of our nationalist workers. Effectiveness of his work in this direction lay in its unobtrusiveness. He knew our graduates as we do not

know even our own sons, brothers and cousins. Like nature's greatest elements his greatness was synthetic and loses by analysis. In serving with a singular type of single-mindedness the cause of education of his country he has served unconsciously and automatically all its different important interests. In fact he it was who has furnished all the raw materials for time had their quarrel with the quality of these workers but where has the Creator ever furnished us anything beyond the soil and the seed? He very often seemed not to be very scrupulous about his methods and means but a man of single passion and obsession has always this defect of his qualities. Small men as we are, we plead guilty to not having been able to take his full measure when he was in our midst; but that the voice of nature cries even from the ashes of departed greatness has been proved beyond doubt by the sincere and highly inspiring demonstrations of honour with which the mortal remains of this Bengalee were hailed at the Howrah Railway Station and Keoratala crematorium. With these feebly expressed sentiments we offer our heartfelt condolence to the bereaved family and hope that a woe sitting so heavily on all may not press them the hardest. *[The Servant]*

Only two days ago Bengal lost Sir Asutosh Chowdhury. And before she could recover from the grief, the cruel hand of death snatched away Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. Both great in the public life, the two not only bore the same name, but were close friends. How often the two Knights, Chowdhury and Mookerjee could be seen side by side in the Senate meetings! Death has knit closer the tie of friendship that bound the two heroes in life.

Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was so accessible, so much in public eye, so popular with all sections of the Calcutta public, that anecdotes about him and his manner and relation of life are numerous. But it may not be generally known that Sir Asutosh was a voracious eater. That bulk, that body mostly bare squatting on the floor for his means, was a sight reminding one of the simple, unostentatious rural life of Bengal. And Sir Asutosh was above all a Bengali.

The most noticeable feature of the huge gathering which had assembled at the Howrah Station on Monday morning to offer their devotion to the last remains of Sir Asutosh was the almost complete absence of Europeans on the occasion. It looked as if all of them had scrupulously absented themselves. While almost all the Indian Judges of the High Court attended the Howrah Station and kept on waiting from three to four hours, the European Judges were conspicuous by their absence. It is, of course, unthinkable that in the

long course of Sir Asutosh's career as a Judge of the High Court, he made no friends amongst his European colleagues. How is, their absence to be accounted for? There are people who seem to think that the late tussle of Sir Asutosh with Lord Lytton had alienated the love and sympathy of the Europeans in Calcutta. We are not, however, aware how far it represented the truth. Anyway this incident, though small in itself, calls for some explanation. It was rightly felt to be a highly discordant element in the whole affair and formed a subject matter of general talk amongst the people assembled at the Howrah Station. The people, at any rate, cannot dismiss the affair as entirely devoid of any significance. [Forward]

An Interesting Incident of His Life.

Whether in the railway train, on board a steamer, in the Bar Library or out on the road, people have been recounting to each other the innumerable incidents in the life of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee by way of emphasising his great independence of thought and action.

May I relate, an incident which is not generally known or which at any rate, has not generally been advertised. It happened about twenty years ago, when Lord Curzon, who had been profoundly impressed by Asutosh's Scholarship, conveyed to him through Sir John Woodburn a request to proceed to Europe, so that the European peoples might have first-hand knowledge of what English education had been able to do for an Indian in India. All Sir John's persuasiveness failed to make any impression on Asutosh, who declined the invitation for the reason that his mother strongly disapproved of the idea of his crossing the seas.

The inevitable happened. Lord Curzon was nettled, and Asutosh was summoned to the Viceregal presence. The request repeated by Lord Curzon himself, and when it was again refused on the ground of the mother's scruples, that "Superior person" and intolerant Viceroy hissed out, "Then tell your mother that the Viceroy and Governor-General of India commands her son to go." Without a moment's hesitation and without even the slightest suspicion of a falter came the ringing retort, "Then I will tell the Viceroy of India on her behalf that the mother of Asutosh Mookerjee refuses to let her son be commanded by anybody excepting herself be he the Viceroy of India, or be he anybody greater."

Such was the independence, such was the courage, and such the filial devotion of the great man whom God probably considered to be too great to be allowed to live in our midst any longer.—Barada Prasanna Pain,—Bar Library, Howrah, 28.5.24.

Gifted with a powerful intellect, holding a position of great prominence in Calcutta, and involved as he was in numerous controversies, the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was inevitably the theme of a great many stories. The following, which may be taken as authentic, relates to a brilliant English educationist, well known in Calcutta twenty years ago, and now engaged in active work in London. "I am the most influential person in India," announced this gentleman one evening after dinner. He was by no means a retiring individual, but his friends were moved to demand an explanation. "It's very simple," he went on, "Asutosh Mookerjee will do anything I tell him. The Viceroy will do anything Asutosh tells him. Therefore the Viceroy will do anything I tell him. Q.F.D." When it is added that the Viceroy referred to was Lord Curzon, the daring of the syllogism may be appreciated.—*The Statesman*.

THE LATE SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE.

Misfortune never comes alone. Soon after the setting of a glorious star, the passing away of Justice A. Chowdhury comes the news of the sudden demise of another illustrious son of Bengal—a sun among suns of the mightiest magnitude—the great Royal Bengal Tiger of this province, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. It is a mountain, a Himalayan peak, an Indra that has suddenly fallen. All Bengal and all India weeps at the mighty loss—a loss which can never, by none be refilled. Our Asutosh was a man among men—a Personality before whom rulers stood in deep reverence, a Genius of giant capacity, who would erect a monument at the beck of a finger. Yet Asutosh was a Brahman amongst Brahmins also—an orthodox devout nationalist at heart, whose very life and soul and character represented the spirit of Manhood itself. It was this spirit of manhood, his soul of courage and conviction, his absolute fearlessness and freedom, which won for him the title of 'Tiger of Bengal' and the Tiger feared none, never succumbed to any, resisting his imperious will, would yield his reins of power and authority to none, who could ill perform what he could royally and victoriously fulfil himself. Pigmies who felt too short beside him in point of manhood and capacity, weaklings who could not bend him but had to bend themselves, called him an Autocrat, a Dictator, who loved power and undisputed authority. So was he indeed,—a Dictator, an Autocrat and he had

the power and gift of being so. He used that power, he manipulate that gift for the benefit of his countrymen. The great University of Calcutta owes an irrepayable debt to his genius and helmsmanship and will ever bear the impress of his Roman hand in every inch of its body. One Asutosh has gone to join hands with another Asutosh—both were great friends in life, inspired by the same mission of education. May their immortal souls rest in peace for ever and shower eternal blessings upon their countrymen! Aum! Shantih! Shantih!! Shantih!!!

[*The Standard Bearer*]

THE PASSING OF SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE.

A Prince of men has fallen in Bengal. In the death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, Bengal has lost its most prominent and outstanding personality of to-day, and new India one of its most remarkable makers. Intellectually and educationally, Sir Asutosh has had no equal in all India. As a builder and administrator, Sir Asutosh has had the unique distinction of making his own *Alma Mater* the proudest University and centre of higher education in all Asia. Lord Curzon had intended his Universities Act as an instrument to crush and paralyse the University of Calcutta, but thanks to the wonderful intellectual subtlety of this great Bengalee, this occasion was turned into a splendid opportunity for converting College Square into one of the busiest and most distinguished haunts for Post-graduate studies and researches in the whole world. Since then, he had remained at the helm of affairs in College Square, undisturbed by all wicked wiles and intrigues. Many attempts had been made at Simla and Calcutta to replace this heroic pilot, but, do what they would, Sir Asutosh had always steered the ship of higher education in Bengal clear from all rocks and no one could think of dropping the pilot. To him the vast field of education was no uncharted water, and he knew all the rocks that surrounded his fragile craft. No man was so indispensable in his sphere of public life and activity as Sir Asutosh was in the administration of affairs in the University of Calcutta.

Sir Asutosh became the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University in 1906 when, after a strenuous and protracted effort, the Senate had failed to complete the new regulations required to be framed by Lord Curzon's Universities Act; and the first duty that devolved upon him,

as the head of the University, was to preside over the deliberations of a special Committee appointed to frame a complete body of new regulations for promulgation by the Government of India. The task was onerous in the extreme; but the next urgent task before him was probably even more trying than this. It was to reshape the life and working of the University on the basis of what had been settled in theory. Reforms of the most incisive kind had to be carried through in every department of University life and training, and the toil of Sir Asutosh was truly herculean. "Of myself," he said on one occasion, "I may say with good conscience that, if often I have not spared others. I have never spared myself. For years now, every hour, every minute I could spare from other unavoidable duties—foremost among them the duties of my judicial office—has been devoted by me to University work. Plans and schemes to heighten the efficiency of the University have been the subject of my day dreams, into which even a busy man lapses from time to time; they have haunted me in the hours of nightly rest. To University concerns, I have sacrificed all chances of study and research, possibly, to some extent the interests of family and friends, and, certainly, I regret to say, a good part of my health and vitality." As the result of this hard labour, the Calcutta University accomplished under him what might be designated as a new creation—it planned and carried out what had previously hardly been imagined, and certainly not attempted in any University east of the Suez. As he observed years ago, it was no slight thing to have initiated, at any rate, a comprehensive scheme for the housing and the superintendence of the entire student population, it was no slight thing to have effected a reform of legal education in Bengal, it was a great thing to have found means to open, to the gain and benefit of our University, the sources of private liberality which, for so many years, seemed to have run completely dry, and it was a great thing to have assisted at the birth of the Teaching University of Calcutta. Perhaps, he did more in his lifetime to promote the best interests of the vernacular of the province than even Marshman, Carey and Ward did early in the last century, or any Indian since the days of Raja Rammohan Ray. The Bengali language and literature have not only a Chair in the Calcutta University now but they have been made compulsory subject of study from the lowest forms to the degree of Bachelor of Arts and Science.

Besides his great gifts and intellectual equipment, Sir Asutosh was a man of extraordinary independence perhaps without a parallel in the annals of new India. When quite a young boy, studying in the Presidency College he headed a youthful agitation against Mr. Justice Norris' sentence of Surendranath Banerjea on a charge of contempt of Court. He had carried this fighting spirit and sturdy independence till almost the winter of 1923, when he had gathered courage to write those historic letters to Lord Lytton which threw a bomb shell into the camp of the Philistines. The remarriage of his widowed daughter indicated beyond cavil the courage he could gather to fight against social conventions and tyrannies. Personally a great scholar and a learned jurist, a distinguished man of action as well as of thought, he was most accessible to all classes of people and he never missed an opportunity to do a good turn to those who called on him for help. The passing of such a man, in the full vigour of his life, and almost in harness, is one of the greatest tragedies which might befall Bengal at such a time. It does not seem likely that the place of such a man will be filled in Bengal within many years to come. In the meantime, let us hope, that generations of Indians will continue to emulate the culture, patriotism, and independence of the great and gifted Bengalee, whose sudden death hundreds of thousands of our countrymen from the Himalayas to Indian Ocean and from Quetta to Dibrugarh are mourning to-day as a personal bereavement.

[*The Bengalee*]

THE LATE SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

We hear with deep regret of the death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, the distinguished educationist of Bengal, at Patna. For a long time the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, he remained to the end the greatest authority on educational questions. His death, at a time when University reforms are being considered, will detract greatly from the value of the findings of the Universities Conference.

[*The Indian Social Reformer*]

BUDDHIST CONDOLENCE MEETING.

A largely attended meeting took place at the Buddhist Vihara, College Square, Calcutta, on Thursday evening to pass a vote of condolence on the death of Sir Ashutosh Mukerjee, life President of the Buddhist Society and first Vice-Chancellor of the proposed Buddhist University at Sarnath.

Among those present were several Bhikkhus of the Buddhist order besides Dr. Bhandarkar, Dr. H. W. B. Moreno, Mr. S. C. Mukherjee and others. The Revd. Angarika Dharmapala presided.

Dr. Bhandarkar said that the passing away of Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee had literally unnerved and paralysed them. It was irreparable. They knew the story of the pilgrims who wanted to find out what an elephant was like and who began to draw this own queer inference about the nature of the animal from its foot, tail, trunk or ear. Such must be the case with them in trying to gauge Sir Ashutosh's intellectual immensity and his perennial activity. If he was called supreme, they should not try, intellectual pigmies that they were, to make an estimate of his work and character. The speaker continued that it was forgotten by the people of their countrymen that they had a high noble civilization and played a conspicuous part in teaching and civilizing the neighbouring countries. It was impossible for any Indian to think what Buddhism had done not only for the Far East but also for Khotan and Turkistan without a thrill of pleasure and pride. Nobody was therefore more alive to the necessity of carrying on a systematic research in this sphere than Sir Ashutosh himself. It was with this object in view that he instituted Sanskrit and Pali studies in Calcutta University. It was for this reason that he agreed also to be the Vice-Chancellor of the Buddhist University which was being formed in Sarnath. It was Sir Ashutosh who was expected to show them the way how people of different nationalities could meet for the critical study of Buddhism and for estimating what influence that religion exercised upon the world, much to the glory and pride of this country when Buddhism originated and developed. His demise at this critical juncture could not but be a source of extreme grief to them and without his guidance, without his inspiration and without his encouragement, they had now to continue the work.

Mr. S. C. Mukherjee, Bar-at-Law, then addressed the meeting in a lengthy speech in conclusion of which he said :—

“ We shall ever mourn his loss. Our grief is the keener owing to this fact that it was not yet his time to pass away. It was an accidental death due to the hardship of Patna life in this extremely

hot weather. His memory should be venerable as the Greatest Indian of his generation. He loved the idea of establishing the Buddhist University at Sarnath which is in the course of foundation. He declared it with pride in this very hall that he would be its First Vice-Chancellor and that Mr. Dharmapala should be its first Registrar."

If I had money gentlemen I would have certainly started a school for teaching only Pali equipping it with the best Sanskrit-knowing Pandits and to have had Indian books translated into Bengalee and Devnagri and Urdu and Tainil and thus to have popularised the Golden thoughts contained in Pali accessible to the poorest purse in India. A lakh of Rupees invested would yield enough to make a fair beginning. As I am a poor man I hope well-to-do members of this society and the general public may favourably entertain the suggestion.

Dr. Moreno also spoke about the life of Sir Ashutosh. He said that in the nature of things all of them were mortal. Both great and small came to the same end, but good deeds and great thoughts lived for ever. This was the teaching of Buddha. Great as was the work of Sir Ashutosh it fell upon those now living to continue what had been left behind.

CALCUTTA CORPORATION'S CONDOLENCE.

'A painting or a picture of the erection of a bust or a statue cannot commemorate the greatness of great Sir Asutosh Mookerjee; his was a dynamic personality. We want something living—we want something growing, to commemorate in a fitting manner his greatness—something which will carry with it the message of the struggle of to-day with the fulness of to-morrow.'"

With these words ringing through the Council Chamber, the Mayor, Mr. C. R. Das, closed the proceedings of the special meeting of the Calcutta Corporation held yesterday evening to condole the death of Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee, one of the greatest men of India, who was a member of the Corporation from 1902-04 and which he represented on the Bengal Legislative Council.

After expressing profound sorrow at the death of Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee it was decided to appoint a committee to consider what form a memorial to Sir Asutosh should take.

Babu Priyanath Mallik moved:—That the Corporation of Calcutta places on record its sense of deep sorrow and irreparable loss at the sad and sudden death of Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee one of the foremost citizens of Calcutta and one of the greatest men of

India, who, by the singular gifts of his massive intellect, his vast erudition, his fearless independence and his intense patriotism, had for more than quarter of a century, occupied an outstanding position in the life of this country.

Maulvi Abdul Halim seconded the resolution.

Lt. Bejoy Prosad Singh Roy, Mr. Hooper, representing the European community, Maulana Akram Khan, Professor J. R. Banerjee, Babu Brajagopal Goswami, Mr. U. C. Das-Gupta, Maulvi Abdul Razak, Babu Badridas Goenka, Babu Provudayal Himatsinha, Mr. Zeel Huq, Babu Sanat Kumar Roy Chaudhuri, Dr. Adyanath Chatterjee, Dr. Narendra Nath Law, Babu Ram Kumar Goenka and Dr. H. N. Das supported the resolution.

Chief Executive Officer.

Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, Chief Executive Officer, said :—Mr. Mayor, on behalf of the staff of the Calcutta Corporation allow me to lend my cordial support to the resolution which is before you. Many of us are personally grateful, are heavily indebted to the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee for more reasons than one, and I may say most of us, if not all, are products of that University of which that great man was the very life and soul. I need not say more. There are occasions when thoughts lie too deep for words and I venture to think this is one of those occasions. I will only point out that we earnestly hope that the life of Sir Ashutosh, his intense patriotism his single minded devotion to duty, his unbounded capacity for work and above all his versatile talents and many sided activities will serve as a beacon light to us in the discharge of those onerous duties which at your bidding have devolved upon us.

Mr. L. M. De moved :—That a message of condolence be communicated to Lady Mukherji, Councillor Ramaprasad Mukerjee, the eldest son of the deceased and the other members of the bereaved family.

Mr. S. M. S. Rahaman seconded and Nripendra Nath Bose supported the resolution which was also passed.

Sj. S. K. Basu.

Babu Santosh Kumar Basu moved that a committee consisting of eight members be formed to consider what steps should be taken to perpetuate the memory of Sir Ashutosh Mookherjee in this Corporation. He said :—It is a sad irony of fate that when we were counting the days for the return of the great giant to his dear native city and to initiate the great movement of primary education which the new Corporation had decided to launch under his masterly leadership, we should have to assemble here to-day

so soon and so early in deep national mourning, because Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was no more. The very personification of health and strength, both in body and mind imparting life and vigour to all that came in his contact, he seemed to us to be so far away from death. In all our future programmes and schemes of national progress, he had filled such a large and essential part of our mental canvas, that we had almost forgotten that after all he too was a man, and that he too could leave us with such cruel suddenness in the midst of the ever-increasing responsibilities of his countrymen. Singular and remarkable in everything in life, he has been remarkable indeed in death. He has reminded us once again with a painful shock that in the midst of life, we are in death. Sir, I shall not make any attempt to compass by words the height of his towering personality or the depth of his kindness and sympathy to a that was good and deserving. Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was an Institution in himself—so familiar, so intimate, so indispensable to us all. In moments of national trouble, Bengal could find shelter under the protecting wings of the massive intellect and sturdy independence with a feeling of restfulness and trustful dependence. It was he alone to whom we had learned to look up for the vindication of the Educational rights and privileges of the Indian youth. It was he again, who could assert and establish those rights with the indomitable courage and thoroughness all his own.

Unrivalled Constructive Genius.

Sir Asutosh Mookerjee had in his own life realised to the fullest extent the great heritage of India's past. Drunk deep in India's ancient lore, his whole ideal of culture, his plain and simple style of living, so aggressively Indian, so refreshingly self-respecting, silently proclaimed that he was conscious of his great lineage—the continuity of his race with the sages of this land. Indeed, to my mind, he had often seemed like a "Rishi" of olden times, great in knowledge and wisdom, simple in food and dress, overflowing with the milk of human kindness, yet concealing within himself that noble fire that smothered and silenced all opposition to the great causes upon which he had set his heart. Realising the ancient culture of India in her present-day life, weaving into it all that is best in the west, it was his ideal to fashion and move a still more glorious future for this country. And much as he had achieved by his unrivalled constructive genius, India had been looking forward to the spacious years to come, for the fitting culmination of his work in every department of her life. Because, once he had chalked out his path after taking stock of the situation, he would drive full steam ahead, bending everything to his own will, leaving

nothing for his successor to accomplish. That was Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. Those are the virtues India, to-day, stands most in need of. He is gone. That robust physical frame is removed from our midst. But the divine radiance which lighted the mountain top will soon descend upon the plain, and illumine the whole race, of which he was such a glorious type. And the unique homage that the nation is paying to his sacred memory inspires us with that optimism which was such an outstanding trait of Sir Asutosh's character.

Sir Asutosh had dedicated some of his best years to the service of his Fellow-citizens as a member of this Corporation. He has elevated our city in the estimation of the rest of India and has acquired for our city a world fame for learning and scholarship. Shall we not do obeisance to his memory in a permanent manner? That is the only way in which we as a Corporation can effectively discharge at least a portion of our debt to the memory of our illustrious fellow-citizen.

Mr. M. M. Haq seconded the resolution which was carried.

The Committee will consist of the following:—The Deputy Mayor, Mr. S. C. Bose, Dr. Narendra Law, Mr. Priyanath Mallik, Mr. C. F. Hooper, Mr. Badridas Goenka, Professor J. R. Banerjee, and Mr. Santosh Kumar Basu.

Mayor's Speech.

Mr. C. R. Das said:—You will allow me to associate myself with the resolutions which you have just passed. Indeed it seems to me that we have honoured ourselves in honouring the memory of this great man. The Corporation of Calcutta would have been a poor institution indeed if it did not honour the greatness of this great citizen of Calcutta. To me the loss is something like a personal loss. Years of association, years of living together in the same neighbourhood made me look upon him as my elder brother. It is difficult for me to make any long speech to-day because I cannot trust myself to do so. But I will say one or two words. It has been said that he was a great lawyer. So indeed he was, but his greatness was greater than the greatness of a mere lawyer. It has been said that he was a great judge. I know he was a great judge, but here again his greatness was greater—far greater than the greatness of merely a great judge. It has been said that he was a great educationist. Undoubtedly he was. He was one of the foremost, and if you count the number of educationists all the world over I doubt whether you can come across a greater educationist than Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. But here again I stand on my original observation—he was far greater than merely a great educationist.

His heart was with the nation. He was a builder. He tried to build this great Indian nation and honour it by his activities and I know many were the plans he formed, of work after his retirement. Death has snatched him away and I do not see before me any other man who can take up the work which he intended to take up. But trust to God there will be some others who will carry on the work which he has left unfinished. One word more about the last resolution which you have just passed. I approve of this committee because I feel that a painting or a picture or the erection of a bust or of a statue cannot commemorate the greatness of this great man. He was a dynamic personality. We want something living, something growing, to commemorate in a fitting manner his greatness—something which will carry with it the message of the struggle of to-day to the fullness of to-morrow.

TRIBUTE BY MOSLEM SCHOLARS.

Warm tributes were paid to the memory of the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee at a meeting of Moulvis and Ulemas held on Friday evening under the presidency of Dr. Abdulla Suhrawardy.

Dr. A. Suhrawardy in a moving speech dwelt feelingly at length on the many qualities of head and heart of the great departed, and pointed out how, as a President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, President of the Imperial Library Committee, Chairman of the Board of Higher Studies in Arabic and Persian, etc., Sir Asutosh did which no one had hitherto done for the revival of the study of Islamic learning. He also referred to Sir Asutosh's services in connection with the search and preservation of valuable Arabic and Persian manuscripts, the publication of important works on Islamic History, Law and Theology and his generous patronage of deserving Ulema and Moulvis. The speaker mentioned as instances of Sir Asutosh's undying services to the cause of advancement of learning amongst the Musalmans.

Aga Kasim Shirazi moved the following resolution :

"This Society places on record its sense of irreparable loss by the sudden and untimely death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, the greatest Indian of his day and the champion of the advancement and revival of education, culture and learning."

The resolution was seconded by Shaikh Abu Nasr Gilani and supported by Hakim Gauhar Ali, Hakim Safir and Shah Moinuddin.

It was further resolved that a message of condolence be sent to the eldest son of the deceased and other members of the bereaved family. With a vote of thanks to the chair the meeting terminated.

CONDOLENCE MEETING IN LONDON

21, CROMWELL ROAD,
S. W. 7.

5th June, 1924.

To

THE EDITOR, THE CALCUTTA REVIEW, CALCUTTA.

SIR,

Closely following the death of Sir Ashutosh Chowdhury, India has suffered a great loss at the sudden demise of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, one of the greatest and most outstanding personalities of the modern age.

The melancholy news reached as a bolt from the blue on the Indian Students Community in London on the morning of the 27th ultimo and was circulated like wild fire.

A condolence meeting of the Indian students of London was convened at the instance of Mr. A. D. Bonerjee, the Warden of the Indian Students Hostel, at 21, Cromwell Road, on the evening of the 29th.

There was a good attendance, students representing all provinces of India.

At the very outset Mr. Bonerjee read messages from Messrs. N. C. Sen, O.B.E., Joint Secretary, Students Department, and H. A. F. Lindsay, the President, House Committee, expressing their regret at the lamentable death of Sir Asutosh and their inability to attend the meeting on account of some previous engagements.

Mr. Nagendra Nath Sen, M.Sc. (Cal.), was voted to the Chair.

He in a short speech enumerated the God-gifted qualities of the great son of India.

The following resolution was moved from the Chair and seconded by Mr. B. K. Das and carried unanimously all standing :

“This meeting of the Indian Students of London assembled at 21, Cromwell Road, records its profound sorrow at the sudden demise of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee and expresses its deep sympathy and condolence with the bereaved family.”

Several other speakers paid high tributes to the memory of the illustrious Sir Asutosh.

Mr. J. M. Khan of Aligarh moved that a copy of the abovementioned resolution should be sent to Lady Mookerjee and his sons by Cablegram ; this was seconded by Mr. S. K. Chatterjee, M.Sc., and carried unanimously.

I remain,
Yours faithfully,
S. K. DATTA RAY

Baidyabaty Young Men's Association.¹

Under the auspices of the Association, a condolence meeting was held on Sunday the 1st June, 1924, at the club premises with Babu Behari Lal Banerji, M.A., B.L., P.R.S., in the chair. The proceedings commenced with the election

¹ The Library and Free Reading Room attached to the Young Men's Association Baidyabaty remained closed on Monday and Tuesday, the 26th and 27th May, 1924, as a mark of respect to the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee.

of President who gave a short speech after which Babu Gobinda Pada Biswas read a paper in Bengali giving a life-sketch of Sir Asutosh. Babus Saroj Kumar Chatterji and Narendra Nath Chatterji also spoke on Sir Asutosh's attainments. The following resolution was then moved from the Chair and unanimously adopted, all standing in silence :

"We, the members of the Young Men's Association and residents of Baidyabaty, in a special meeting convened for this purpose, place on record our deep sense of sorrow and great disappointment at the sudden and lamentable death of revered Sir Asutosh Mookerjee and express our sincere sympathy with the bereaved family and with a view to commemorate his name for ever, to the best of our abilities, in the field of Bengali Literature, for his indefatigable, selfless, and unrivalled lifelong services rendered to our country towards the advancement of learning, we further resolve that the Publishing Fund of the Association be henceforth called by the name of Sir Asutosh Memorial Publishing Fund and that a biography of Sir Asutosh be published as early as possible."

The meeting terminated with a vote of thanks to the Chair proposed by Babu Surendra Nath Mitter.

SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE: PORTUGUESE APPRECIATIONS.¹

A India Portuguesa—Goa.

The province of Bengal has just lost in Sir Asutosh Mookerji one of her most eminent savants, who worked indefatigably and passionately for the intellectual progress of the land.

¹ Extracts from Portuguese Papers, translated by R. C. Maulik, Prof. of St. Joseph's College, Calcutta

A man of superior calibre, guided by a rare culture and aided by a powerful intellect and an extraordinary force of will, Sir Asutosh attained considerable distinction in his public career ; and was selected a Judge of the High Court of Calcutta where he was considered a jurist of indisputable eminence.

Not only in the sphere of law were his intellectual powers felt, but also in the field of education his work was regarded as of inestimable value. He directed all his energies and efforts towards transmuting the University of Calcutta into a real centre of scientific and literary culture. It is no longer a machine for the fabrication of diplomas. For several years he sat at the helm of the University affairs as Vice-Chancellor. He was there not as an ornamental figure-head of ostentation, but as a capable man of stupendous energy working for the amelioration of the University of which he was veritably the soul.

The "India Portuguese" cannot pass unnoticed the death of such an eminent son of Bengal, who invariably evinced a lively interest in all Portuguese intellectual movements.

* * * *

A Prorincia—Punjim.

The province of Bengal has just sustained a severe shock at the death of one of her most eminent sons. Endowed with a sublimated culture, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee devoted all his energies to establishing an organization which constituted not only a centre of scientific and literary culture but a powerful protagonist of the fundamental rights of the University of Calcutta, which is one of the most important intellectual centres of India to-day. Sir Asutosh was truly its life and soul. A friend of Portuguese culture, he always took a vivid interest in all intellectual movements of Portugal.

* * * *

O Herald—Goa.

Born in the province of Bengal, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee consecrated his life to the noble cause of elevating his country. From his adolescence he employed all the vigour of his cultured mind as well as his immense capacity for work for transforming this oldest University of India from the position of an examining body into a living centre of scientific and literary research under a body of intellectuals of approved worth, who are in a position to-day to affirm with legitimate pride—and without any apprehension of contradiction, that this University is not only one of the most important Universities of India but also of the world.

Thus a patriot should work and fight to the last for his crystallised ideal without acrimonious declamations—without exaggerated optimism and morbid pessimism—without theatrical poses and faint-hearted imbecility. All honour to Sir Asutosh who was the uncompromising champion of new India.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY PUBLICATIONS

1. ANCIENT INDIA

1. CULTURE AND SOCIAL ORGANISATION

	Rs.	As.
Rig Vedic India by Abinaschandra Das, M.A., Ph.D. Demy 8vo. pp. 616	10	8

[The work is an attempt to find out the age of the culture as depicted in the Rig Veda, examined in the light of the results of modern geological, archaeological, and ethnological investigations and drawn from a comparative study of the early civilisations of the Deccan, Babylonia and Assyria, Phœnicia, Asia Minor, Egypt, and Pre-historic Europe.]

Culture and Kultur Race Origins or the Past Unveiled , by H. Bruce Hannah, Bar-at-Law. Demy 8vo. pp. 158	3	12
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[Besides other cognate matters, the book generally deals with race-origins, race-developments, and race-movements, and differentiates, not only between Barbarous Races and Culture-Races, but also between Barbarous Races that were or are civilised and those that were or are uncivilised.]

Carmichael Lectures, 1918 (Ancient Indian History, B. C. 650 to 325), by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D., F.A.S.B. Demy 8vo. pp. 230	2	13
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[The somewhat neglected, although a most important, period of Indian history, which immediately preceded the rise of the Mauryan power, has been dealt with in this volume. The work throws valuable light on various aspects of the political and cultural history of the period, including a lucid résumé of the story of the penetration of Aryan culture into the Deccan and into South India.]

Ancient Indian Numismatics (Carmichael Lectures, 1921), by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D., F.A.S.B. Demy 8vo. pp. 241

4 14

[A valuable contribution to the study of the question, with its bearings on Ancient Indian political and cultural History.]

The Evolution of Indian Polity, by R. Shama Sastri, B.A., Ph.D. Demy 8vo. pp. 192 ...

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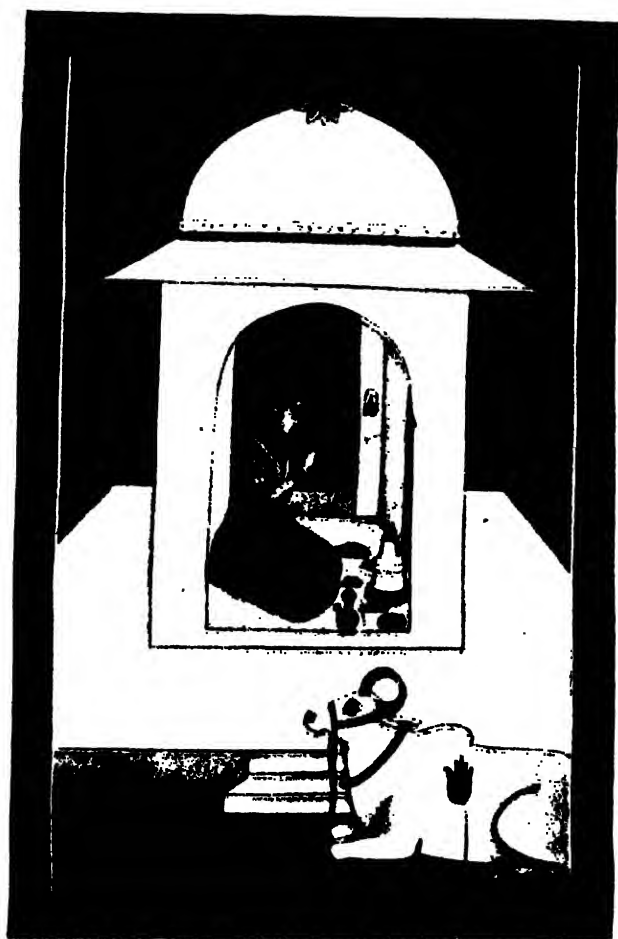
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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

SEPTEMBER, 1924



VEDĀNTISM

WHAT IT IS AND WHAT IT IS NOT.

“Democritus had regarded the atoms and their motion, Plato the Ideas and their final causation,” to use Windelband’s words (*History of Philosophy*, p. 139), “as the causes of phenomena—causes different from the phenomena themselves. Aristotle, however, determined the true reality, that which is—as the essence which unfolds in the phenomena themselves. He denounced the attempt to think out as the cause of phenomena something different from them (a second world), and taught that the Being of things possesses no reality apart from the phenomena in which it realises itself”—that Being is “the essence which constitutes the one and the only ground of its individual formations, but is real or actual only in these formations themselves, and all phenomenal appearance or coming into being,” is but “the realisation of the essence.” The opposition between the Heraclitic and the Eleatic metaphysics was thus virtually solved by Aristotle. Again, “the Greek theory assumed ‘the objects’ as given independently of thought, and regarded the intellectual processes as entirely dependent upon the objects; at the most, it was the

mission of the intellectual processes to reproduce these objects by way of copy, or allow themselves to be guided by them. Kant discovered that the objects of thought are none other than the products of thought itself." (*Ibid*, p. 541.) Now, these two currents of thought, the Aristotelian and the Kantian movements, had been unified in the Vedāntic speculation in India, at least as early as about 800 B.C. The world of plurality, as perceived by the senses, unconnected and discrete, and appearing as existing independently of thought, was the foundation of the pre-Vedāntic position in India as well. But experience involving both the subject and the object as two factors of an inter-related whole, and the consequent rejection of the aforesaid sensuous view of reality, formed the starting-point of the Vedāntic speculation. The world of self and the world of not-self are but two manifestations of one Ultimate Reality, one eternally self-differentiating spiritual principle, Brahman, which is realised in the plurality of existents, finite centres of its self-manifestation, and includes and unites them all in its all-embracing Unity, which is pure 'inwardness,' and has nothing external to it, and wherein the terms external and internal lose all their meaning and application. This is the central conception of the Vedānta.

The concept of Brahman, as an eternally self-differentiating spiritual principle is, indeed, the pivot, on which the entire Vedāntic Pantheism rests. The term Brahman, says Prof. Max Müller, is derived from *brih*, to break or burst forth. "If *brih* meant originally," says he, "to break or burst forth, *brahman* would have meant at first what breaks forth, an utterance, a word, and in this sense, in the sense of prayer, *brahman* is of very frequent occurrence in the Veda. It might, however, at the same time, have meant, what bursts forth, in the sense of.....creation or creator, particularly

¹ Müller, *Three Lectures on the Vedānta*, p. 149.

Cf. Deussen, Outlines of Indian Philosophy, p. 27.

when creation was conceived, not as the making, but as a coming forth." Ānandagiri, in his gloss on Śankara's commentary on the Tait. Up. derives the term "from *brih*, to grow, to expand," and observes that the term is "an expression of growth and greatness." The term Brahman, as used in the Vedānta, has, indeed, a double significance. The creation, regarded as an effect, a modification of self-differentiation, of the ultimate causal principle, is nothing but a 'bursting forth,' self-differentiation, or expansion of Brahman the Ultimate Reality. But the term also means the all comprehensive and all-transcending Reality, Bhūmā, the Infinite, "Niratisāyabrihat," as Rāmānuja puts it. Vijñānabhikṣu, in dealing with the same question, likewise observes, "the Self is called Brahman, both by reason of its infinitude, and of its bursting forth, or self-differentiating expansion."¹ And it is evident from the Vedānta itself that the term connotes both these ideas. The Vedānta Sūtras, at the very outset (I,1,2) defines Brahman as "the principle which evolves, from within, the cosmic order, sustains it, as its ultimate ground and support, and re-absorbs (to be understood only in its logical sense of posterity and not as an event in time) it on its dissolution."² Thus, the cosmic-order, the Vedānta tells us, is the bursting forth, or self-differentiation of the universal Self, which manifests itself in a world of plurality, as means of its self-manifestation, includes and unifies them all, and, as the ultimate ground and support of all its modes, transcends them. The Chan. Up., VII. 24. 1, again, defines Brahman in its aspect of Bhūmā, the all-embracing Reality, the Infinite, "wherein nothing else (separate from and independent

¹ Cf. Rāmānuja's Commentary on Vedānta Sūtras, I. 1. 2: also Vijñānabhikṣu's commentary on the same.

² The Vedāntic passages referring to prior-existence of the plurality, in a latent state in the Absolute, as well as those referring to the final dissolution of the plurality, are always to be taken in their logical sense, and never as events in time. The Vedāntic Brahman is an eternally self-differentiating principle, and as such creation is the eternal self-manifestation of the Infinite.

of it) is to be seen, nothing else is to be heard, nothing else is to be conceived, and nothing else is to be known.”¹ The first definition represents Brahman as both the efficient and material cause of the plurality of existents, both its source and support, *Adhiṣṭāna-Kāraṇa* (Ablative Cause, if we can say so) as *Vijñānabhikṣu* aptly designates it.² “Brahman desired,” the *Upaniṣads* accordingly tell us, “to grow or differentiate itself, into many forms, and it modified itself and assumed many forms, abiding whole and complete in each of the modes.”³ “He, who makes while all are asleep,” says *Katha* (I. 2, 8 and 12). “That alone is the Light of the world. That is Brahman, That verily is called the Eternal Being. In Him rest all the worlds, and nothing transcends Him. He is the One Ruler, the Soul of all existents, who manifests His One Self into many forms. The sages who see Him as manifested in their own souls alone have eternal peace, and not others.” “All these are regulated by Reason (*Prajñānetram*)” (*Ait. Up.* III. 3), “rest in Reason (*Prajñāne pratiṣṭhitam*). The world is led by Reason, Reason is its support (*Prajñā pratiṣṭhā*); Reason is Brahman.” “All these existents,” similarly says *Uddālaka* (*Chh.* VI, 8, 1 and 7), “live, move, and have their being in this Eternal Being.....All existents are but modes of the Self.” The *Vedānta Sūtras* also echo and re-echo the same ideas in a hundred different

¹ This passage, and similar other passages, have been grossly misinterpreted by Śaṅkara, Gough, Deussen, and others, as implying a denial of the plurality. Here, however, plurality is not at all denied; it is only represented as the necessary material of the life of the Infinite, and as having no independent existence.

² In opposition to Śaṅkara's Distortion of Illusion Theory, *Vivarta-Vāda*, on the one hand, and Rāmānuja's Modification Theory, *Anrināma-Vāda*, on the other, he offers his doctrine of ‘Ablative Causality,’ as best describing the true relation between Brahman, as cause and ground, and the world of plurality, as effects. The theory of Ablative Causality includes evidently the Modification Theory of Rāmānuja, and nicely fits in with the Unity-in-difference view of Reality held by *Nimvārka*, and taught in the *Vedānta*. It clearly brings out that particular aspect of Vedantic Panentheism which refers to the transcendence of the Reality and its inexhaustibility in the world of plurality.

³ *Tait. Up.*, II, 6; *Bṛih.* I. 4, 5; 7; 10; IV. 4, 13; IV, 5, 7, etc. *Chh.*, VI. 2, 3; VI. 8, 4; VII. 14, 1-2, etc. *Mand.* I. 1, 7-8; II. 1, 3-4. *Prasna*, 1, 4; IV. 7; *Katha*, II. 2, etc.

ways, and represents the cosmic-whole "as a system of inter-related reals, the modes of the self-manifestation of the Supreme Spirit."

It is "not in a Substance as severed from its finite modes as existing in a way which is not their mode of existence—that we can look for the ultimate explanation of the universe. A universal, which is simply the negation of the particular elements, can in no way be reconciled with these. A substance or ground of existence which is but the negation of all finite existence can in no way serve as their bond of union."¹ Brahman is not such a negation of all finite existents. It is on the contrary, "a differentiated Unity," to use Dr. McTaggart's words,² "in which the Unity has no meaning but the differentiations, and the differentiations have no meaning but the Unity. The differentiations are individuals, for each of whom the Unity exists, and whose whole nature consists in the fact that the Unity is for them, as the whole nature of the Unity consists in the fact that it is for the individuals." Bādarāyana is indeed never tired of bringing out this fact of correlation between Brahman and the plurality of existents, its modes of self-manifestation, of showing their essential non-difference and unity, and yet emphasising their equally real difference and opposition, as finite centres of the Infinite's self-manifestation.³

Brahman is not only an eternal principle of change and generation, but, as the Self of all, it is also their universal internal Guide and Ruler. It is ever active, self-conscious, Universal Will, eternally manifesting itself through an infinity of finite centres, the world of plurality. The creation is thus an eternal process of the self-revelation of Brahman, and 'names' and 'forms,' the plurality of existents, are the objects

¹ Adamson, *Development of Modern Philosophy*, Vol. I, p. 66.

² McTaggart, *Studies in Hegelian Cosmology*, p. 19.

³ Cf. For Unity in Difference, I. 1, 23-27; II. 1, 13; 18; 22; III. 2, 11; 27-28, etc.

For Non-difference—II. 1, 15-19; etc.

For Difference I. 1, 17-22; I. 2, 1-24, etc.

of its eternal consciousness. Thus understood, Śankara's special pleading on the point becomes quite superfluous and meaningless. "What then is the object," asks he, "to which the knowledge of the Lord can refer previously to the origin of the world? Name and form, we reply, which can be defined neither as being identical with Brahman nor as different from it, unevolved, but about to be evolved" (Thibaut, *Vedānta Sūtras*, p. 50). This special pleading is, we say, quite unnecessary, from a strictly Vedāntic point of view. Creation, according to the Vedānta, is eternal; Brahman is an eternally self-differentiating Unity, and 'names' and 'forms,' as modes of Brahman's self-manifestation, form the objects of its eternal consciousness.

Materialism and Idealism are both one-sided systems. Materialism has completely failed to explain the unity of the cosmic order, and the origin of the individual souls, ability to produce intelligence, means to contain it, at least potentially. Again, to make reciprocal inter-actions among a plurality of existents possible, the constituent elements of the world-whole must have some common bond of unity and inter-dependence: and this unity in principle, as Lotze points out, must be a spiritual principle. The idealistic thinkers have, on the contrary, been confronted with insuperable difficulties in their attempts to pass from the ideal to the real. The difficulty of the task compelled Plato greatly to compromise his position, and to take recourse to the hypothesis of a principle of non-being, to explain the world of change and generation. Hegel solved the difficulty by declaring the identity of thought and being. But "the idea which involves reality, thought which implies force, is," to use Weber's words, "more than an idea, more than thought." The reconciliation of these two opposed positions and a true synthesis of Idea and Form must be sought for in a higher principle, from which both matter and thought proceed. "No substance," said Leibnitz, "without effect." Modern science has also resolved

matter into force. But, to make effort, is to will, and, if 'effort' or 'tendency to move' forms the essence of matter, we must seek for the basis of substance in the will. Thought, again, also implies effort. In the will, then, lies the synthesis of thought and matter. It is, "the common denominator, and the only one to which physics and morals can be reduced : it is being in its fulness. Everything else is merely phenomenal." And "compared to the effort, which produces them, realises them, constitutes them, matter and thought are nothing but accidents," ulterior products and developments. "The will is at the basis of everything ; it is not only the essence of human soul, the primary phenomenon of physical life, but the universal phenomenon, the basis and the substance of being, the only Absolute principle. On this principle, as Aristotle says, depend the heavens and all nature." Thus "concrete spiritualism alone, which considers Will as the ground of all things, and the common substance of the 'two-worlds,' is a truly universal metaphysics, containing," to use the words of Leibnitz, "whatever there is of good in the hypothesis of Epicurus and of Plato, of the greatest materialist and the greatest idealist." (Weber's History of Philosophy, pp. 600-1).

Schopenhauer was the first in modern age to call the ultimate basis of all existents by its right name, the Will. But, although he tried to work out a speculative metaphysics on a realistic basis, he completely misunderstood the nature of the Will. The Will is not a mere will-to-be, but it strives after an ideal. Such a will alone, *Wille zum Guten*, and not the will to-be-at-any-cost. *Wille zum Leben*, of Schopenhauer, constitutes the true essence of the ultimate world-principle, which manifests itself in the world of plurality as the principle of change, generation and progress, supports the heavens and the worlds, and reveals itself in man as the Self of his self, and as the ultimate ground and foundation of his moral aspirations. And such a Will is the Vedāntic Brahman, an eternally

self-differentiating spiritual principle of change and generation, evolution and progress.

Schopenhauer's view of matter is only a modification of Leibnitz's pan-psychism. Prof. Stout, in his *Manual of Psychology*, Intro., Chap. III, has also upheld pan-psychism, and says that there is a psychical element even in matter. Prof. Bosanquet, however, holds pan-psychism as "a gratuitous hypothesis" (*Principle of Individuality*, p. 366). As the world-whole is the manifestation of the Will, the Vedānta maintains that there is a psychical element in matter also, and that all existents are ultimately 'feeling things,' 'reals.' There are, however, different grades of 'reals.' And man alone is fully conscious of his 'realness,' of his living self-existence, as a finite centre of the Infinite. And this is what makes him an end to himself, in the strict sense of the term. He alone is distinctly conscious of the infinitude of his soul, as well as of his capacity to realise the divine in him by his individual efforts. And that is what makes him "the crown and apex of creation."

Now, to elucidate the Vedāntic view-point of Reality, the manner or process of its self-differentiation into the world of plurality, as well as the nature of the relation between the One, the variously diversified Reality, and its various individual modes, the Vedānta has used three kinds of analogical arguments side by side. One set deals with the nature of the Ultimate Reality, as a principle of unity-in-difference. One of the other two sets is intended to bring out and emphasise the element of difference between the Reality and its finite modes and the other set to indicate and explain their ultimate and essential unity, and the moment-to-moment dependence of the modes on the Reality, whose modifications they are. But this sort of treatment of the subject matter, has, evidently, an inherent drawback of its own. If, for an apprehension of the Vedāntic doctrine, one ignores the first and third set of arguments, and

How to read the
Vedānta.

relies entirely on the second set, he will discover nothing but pure and unmixed dualism in the Vedānta. If one, on the other hand, ignores the first and second set of arguments and illustrations, and relies on the third set exclusively, he is apt to fall into the opposite blunder, and to think that Vedāntism is nothing but a magnified type of Eleatic metaphysics. But both these interpretations of the Vedānta are equally wrong, one-sided and anti-Vedāntic. The Vedāntic teachers themselves were clearly aware of this defect in their treatment of the subject. They have, accordingly, left no stone unturned to warn their readers, while dealing with the Vedānta, always to be on their guard, and never to divorce the three sets of arguments from each other and to destroy their organic unity. Bādarāyana himself has most distinctly told us (Vedānta Sūtras, III. 2. 20) that simile is always meant to illustrate one point only, and not all, *omne simile claudicat*, for otherwise it would not be a simile at all; and that, as such, a simile must always be taken strictly in the sense it is intended to convey, and must never be understood in a wider sense. Nimbārka, Śāṅkara, Rāmānuja and scores of other commentators on the Vedānta have also echoed and re-echoed this warning. But, in spite of all such warnings, the Vedānta has often been grossly misunderstood. And what is worse still, some of these very commentators have fallen into the dark pitfalls against which they themselves have cautioned their readers. And this has naturally made confusion worse confounded. Śāṅkara himself, as we shall show hereafter in another article, has been one of the greatest offenders in this respect. He has completely ignored, or tried to explain away, the first two sets of arguments, and has transformed the eternally self-differentiating Vedāntic Brahman, the eternal spiritual principle of change and generation into an ever-immutable Pure Being of the Eleatics, and has been driven to declare the plurality of existents as illusions, fictitious appearances—as mere phantoms of unenlightened

human imagination, Ignorance, or Avidyā. And an overwhelming majority of scholars in the West, and many in the East as well, who have implicitly relied on Śankara as an infallible guide, have only unawares been hurled into the same abyss. Another class of Orientalists—Prof. Oldenberg belongs to this class—have fallen into the opposite blunder, and have discovered clear and unmistakable germs of Sankhyan dualism and pessimism, as Prof. Oldenberg calls it, in the concrete spiritualism of the Vedānta. We shall fully discuss Śankara's position, as well as that of the Western scholars who have followed him hereafter in a separate article. Here we shall briefly examine Prof. Oldenberg's contention and point out its absurdity.

"The doctrine of the Brahmanas regarding the Atman,"

Prof.
mistake.

Oldenberg's

Prof. Oldenberg tells us (Buddha, 1882, pp.

33, 39-40), "do not form a system," and in

them "the most irreconcilable differences

remain in juxtaposition, probably without their inherent contradictions having been even noticed." "The Atman," he adds, "pervades things, as the salt which has dissolved in water, and pervades the water ; from the Atman things spring, as the sparks fly out from the fire, as threads from the spider, as the sound comes from the flute or the drum. As all the spokes are united together in the nave and the felly of a wheel, so in the Atman are united...all the worlds, all gods, all beings, all these egoities 'He who dwells in the earth,' it is said of the Atman, 'being in the earth, whom the earth knows not, whose body is the earth...that is, the Atman.'" And, accordingly, "we may infer," says he, that "the Atman is to the Indian certainly the sole actuality...the only significant reality in things ; but there is a remainder left in things, which he is not," and that, "the Atman, as the sole directing power, is in all that lives and moves, but that the world of creatures operated on, stands side by side with the directing power, pervaded by his energy, and yet separate from him...Since

then there remains in things a residue which is not Atman, ...naturally comes the expectation that it was conceived to be matter or dark chaos, which, formless in itself, receives its form from the Atman, the Source of form and life." Again, "if the Atman," he continues, "be commended as 'who is above hunger and death,' who is there who does not detect in such words a reflection, though it be not openly expressed, on the world of the creature, in which hunger and thirst, sorrow and confusion are at home, and in which men grow old and die ?" (*Ibid*, p. 12.) In such utterances we find, Prof. Oldenberg concludes, "the birthplace of Indian pessimism," and one feels naturally disposed to infer that "that the One, the happy Atman, has chosen to manifest itself in the world of plurality, of becoming and disease, was a misfortune : this is not openly stated... but they cannot have been very far from this thought when they proposed to man as the highest aim of his effort, the undoing in his case of the manifestation, and the finding for himself a return from the plurality to the One." (*Ibid*, 12-43.)

Now the above lengthy extract clearly explains Prof. Oldenberg's position. But evidently, partly owing to his Neo-Platonic prepossessions, and partly owing to his having approached the Vedānta through a wrong track, he has entirely misunderstood the real significance of the Vedāntic Panentheism. There are two points in his contention, namely, the alleged presence of Sāṅkhyan dualism in the Vedāntic teachings, and their pessimistic drift and the conception of metempsychosis. Here we shall only briefly examine his first point. It will be evident, from the following passages of the Chh. and the Brih. Upanisads themselves, from which Prof. Oldenberg has selected the passages mentioned above, that his contention is entirely groundless. Uddālaka asked his son, Śvetaketu, on the latter's return from his preceptor's house, on the termination of his studentship, "Have you, my dear son, ever asked for that instruction, by which all that is

unheard becomes heard, all that is unperceived becomes perceived, all that is unknown becomes known?" "What is that instruction, revered father?" asked the son. "As, my dear son," replied the father, "from one clod of clay all that is made of clay is known, *the difference being only in the modifications signified by their names, arising from speech*, but the truth is that all is clay; and as, my dear son, from one nugget of gold, all that is made of gold is known, *the difference being only in the modifications signified by their names, arising from speech*, but the truth is that all is gold.....'Thus, my dear son, is that instruction" (Chh. Up., VI.¹ 1, 3-6). This memorable passage has been a veritable bone of contention between Śāṅkara, on the one hand, and most of the other commentators on the other. But, read between the lines, it evidently admits of one interpretation alone. In spite of all individual differences, the various modifications of clay or gold, as the case may be, have their essential identity, inasmuch as they are all modes of one and the same substance, differently modified in them. Thus, by knowing the substance its modes are virtually known; or better, the substance can alone be known in and through its modes, and, when so known, the unknown modes of the substance also become known in this manner. This is the great truth which Uddālaka in this famous passage has tried to impress on the mind of his son. The expression, that 'the difference lies in names alone,' does not, in any way, negate or deny the reality of the modes, as Śāṅkara and his followers wrongly think it does. Here the term 'names' is evidently to be understood as 'signs for the things signified.' So the expression only means that the differences are only due to the various modifications signified by their respective names; but that their substance is the same, that the same substance exists in them

¹ Cf. Max Müller, *Six Systems of Indian Philosophy*, p. 104; S. B. E., I. P., 92.

The whole dialogue has been translated by Deussen, Gough and others, after Śāṅkara's interpretation of it.

all, diversified in different ways. So, by knowing a clod of clay, or a nugget of gold, or Brahman, as the case may be, all its modes become known in their essence. The father's object was evidently to teach the son the great truth that all existents, in spite of their individual differences, are but different modes or finite centres of the self-manifestation of one Ultimate Reality, Brahman, that reveals itself in and through them all. "In the beginning," the father added, "there was, my dear son, 'That only, which is, One only without a second . . . It thought, 'May I be many, may I grow forth : ' " And it became all these. "*All these are modes of the Self,*" "*Ētadātmyam idam sarvam.*" The word, '*ātmyam*,' the modes of the Self, is quite significant, and involves a clear admission of the existence and reality of the world of plurality, as modes of one Ultimate Reality, the Self. (Chh. Up. VI. 2, 1 & 3 ; VI. 8-7) Bādarāyaṇa has also taken this passage exactly in this sense (cf. Vedānta Sūtras, II. 1, 13 & 14). The Brih. Up. (I. 4, 10), similarly declares, "That one became all these,"—*Tat sarvam abhavat.* The same Upaniṣad in the Madhu-Vidyā still more clearly tells us, "This Self shaped itself after the shape of everything, that it might unfold its essence." The Katha Up. (V. 9-12) also tells us, "He Who manifests himself in many forms." This is, in fact, the one cry of the Upaniṣads and the Vedānta Sūtras, and it is writ large in letters of gold on every page of the Vedānta. Evidently then, the Vedāntic view-point of Reality is Unity-in-difference; and there is absolutely no germ of Sāṅkhyan dualism in the Upaniṣads, nor do the Upaniṣads have anything to do with the immutable Pure Being of the Eleatics, as we shall see more fully clearly hereafter.

It is evident, from above, that the Vedānta teaches nothing but Concrete Spiritualism. The three sets of analogical arguments referred to above must, under no circumstances, be divorced from one another; for they are intended

only as inter-related elements of one organic system of thought. In the sea of the Vedānta, the mariner has, therefore, to be always on the watch-tower, and must know how to steer clear of the Scylla and the Charybdis referred to above, which have, unfortunately, been the grave of the reputation of many a good sailor.

N. K. DUTT

THE GOLD EXCHANGE STANDARD DURING AND AFTER THE WAR¹

(A Comparative Study)

In this short paper I shall outline the history of the Gold Exchange Standard in India and elsewhere during and after the war. The future of the Indian currency system is yet obscure. Neither the Government nor the expert opinion of the country seem to be clear as to the goal of our monetary policy. Eminent Indian Economists believe that the Gold Exchange Standard has proved a failure during and after the War and should be replaced as soon as possible by a full-fledged gold standard. A discussion of the questions, whether the Gold Exchange Standard has collapsed hopelessly and whether the Gold Standard has fared better, would not, I hope, therefore, be considered irrelevant.

Our currency troubles began when our exports showed too great an excess over our imports. The currency and exchange mechanism could not cope with the extremely one-sided trade that occurred in the recent years. During the War and just after the Armistice the Indian price-level lagged behind the world price-level. There were only two alternatives—either prices in India had to rise to the full extent of the rise abroad or Indian exchange had to move upwards above the par of normal times. Scarcity of silver and the danger of the paper currency becoming inconvertible stood in the way of a very rapid expansion of the Indian currency. The rise in exchange of the rupee was thus inevitable.

A Gold Standard country like Sweden had to face the same dilemma. India experienced one of the alternatives of a changed ratio between the price-level at home and outside.

¹ Read at the Bombay Economic Conference, January, 1924.

It was a rise in exchange above the legal par. Sweden experienced the other alternative—too rapid a rise of prices. She ran such a risk of being choked with gold that the free coinage of gold had to be suspended. Thus her Gold Standard collapsed. And we must remember that she was not a belligerent country. The strain of the War was severer on India than on Sweden.

Returning to the history of the Indian Exchange we find more dramatic changes after the War than during the War. After the Armistice the demand for India's raw materials was stronger than ever as there was a boom of manufacturing activity in England and America. Silver, which was controlled during the War, was decontrolled early in 1919. The price of silver soared higher and higher and after it went the rupee. I believe greater attention has been paid, in explaining India's currency difficulties, to the high price of silver than to the more fundamental cause of the abrupt changes in the ratio between the price levels at home and abroad which brought about extremely abnormal conditions of foreign trade. This will be clearer as we see later events.

By an irony of fate the Babington Smith Currency Committee submitted its Report when the rising wave of the post-war boom had nearly reached its crest and when a downward movement was imminent. The Committee's decision to push the rupee up in exchange to 2s. gold was probably justified in the light of the circumstances at that time. But its warning that in case of an abrupt fall in the world price-level this decision was to be reconsidered was strangely ignored. And this contingency did come about. The boom which was raising prices and cost of production in a vicious circle came to a sudden halt on account of the inability of the consumer to pay higher and higher prices. War-devastated Europe could not stand the strain and an acute trade depression set in. Prices in India, however, did not come down as quickly

as the falling prices brought about by the slump abroad. The balance of trade which was so strong in India's favour now swung violently round the other way. Under such circumstances a high exchange policy was manifestly impossible. It was persisted in, however, and a heavy loss was incurred by the sale of Reverse Councils at rates much higher than the market conditions justified. Just as the rupee rose in exchange in spite of all attempts to keep it down when the Indian price level did not rise as rapidly as prices outside, similarly it fell in exchange in spite of all attempts to keep it up when prices in India did not fall *pari passu* with the fall in the world price level. In the latter part of 1920 exchange was left severely alone by the Government and the rupee sank very soon even below the pre-war level. For some time it seemed as if the rupee, which had become unlinked from gold on account of the collapse of the Reverse Councils machinery, had been linked again with silver from which it had been divorced in 1893. But if the rupee fell in exchange, the gold price of its silver contents soon fell still lower. The fall in the price of silver was as dramatic as its rise and was mainly due to the demand of the East for the precious metals being satisfied by heavy imports of gold which was now available from the U.S.A. In 1921 the decline of the Indian export trade and of the exchange value of the rupee reached the lowest depths. The acute industrial depression had become world-wide and harvests in India had disastrously failed. Exchange slumped to 1s. 3d. sterling in May, 1921. Had the import trade also not been severely depressed the fall in exchange would have been much heavier. Towards the latter part of 1922, with the removal of the embargo on the export of food grains, the rupee seemed to rally at the par of 1s. 4d. During 1923, with a slow return toward normalcy, exchange also has shown more firmness. The sale of Council Bills which was suspended since January, 1920, was resumed exactly three years

afterwards. But as only a limited quantity is sold, these sales cannot stop the appreciation of the rupee. Government has not yet made up its mind to maintain exchange at a fixed point. The object of these limited sales of Council Bills is only to remit part of the Home Charges. At present exchange is showing great steadiness at 1s. 5d. But before we sum up our conclusions as regards India let us have a glance at conditions outside.

Let us first see how those countries have fared which have adopted the Gold Exchange Standard not, as it were, unconsciously but deliberately and under the law of the land. During our last Summer Vacation I visited Siam, Straits Settlements, etc., partly in the role of a pilgrim to Buddhist lands and partly with the object of studying on the spot the history of the currency and exchange of these countries in the last five years. A detailed account of these currency's studies will soon be published. Here I shall only give very brief sketches of the changes during and after the War.

Siam, an independent Buddhist kingdom, has become modernised within the last twenty years and the history of its Gold Exchange Standard, introduced in 1908, is extremely interesting. The pre-war exchange value of the silver tical was 13 ticals to the pound sterling, *i.e.*, 1 tical equal to 1s. 6½d.—a rate which remained stable for more than twelve years, 1906 to 1919. It was in 1919 that currency troubles began in Siam. Her export trade, especially in rice, was extremely brisk. Ticals were required at Bangkok, the capital of Siam, in larger and larger quantities to finance the rice exports, a considerable portion of which went to Europe. But silver had been decontrolled in that year and its price was soaring higher and higher. The silver ticals began to disappear rapidly from circulation because they were now worth more as bullion than as currency. The Siamese Government hesitated at first to raise the rate of exchange. The fineness of the subsidiary silver currency (quarter ticals, half tical, etc.) was considerably

reduced. No new ticals were minted. But these measures did not suffice.

The strong demand for ticals and the rising price of silver made it necessary to raise the rate of exchange in September, 1919. By the end of the year exchange mounted up to quite a high figure (2s. 1½d.) compared with the normal sterling parity. But the tical was never raised by more than 2d. at a time. It was also thought that the higher value of the tical was somewhat effective in reducing the price-level in Siam.

Meanwhile, the Siamese paper currency, too, underwent considerable modifications. To meet the balance of trade, which was so strongly in favour of Siam, notes were required very urgently especially as silver ticals were no longer minted. The invested portion of the Paper Currency Reserve was gradually increased at the expense of the specie portion. One-tical notes were issued. At last the paper money was declared temporarily inconvertible. The inconvertibility did not prove such a rude shock to public confidence as was feared at first.

The outward rush of rice and the consequent heavy demand for Siamese currency, which now took the form of a demand for notes, continued well on into the spring of 1920. A disastrous failure of the rice crop, however, completely reversed the position in the summer of 1920. The demand for Siamese currency died away. As the balance of trade now swung violently against Siam there was a strong demand for sterling to meet the requirements of importers.

The tical portion of the Gold Standard Fund, which exists to maintain the parity of the tical, had to bear a very severe strain as long as there was the unprecedented excess of exports over imports. Exchange Banks during this period were paying foreign currency abroad and were demanding ticals in Siam. The Government had to lend to the Gold Standard Fund ticals out of the Treasury. Since the latter half of 1920 the sterling portion of the Fund had to bear the

brunt. The banks now paid ticals in Bangkok and demanded sterling abroad. However, with the aid of the Treasury which eked out the sterling resources of the Gold Standard Fund—exchange was maintained at the high level to which it had risen by the end of 1919.

With the stoppage of rice exports there took place a great contraction in the note issue. In 1922 the coin reserve in Siam against the note issue was forty-four per cent. of the value of the notes outstanding. If we include money kept on current account and fixed deposit to the credit of the Siamese paper currency reserves in banks in London and Paris—we reach the very respectable figure of 72% of the total note issue. Convertibility could easily be restored. But as the Siamese Government is waiting for a return to normal conditions to introduce some important changes in the whole currency system, the period of inconvertibility has been extended to January, 1925.

Another outstanding event of 1923 was the lowering of the exchange value of the tical by order of the Government in January. It had been kept steady for over three years at the high rate reached at the end of 1919. But a high exchange was felt as a serious drawback by Siamese exporters especially on account of the depressed condition of Europe. The present rate, however, is yet higher than the pre-war par. Prices are also coming down from the dangerous heights reached just after the war.

To sum up I may quote what H. H. Prince Bidya told me in the Ministry of Commerce, Bangkok: "Our currency policy has been a fairly successful one. We have passed through critical times and have fared better than most other countries."

I may also add here that it is to the kindness of H. H. Prince Bidya and Hon'ble Mr. Lyle, the British Consul-General in Siam, that I owe my information on Siamese currency and exchange.

Now let us pass under review the recent experiences of the currency system of the Straits Settlements. In 1906 a Gold Exchange Standard was established and the exchange value of the Straits dollar was fixed at 2s. 4d. The dollar is also the standard coin of the Federated Malay States through which I had to pass in my train journey from Singapore to Bangkok. The Straits Settlements, with its great rubber industry, soon felt the effects of the European War. Here also there was a prodigious demand for local currency to meet the requirements of trade and industry. The paper currency was declared temporarily inconvertible in 1917 and in 1918 new subsidiary coins of reduced fineness were issued. A large number of very small denomination notes (of ten cents and of 25 cents) also came into circulation at this time. As regards the subsequent history of the Straits currency I shall give here a brief account of my conversation at Singapore with Mr. Talma, the Deputy Treasurer of the Straits Settlements.

In response to the demands of trade and industry the quantity of money in circulation was nearly doubled in the period 1914 to 1918. Then in the year 1919, owing to the great rubber boom, there was such an abnormal expansion that by the end of that year the net circulation of currency was nearly double the net circulation in 1918. The expansion consisted wholly of paper currency. It is my personal belief that such violent fluctuations in the quantity of money in circulation were due to the fact that exchange was kept stable and was prevented from rising when the favourable balance of trade of the Straits Settlements was becoming too favourable. The demand for currency came mostly from American and Japanese business men who had invested heavily in rubber. Such was the intensity of the rubber craze that food crops all over the Malay Peninsula were entirely neglected—almost all available land being given over to rubber plantations. Prices rose very fast with the abnormal expansion of currency.

But in 1920 rubber slumped down and by 1921 the net circulation of currency had dropped down to 50% of that in 1919. A drastic change in the price level followed. This is another example of unstable prices at home when exchange is kept stable though conditions abroad are unstable. The American and Japanese business men are fast leaving the country as the rubber industry is for the time practically ruined.

In May 1920 the silver dollar, the monetary unit of the Straits Settlements, had to be reduced in fineness and weight. Also the paper money was declared inconvertible during the period 1917 to 1921. Now that convertibility has been restored there is very little demand for silver dollars. I saw only one silver dollar during my stay in the Straits Settlements.

But in spite of all these currency difficulties, exchange was kept stable throughout and the Government takes great pride in the fact. Probably this stability was maintained at the cost of great fluctuations in the price level. But the Straits Government are firm supporters of a steady exchange and have successfully resisted all proposals to tamper with it.

In this connection it must be noted, however, that the Straits currency is now on a sterling basis—not on a gold basis. Had the colonial authorities stuck to the gold par of 2s. 4d., the dollar would have mounted in 1919 and 1920 to 4s. sterling. But the authorities followed sterling and dropped flirting with gold. The currency ordinance which came into force on 1st October, 1923, has now legalised this sterling basis.

Now let us turn to the Dutch East Indies as Java is so close to Singapore. I could not go to Java as the time at my disposal was too short, but through the courtesy of P. R. Boger, Esq., the Dutch Consul General at Singapore, I managed to get up-to-date information about the currency system of the Dutch East Indies. It must be remembered that the Gold Exchange Standard was first established as a practical

monetary system in Java by the Dutch Government as early as 1877. Thus it is the oldest Gold Exchange Standard country and I am glad to say that the vitality of its currency system has not been impaired by the World War.

There was not much fluctuation in exchange during the War between Holland and Java. Only very recently the Java guilder has gone down just a little in terms of the Dutch florin. Though the paper money had to be declared inconvertible yet gold for making payment abroad could be had from the banks. No currency changes are pending as the system has stood the test of the war fairly well.

As regards the Philippine Islands, I intended to go there to study on the spot how Kemmerer's great experiments had fared. But as I had to come back from Bangkok, I have to depend on information supplied to me by Mr. Abrecht—the American Consul General in the capital of Siam. It is a very interesting history but I can only say here that the authorities made a muddle of everything by ignoring the main principles laid down by Kemmerer. The large reserves were invested in long-time capital loans which could not be recovered when cash was required to meet exchange difficulties. Also an amalgamation of the Paper Currency Reserves and of the Gold Standard Reserves weakened the whole system. The new Currency Act of 1922 attempts to re-establish currency legislation as it stood before the unfortunate changes were made in Kemmerer's system. It is interesting to note that the Philippine exchange did not collapse on account of the appreciation of the Peso during or just after the War. It was the depreciation of the Peso in 1920 and 1921 which caused the breakdown. The Philippine paper currency, however, has remained convertible throughout.

Now let us have a hurried survey of other currency systems, which are not professedly on the Gold Exchange Standard basis. You all know that in recent years Australia and South Africa have virtually abandoned the gold standard.

The currencies of both these gold-producing countries (and we must remember that South Africa is the most important gold-producing country in the world) consist now of paper money. Exchange is maintained with England by means of bank reserves in the Dominions and in the mother country. This is really the Exchange Standard plan. To quote the Editor of the *Economist* :

"The interests of gold-producers plainly lie in the earliest possible restoration of gold standards throughout the world. But the fact remains that the idea of an independent return to the gold standard is not so much as mentioned in Australia, while in South Africa it found small support and was deliberately rejected in 1920."

Egypt, too, has ceased to have a gold currency in circulation. In 1913 Keynes wrote of Egypt as the only country with a Gold Standard where gold currency was not economised by the use of paper money or of Bank deposits. The notes of the Egyptian National Bank issued against British Treasury Bills form at present the sole currency of that country and Egyptian exchange with British has remained very stable in recent years.

Let us now turn to Europe. During the War gold currency ceased to circulate in all the belligerent countries and found its way into Government Reserves. The old mint pars disappeared and purely conventional pars were established where Governments could arrange to get credit abroad. Certainly all this was a close approximation towards the Gold Exchange Standard.

After the War the same statement holds good of nearly every currency in the world which has not collapsed hopelessly. An attempted transition from an inconvertible paper regime to a real Gold Standard is sure to break down as the international competition to get gold would send up the price of gold too high. We must remember that the world's production of gold in recent years has been considerably below the

pre-war output. Gold has to be economised and this can be done by the Gold Exchange Standard. Such is the opinion of the Financial Commission of the Genoa Conference of 1922.

Again a gold standard is no safeguard against an unstable price level. The gold exchange standard lends itself much better to a scheme like Professor Fisher's for stabilising prices. Prof. Copland in his tract on the Australian currency has made this point quite clear.

After this review of the Gold Exchange Standard in the world let us turn back to the problems facing us at home.

Should exchange be stabilised at a fixed point? We seem to have had enough of a fluctuating rate of exchange with its blighting effects on foreign trade. Public opinion, of late, apparently favoured stabilisation at the old par of *1s. 4d.* Currency experts like Professor Jevons and Sir James Wilson also endorse the same view. But the rupee is already *1s. 5d.* and shows remarkable steadiness at that point. Reverting to *1s. 4d.* would mean considerable inflation. Then we must remember that the worldwide trade depression has not yet come to an end. It is said by competent authorities that in 1920 the mistake was committed of fixing exchange at the time of a prodigious boom—should we now take the risk of stabilising exchange during a trade slump of unexampled intensity? The English price level has fallen more rapidly in the last three years than Indian prices. In England a substantial rebound is expected to occur as a reaction after the sudden drop. We should, therefore, wait and see a little longer till at least England and some of the other countries, which were not hit so badly by the War, recover from the depression. I believe after another year we shall be in a better position to discuss the new par of exchange. Probably it would be higher than *1s. 4d.* The *2s.* rate is, of course, impossibly high.

We have seen that the Gold Exchange Standard has not been such a failure as some are apt to think. It bids fair to

oust the gold standard in many important countries. I believe that a gold standard in India would be really only a limping standard which would be decidedly a retrograde step. It would destroy the prestige of the rupee without strengthening our exchange. The prestige of the rupee extends beyond the borders of India in many parts of Central Asia. When we visited Western Tibet on our pilgrimage to Manas Sarowar in 1922, we found to our great surprise that even in the Forbidden Land the Indian rupee was much preferred to the Tibetan silver currency.

We can, however, perfect our Gold Exchange Standard. We depend here too much on the price of silver. The issue of paper money covered by Bills of Exchange has already been a success. I think that the quantity of currency notes issued against Indian securities should be replaced by paper money issued against Commercial Bills. The "created securities" should go once for all. They are a blot on our currency system. The Gold Standard Reserves should be kept partly in India not only to disarm criticism but to supplement the rupees in the Treasury Balances when Council Bills have to be cashed on a large scale. Lastly, the rate of exchange once fixed should not be considered so sacrosanct as not to admit of any change. But no considerable change should be made abruptly. Slowly and tentatively the rate should be accommodated to changes in the world outside. The history of the Siamese Currency and Exchange is a good illustration of this point.

B. R. CHATTERJEE

A RATIONALISTIC VIEW OF POESY ¹

II

PERCEPTION OF DIVINE BEAUTY.

Devotional spirits, among whom poets take a prominent part, are not agreed as to how best to enjoy the beauty of God. Most of them express this beauty as visual beauty. Bliss lies in seeing God (दर्शन). Some find divine pleasure in listening to the voice of God. Less ambitious natures are satisfied with listening to or uttering His name. Some find it in listening to the flute of God. Some smell Him. Chaitanya alone would not be satisfied unless he could taste Him (कृष्णभक्षण). This need not be confused with consubstantiation, which appeals to utility more than to beauty. There the substance of God is swallowed, not His beauty tasted. The bread and wine of the Lord's supper may taste sweet or bitter, but that is not the thing that the Christian cares for. Perhaps a bitter taste would not deter him from eating the flesh and blood, for the supper is an essential rite in his faith. The search for beauty is fundamentally different from the search for salvation. The latter is imperative ; the former is left to choice.

It will appear that for the realisation of God men try to reach him through one or more of the senses, forgetting that sensuous perception is the lowest and most primitive form of realisation. We cannot blame them. The origin of the conception of God and the idea of man's communion with Him, owe much to the poets. Anthropomorphism is not a religion of Reason. It is based upon Faith and nursed by emotion, helped by the sense of beauty and the poetic faculty. Poetry finds its ultimate consummation in the *Puranas*—in the delineation of the loves of Krishna and the military powers of Kali. Poetry creates idolatry, and idolatry nurses poetry.

¹ The first part appeared in the *Caleutta Review* of May, 1924.

Even the most philosophic poet might think of God as a dancing personality run mad with joy in the Rains and making waltzes with His tangled locks of hair made of clouds loosed in the monsoonish sky.

Even the Sanskrit language labours under the same defect as the languages of the West in regard to a distinct general term to express the idea of beauty. The word *Rasha* which primarily means sweetness of taste, has been generalised to mean the agreeableness of all phenomena perceived through all the senses. *Rasha*, however, has the advantage of expressing not only different degrees of sweetness, but all their opposites of bitterness by the manipulation of prefixes. *Surasha* and *Kurasha* mean sweetness and bitterness respectively. The word Beauty admits of no such manipulation. Good beauty and bad beauty would be un-English. What is known among *Vaishnavas* as *Rashtila* is a divine revelry in *Rasha* in respect of all the senses. The word *Rasha* has been extended to intellectual and moral beauty also, so that it includes all kinds of beauty, though in ordinary intercourse it still means sweetness of taste. Poets use the word *Rasha* to mean the power of exciting emotions and desires. Thus *Adi-Rasha* has the power of exciting sexual desire ; *Rudra-rasha* excites anger and indignation, and is closely connected with the military instincts and their concomitant pugnacity. The West revels in the last *Rasha* ; the East in the first ; I mean as the primary traits of the two hemispheres ; and as a consequence the West follows the ethics of enmity, and the East that of amity. What are virtues in the West are vices in the East, and conversely. The very sentiments and instincts of the two stand in opposition to each other. Rudyard Kipling proved himself a seer, when he said "the twain can never meet." Their contact is beneficial or agreeable to neither. The house in which they live together is noisy and noise-some. Arbitrariness and turmagancy mar its peace. In a word the East and the West may be briefly distinguished as characterised

by the instincts of Love and those of Hate respectively. The Love of the East and the Hate of the West are both adulterated. The Love has drawbacks, and the Hate has redeeming features, but fundamentally they are Love and Hate, and nothing else. The East has been nationally weakened by love : the West has been strengthened by Hate. Both Love and Hate have their limits of propriety, which have been exceeded in both hemispheres. The West now wishes to improve her civilisation by loving, the East by hating. Both are mistaken. The mixed ethics of amity and enmity is corrupting the morals of both the hemispheres. Co-operation has now a charm for the West ; and competition, for the East ; but the charm is illusory in both cases. Nothing can bridge the gulf between the East and the West except a new social experiment drastically commenced from the inception of the social organisation. It is not my purpose to dwell upon the implications of this statement. But it seems to me that complete destruction is an essential preliminary to wholesome reconstruction. The East and West, according to Rabindranath can unite, though not wed. He means perhaps that they can live in concubinage.

THE RASHAS.

A large percentage of poems in India deal with *Adi-Rusha* while a similar proportion in Europe is associated with *Rudra-Rasha*. Epic and lyric alike have this characteristic. In some poems both the *rashas* are united. Gallantry was a trait of knight-errantry ; and in ancient times sexual love was mainly responsible for wars, and poets had the advantage of both the *Rashas*. Sordid gain lies at the root of it in modern times. Sexual jealousy lends itself to poetry. The jealousy of cupidity does not ; and nobody expects an epic written on the great world war, the greatest war of the world either in ancient or modern times. Civilisation has weakened poetry in

another way also. The emotions though strong, work vigorously, but secretly, without immediate external manifestation ; and without this manifestation poetry finds itself invertebrate. Hypocrisy is much stronger than before, but it is so subtle and artful that poesy cannot catch it. Hence with every advance in civilisation poetry recedes into the background.

Ninety per cent. of the poems deal with sensuous beauty. The beauties of size, colour, form, warmth and scent are united in the beauty of the Rose. The Himalaya and the Pacific have the beauty of size, the beauty of height and depth. The Nightingale has the beauty of sound. But the perception of beauty is as much a subjective as an objective phenomenon ; and association of ideas connects one kind of beauty with another. Ocular beauty creates auricular, tactual and palatal beauty. The child refuses to believe that the red fruit is insipid. The lover at first sight is reluctant to believe that the beloved girl has a hoarse voice, or a bad breath. The poet finds ocular beauty in the *Kokil* because it sings sweetly. On the other hand, the crow is doubly ugly, because its acoustic quality is loathsome, though in form and colour it resembles the sweet-singing *Kokil*. The association of ideas that finds fancied beauty of a general kind in actual beauty of one kind, is the cause of treacherous proclivities and venereal maladies. A beautiful feminine face attracts sexual attention without allowing time to find whether actually she is living in hell, as a leper or as a sufferer from other contagious diseases. Poetry ennobles the stupid self-sacrifice and sings in praise of the unscrutinising blindness of Love. Indeed, where Reason and Calculation enter into love, it becomes unpoetic.

PERFECTION OF BEAUTY.

Woman who has been, to all intents and purposes, turned out of her position as a being and reduced to that of a thing, combines in her person all the several kinds of beauty either

by the gift of Nature or by the power of Art, and so far one of the chief aims of civilisation has been to supplement by Art the deficiencies of Natural Beauty in woman. Perfumery was invented for her hair ; rouge for her face ; drapery covers her deformity ; the piano supplements the defects of her larynx, novels are written to sharpen her tastes for association with the masculine sex. Toilette is an art by itself ; high-heeled boots have been discovered for increasing the beauty of her feet ; Calisthenics are resorted to to improve her gait ; and Paris is the centre of civilisation. Hosiery, millinery, drapery, perfumery and a host of other words have added fullness and beauty to language. Poetry, music, perfumery and fine art are devoted to feminine beauty more than to any other object. They seem to have been made for the glorification of woman, as if man were heartily ashamed of the measures which had urged him to degrade woman ; and as if he were sincerely resolved to make amends for his past lapses and misbehaviour towards her. Whether woman has gained by this civilisation of toilette may be doubted, but there can be no doubt that humanity has lost by it. Illusion has been increased and intensified, while hypocrisy has received unprecedented expansion. If half the energy devoted to the enhancing and ennobling of feminine beauty were expended in adding to her liberty and in restoring her to her natural position as a being, mankind might be much happier, at least less miserable than now.

Half-exposed beauty tingles the nerves more exquisitely than does beauty the whole of which is laid bare. Beauty strengthens itself by half concealing itself, and by allowing only flashes to radiate out of it. Permanently exposed beauty loses its charm after a short exposure. This was perceived by the artists of the East very early. The veil over the face of woman was not the work of politicians, but of artists and poets. Italian artists took their inspiration from the East to

produce feminine pictures to the best advantage. The Persian *burkha* is a corruption of the veil invented by necessity. Refined veils have been invented in the civilised countries in the shape of fine silken nets. The corset is an invention to oppose Nature, inspired by the love of beauty at the expense of health. The high-heeled boot is another invention of the same kind. As a rule the desire to treat woman as a beautiful thing rather than as a human being has deeply permeated society; it has permeated woman's nature itself. The poetic love of beauty is responsible for this abasement of the feminine sex. A beautiful woman after thirty can retain her reputation only by desperate efforts of art; and poets and artists avoid her as much as possible. Novelists have particular aversion to old age in women. Feminine beauty created the first prompting to poetry. Sabitri, Sita, Damayanti, Droupadi and Radhika, were all young women. Kunti excited the angry passions even of the Sage Bhishma, and she was old. Feminine beauty is the originator of *Adi-Rasha* (the mother of sweetness or beauty). Poets have no patience with old women; they are as ugly as they were beautiful in youth. The term "old woman" is an invention of the poetic imagination. The best contrast between Beauty and Truth lies in the fact that while Beauty is ephemeral, Truth is eternal.

NATURE AND ARTS.

It is a trite saying that the poet is born. The philosopher is a self-made man. The poet-philosopher? what is he? Is he born or made or both or neither? Jest apart, the whole idea is an inheritance bequeathed from an unscientific to a scientific age. There was a time when law and miracle commanded equal belief; when the law of heredity was vaguely appreciated; when special creation as the theory of the origin of life held the field; when the theory of biological evolution

had not yet been discovered; when men had not yet been convinced of the impossibility of a lioness bringing forth a fox, or a vixen a lion. The idea of the poet being born has been transmitted from that glorious age of history. Many among us, even cultured men, are still unable to shake it off. Sometime before Darwin or Spencer enlightened the world Carlyle had boldly asserted from personal experience that the genius is *made* in a deeper sense than he is *born*. It is not difficult to trace the origin of the old idea. Men trained in an inappropriate atmosphere tried to cultivate poesy and failed. The cauliflower does not grow in the rice field, and manure required for potato will not help its growth. Out of despair unsuccessful poets threw the blame on God. Their complaint was received as a compliment by the successful poets, acquiesced in by the common crowd. Idiots and old women regard gifts as more valuable than acquired property. Beggars regard alms as more valuable than earnings of wages. That is how we see sturdy beggars in our society. Poets are naturally flattered by the unscientific notion, which regards them as chosen individuals. The most flattering epithet in the world is "poet-philosopher;" to the pride of birth it adds the glory of acquired possessions; to the charm of beauty it adds the light of truth. The poet-philosopher handles Beauty and Truth with the lightest heart. They are mutually helpful in him. He has nothing to fear from sneaky critics; his reputation easily silences them. But I doubt if the fame of a poet-philosopher can have stability. Coming generations divide his philosophy from his poesy, and try to scrutinise them separately. It is not impossible they soon find the poesy poisoned by philosophy, and the philosophy diluted and corrupted by poesy. Emotioned Reason and Reasoned Emotion are both abnormal. God made Beauty to please men. He bestows Truth to enlighten them. Emotion and Reason are man's inheritance. Do they keep pace with each other in the progress of civilisation? If not, which predominates at

last? Is anybody prepared to say that in the long run, that in the ultimate end of life, Emotion will dominate Reason? There are men who think that Reason will not only dominate the emotions, but will actually exterminate them for their obstinacy and perversity. This is significant. Philosophy will rule the world. The emotions will be pushed to the wall, or even put out of life altogether. Poetry will disappear; for its flesh and bones are made of the emotional stuff. Poetry has already declined in its fight with Truth and Reason. More humiliation is in store for it. It has tried to enter into partnership with Reason, and has now all but become a sleeping partner. In recent times D. L. Roy challenged Reason and directed his appeals entirely to the emotions. On the other hand, Dr. Rabindranath has been coquetting with Reason, and transferred his affections from the masses to the hermaphrodite class of emotional Rationalists. His emotional strokes are too refined to affect the heart, and his Rationalist blows lose their force before they actually strike.

LOVE AND HATE.

Beauty excites love directly. It excites hate indirectly. Feminine beauty has often led to duels and wars. The Iliad, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata are poems inspired by the war-generating force of feminine beauty. It has communicated to war in the past the highest beauty relished by man. Feminine beauty is the result of the combined efforts of God and the Devil. God intended it to remain pure, loving, eternally fresh and virgin. The devil added the elements of enchantment, lust and hate. Poets generally pretend to ignore the latter, while religious men lay all emphasis on it. St. Mael of Penguin fame declared that "woman is a cleverly constructed snare by which men are taken even before they suspect the trap." God created visual beauty in woman, and the devil added tactual beauty, while man

imparted to her jealousy, hypocrisy, and the habit of extempore lying. Feminine beauty, while superficial attention is paid to it in society, is losing its influence on the serious business of life. It has lost its war-generating power. Beauty has made room in that respect for utility in Western civilisation, thereby illustrating the well-known truth that in order of time decoration precedes dress. By analogy we may find that in the order of social progress poetry precedes philosophy and science. Poetry is for the primitive, philosophy for the advanced man.

The earlier wars of the tribes were divided in their objective between beauty and utility. The conquerors made slaves of the conquered men, and wives of their women. This addition of utility to beauty does not prove the falsity of the above law of precedence. In those primitive times, the passions, like the senses and the faculties in the lowest living beings, were not fully differentiated. The race-preserving and the self-preserving passions and powers had not yet attained full development in bifurcation. When the development came, the race-preserving took precedence of the self-preserving passions. Tactual beauty was placed higher in the scale of preferences to palatal beauty. In Western civilisation now, men who do not care for marriage and are indifferent to feminine beauty are excellent connoisseurs of comestibles. In them the self-preserving appetite is dominating the race-preserving passions. Science is conquering Nature, it is conquering the Muses also. Poetry is subordinated to Philosophy; Beauty to Truth. The Nineteenth century has produced no Dante or Milton; no Shakespeare or Moliere. The Muses have taken refuge in Parnassus in fear of the aggressive propensities of science and philosophy. Poet-philosophers try to ferret them out of their hiding place by the top-lock of their hair, and in their frenzied endeavour to taste beauty, desecrate them, stab, mangle and mutilate them with the dagger of what they

call Truth. Where the call of Truth is strong the call of Beauty must be weak, for in the present pathological condition of the world the antagonism between Truth and Beauty is more conspicuous than friendship between them. A philosopher-poet is no blessing to mankind. He is an anachronism. Beauty has been divorced by Truth, and turned out of his house for her developing impurity of character.

CONTRAST.

Beauty is contrasted with ugliness on the one hand, and with Utility on the other, the first as opposite, and the second as alien. Modern industry is trying to make Beauty and Utility live in the same house on friendly terms. Useful things are made beautiful by painting, drawing, chiselling, bevelling, curving, embroidering, pleating, bordering, lacing, etc. Crockery is painted and given beautiful forms. Wooden furniture is bevelled and curved; clothes and carpets are embroidered, bordered, coloured, etc. But the Muses are jealous, and feel ill at ease when Beauty is made to subserve Utility. I have not read any poem on painted crockery or coloured silk, though the tastes of this utilitarian age are distinctly directed to the union of Beauty and Utility. Poetry is here lagging behind civilisation out of a false pride. Instead of submitting to fate it is getting sulky. It seems civilisation will gradually banish poetry from the face of the earth, or rather that the Muses will ultimately hide themselves permanently in the caves of Parnassus disgusted with the progress of civilisation. Poetry may disappear, but Beauty will not. She will be united in wedlock to Utility, and will receive honour but not power in human affairs. Beauty will no more have anything to do with war and peace, though courted everywhere except in literature.

NOURISHMENT.

The new world of utility and industrialism is not creating new food for poetry ; and the few poets that still keep poetry alive have to draw upon old materials, and work upon old background, using old pigments, lightened or corrupted by new solvents. Mrs. Lily Strickland Anderson thus speaks of the desperate efforts of Dr. Tagore to give life to moribund poesy.

“He (Dr. Tagore) sees India’s old pantheon as an artistic background upon which to paint new pictures, as a treasure house to draw upon for rich jewels of imaginative poesy with which to make a different pattern, as an intricate tapestry whose warp and woof is brightened with threads of gold and silver lightening the dull dark fabric of an early conception. To all thinkers the past must be a valuable store-house to which he (they ?) can from time to time go for instruction or for material to work over according to the fashion of his (their ?) mind and generation.”

The passage is illuminating for the future of poesy, which must expect no new material, no new instruction, no new jewels, no new conception, not even a new canvass, but only threads of gold and silver to lighten the dull dark fabric of an early conception. Dr. Tagore is said to have evolved “to the tops of the mountains, reaching up to the light,” leaving, to all intents and purposes, the Muses to brood in melancholy in the lower altitude where light is softened by shade, where rollicking delights do not exist, but only quiet joys mingled with less agreeable feelings. The truth is Poesy cannot dwell on the unmitigated sunny heights of mountains. She is dazed by the glare of the light of Science, and is too delicate to bear its heat, and prefers to hide herself in the shadowy valley below, where she plays with the beauty of superstition, and holds courts with the pleasant tyranny of the dead. Science not only withholds new

foodstuffs from the Muses, but robs them of all nutriments, and leaves them to starve. They on their part prefer to go hungry and naked rather than debauch themselves on the unedifying products of modern civilisation, or debase themselves by accepting sordid service at the disposal of Science. They prefer freedom to comfort, abstemiousness to gluttony in pickled carrion. They will have nothing to do with utilitarianism, materialism, industrialism, or agnosticism or atheism, and will never pander to them. Industrialism which succeeds militarism is superior as a process of life, but militarism with its victories and joys, its defeats and anxieties, its hopes and fears, has its compensation in the dances of the Muses who are impervious to the call of the dull, dreary, sordid gains of capitalism or the everlasting squalor, loathsome bestiality, and unending complaints of labour. The War of Capitalism and Bolshevism does not invite them to appear at the Counting House or the Stock Exchange in their best form. Lockouts and strikes do not move them. These things belong to the collective life of man, to impersonal personalities, to soul-less, Godless beings, who neither ask for their aid nor look with favour on their voluntary interventions, which they consider as aggressive intrusiveness. I have never read a poem on any of these subjects, and am of opinion that no poet would be foolhardy enough to risk his reputation on themes like these.

(To be continued.)

K. C. SEN

PLEA FOR SOCIOLOGICAL STATISTICS

A close examination of the intricate texture of the modern Western society will reveal that there are an infinite number of gradations in social scale which makes it impossible to draw an arbitrary line anywhere and point out "here are the few rich or upper barbarians,"¹ the comparatively comfortable middle class, the lower middle class not above wants, the many poor who are below "the poverty line" and the "residuum" which is "economically dead" as Sir R. Giffen would style them.

The Western statisticians have hit on the best way of understanding these different classes of society by noting their broad characteristics which differentiate the one from the other. The rich people might not necessarily be, as the socialist orator depicts them, given over to sensuous pleasures and revelling in effeminate luxuries with the spoils obtained by "robbing the labourers of their legitimate dues."² All of them are comfortably placed in life either by the accident of birth or a windfall or their earned income is large enough to enable them to command luxuries which the materialistic civilisation of this century might be creating. Some of them can and do make a good use of their income in extending their culture and refinement and would be willing to share their good things of life with less fortunate neighbours of their own. A few of them might be holding exaggerated

¹ Vide Matthew Arnold, "Culture and Anarchy," III.

Vide Veblen, "Theory of the Leisured Class," pp. 378-379.

Vide also Grey who styles the students of the Eton College "These are our young barbarians at play."

² Vide Carlyle, "Past and Present," 153-154.

Also Ruskin, "Works," XVIII, 537-538.

notions of the poorer classes as those living in hopeless and sordid poverty varied only by drunkenness and vice. Others might utilise their dignified leisure to public service and social good of the community.

The middle class consists of varying grades of people. The term is so indefinite and lacking in exactitude that nothing can be dogmatised as the economic standard pertaining to this section of society. From the point of view of an ordinary labourer, the shopkeepers and the small tradesmen belong to the middle class while he reserves the appellation of "lady" and gentleman to members of the rich class. The aristocrat would consider the professional people as constituting the main bulk of the middle class. The peculiar characteristic of this class of society is that it merges into the next class, at both ends of its scale. The merging of the middle class into the rich class is intentional and the merging of the middle class into the poor class is a confession of its failure. Broadly speaking it may be considered as a well-conditioned body minding its own business and remarkably free to a certain extent from prejudices so characteristic of the other classes.

Manifold are the gradations in the poorer classes and the general tendency of the individuals is to classify all as the poor class who do not share their wealth or occupy their position in life. The working class is always below the "poverty line" with income barely sufficient to enable them to command the prime economic necessities of life, *viz.*, food, clothing and shelter.

Coming to the residuum the following are some of the characteristics belonging to "men" of the lowest grade of society. Unlike the economic man, the individual of this class is marked by the absence of foresight, self-control and always depends on "something to turn up" to help him. He is markedly impulsive and reckless which sometimes makes him prodigally generous, at other times inconceivably

selfish. He has an inherent disliking to steady work and has natural affections almost bordering on animal instincts.

But it would be difficult to arrive at such clearly demarcated divisions of society in this country. We have a social system which exalts the less material side of our civilisation. Economically viewed there are a number of middlemen living parasitically on the land. In Bengal, Madras and Western India the people are showing marked predilection for industrial life. But agriculture is still the mainstay of our population. The middle class people consists of the professional, clerical and petty trading classes which possess quite a different standard of life from the agriculturists. Imported goods form a large portion of their consumption. The Zaminder class reaping the benefits of the Permanent Settlement comes next. While the social structure of the West is always in a state of perpetual flux or in a dynamic condition leading to the breaking down of social divisions or the creation of new lines of social cleavage which in its turn may be modified within the course of a few generations, no such rapid alterations in the social scale are to be noticed at any particular time in this country.

The aim of sociological statistics¹ is to divide society into so many composite classes and study their marked characteristics with the object of noticing any variations and measuring their attributes. It should attempt to discover any relations and casual connections amidst the bewildering pile of facts and figures compiled in the course of a wider economic enquiry than is usually attempted either by the government or private associations of any particular country. The sole object of this statistical study of social phenomena is to create social consciousness which in its turn would produce economic policies.

¹ For a fuller understanding of the scope of this subject one should read Mr. A. L. Bowley's, "Measurement of Social Phenomena."

The Government of India and the social reformers bestow much of their attention on "working class" budgets because there is likely to be insufficiency which has to be remedied. In order to obtain a correct idea of the ignorance or poverty which are the chief characteristics of the economic condition of the Indian society more attention would have to be paid to the study of the "middle class budgets." The middle class people are specially anxious to live or appear to live at a standard proper to the possession of a large income and as a result they are generally badly off. Amelioration of their lot is no less important than in the case of the working class people alone. Remedial measures in this case would be quite different from those intended for the working classes.

Unaided private investigations of solitary workers would fail to visualise the magnitude of the problem and at best they can supplement or fill up the gap of official statistics. In addition to this they may be coloured by political prejudices, personal bias and preconceived notions. They may be lacking in requisite skill to conduct the investigation in an extensive manner. It is high time for the Government of India to employ its clerical force to prepare typical family budgets of the middle class people and it is by judiciously interpreting such barren tables that may be compiled that the real significance of the two prime evils of the Indian society, namely, ignorance and poverty can be grasped.

The general problem of sociological statistics requires immediate attention. Much of the present stock of statistical material published by the Government is purely a bye-product of its administrative needs. The decennial census gives us a glimpse into the long vista of the complex social organisation and if it should at all be reconstructed according to a definite ideal much more spade work has to be done in the statistical field. Private Associations of the stamp of the Bengal Social

Service League and the Servants of India Society at Poona have undertaken in right earnest an intelligent study and solution of these problems.

The Government of India is as a rule—with few exceptions—unmindful of the social reforms such as housing schemes that are needed for the amelioration of the economic condition of the people. It is not this alone that needs an immediate solution. The problem of rational social control is no less urgent in this country. This involves not only a greater and greater control over the growth of population but involves a study of the eugenic value of the different classes of population so as to deduce useful conclusions as regards the desirable rate of increase in population, the section of society that should increase and the way of propagating the better stocks of our population while allowing the unfit to be weeded out. Taking the last decennial census into account the population of India has been increasing and the following conclusions have been arrived at after a study of the facts and figures relating to the size and sex constitution of the average family. "The rate of masculinity is higher for the first-born than for subsequent children, that the usual number of children born is from five to seven—the number being higher in the South than in the North and in the lower classes than the higher, and finally between one-third to two-fifths of the children die." Should the population go on increasing in an arithmetical progression? Should the poorer classes by virtue of their constant and progressive increase fast become pauperised? Should not the misery and suffering due to overcrowding of population in big cities like Calcutta and Bombay be checked? Should we be prepared to accept the fact that the average duration of life of an Indian is becoming progressively shorter? Should not health legislation be resorted to to benefit the people? Should the present social abuses such as the subjugation of women, child marriage and infantile mortality go on unchecked for ever?

How and by what means is it best to raise the standard of living?

A satisfactory solution of these grave problems can be attempted only if the approximate money values of our production, be it agricultural or industrial, can be obtained. For correctly appraising the social problems the way in which these incomes are expended have to be studied. A humble beginning has been made in this direction by Mr. G. F. Shirras, the Director of Labour, Bombay, and his excellent study of the working class budgets of about 3,000 families in Bombay Cotton Mills enables one to have an idea of the characteristics of the working classes and clearly points out the remedies that have to be adopted for the betterment of these classes. This line of inquiry has to be extended to the wider field of our society. Middle class budgets have to be compiled, the facts digested and conclusions arrived at.

An early beginning would have to be made in this direction and before the rural middle class families can be studied, attention should be paid to the study of the budgets of representative or average middle class families living in big cities like Calcutta or Bombay. The Government machinery exists in both places to do the necessary work and the problem of income of the urban middle class families can be successfully measured while the measurement of agricultural income is not so easy a task.

While a statistical study of the family budgets is undertaken attention should be paid towards the following facts. While arriving at the family income, the usual method of ascertaining the individual incomes in the first instance and aggregating them in order to arrive at the joint family income can be followed. In the Hindu joint family all the incomes are pooled together and the economic goods and services purchased with it are distributed by matriarchal arrangements. Of late the income-earning individuals have been

asserting their right to possess the whole earnings and the object of the statistical study should be to note the extent of this disintegrating influence. Usually the earning individuals spend a portion of their income on their own needs and the greater the compositeness of the family or if it were a well-to-do family the privately spent income of the individuals would be large. Care must also be devoted to note the amount and hours of work spent to obtain the income, the number of dependents or non-workers to be supported with the income. The economically unproductive members of the Hindu joint family actually lessen the available wealth of the earning members of the community.

In considering the expenditure side of the family budget the first thing that has to be done is to deduct the payments for goods and services necessary for earning the income. For example a doctor has to maintain a vehicle to attend his calls and while noting his way of expenditure the first thing should be to arrive at is his net income.

Taking the prime necessities of life, food, clothing and shelter an attempt should be made to note if the families are living at the minimum cost or if there is any amount of elasticity in it, so that if economy is forced on them, they may curtail expenditure without sacrificing any of their dietary articles without a loss in health and efficiency. Coming to the house rent paid by the family it should be noted if there are any alternative uses to which the houses can be put to. It is very often said that in Calcutta house rents are very expensive not because of satisfaction enjoyed but because the alternative uses of the ground are valuable. There is no doubt that the rent problem which includes rates, etc., to be paid falls heavily on Calcutta families and no economy can possibly reduce it without affecting health and decency. It might after all cost more in the long run.

The most elastic item in the family expenditure is the amount spent on dress. It has become the habit to imitate

the ways of the rich even though it would result in sacrificing the comforts of the family. The extravagances of the weak rich will find an echo in the extravagances of the middle class with the difference that what is extravagance to the former is ruin to the latter.

Payment for domestic service is to mind children or to perform the sundry services of the household, including cleaning the utensils, looking after the house, running after errands, doing marketing services and guarding the house in the absence of the master who is out during day-time for his office. Domestic service is generally carried on by the aged, the maimed and the halt who have been handicapped in the battle of industry.

Another item in the expenditure of a Calcutta family is the doctoring and its incidental expenses. The local practitioner's charges range between Rupees Four to Rupees Six and the middle class people prefer paying this to free doctoring at the Hospital as it would involve *ghori* fare and waiting for hours for his turn and a chance of developing serious illness in the waiting rooms.

Education is an important item. Though books and papers can be had at free libraries children are sent to schools and fees paid. It should be the aim of the statistical study to see to what extent the education of girls is neglected and study the character of education imparted.

Washing charges also amount to a decent figure. Though generally it is done mainly at home, the insistence of cleanliness prompts them to greater expenditure sometimes than is actually necessary. Subscriptions to clubs and societies are usually limited by foresight and considerations of thrift prompt the middle class to lay by a part of their income as savings for a possible utilisation against a rainy day and their spirit of independence is so keen that they resent others helping them. Sometimes expenses on social ceremonies such as marriages, funerals and other ceremonies when they are

made, are made on a lavish scale of extravagance and as Sir M. Viswesvarayya observes, "families thereby cripple themselves and have to scrimp and scrape for years and even for life." Music halls, theatres, drinks and highly flavoured food and sweets which are only luxuries to the poorer classes sometimes become the necessities of some of the middle class families. Remittances to native places in support of family at home have also to be reckoned. Payment for taxes or the interest on debt previously incurred would have also to be reckoned.

While these above charges are always recurrent there is always the temptation of new wants and desires created by the Western civilization. To satisfy these cravings by their stationary income, living on food of bad quality and sometimes overcrowding are resorted to. This process of "refined starvation" to which the middle class subjects itself and which unfortunately drags itself over a period of years has to be studied. Attention should not be rivetted solely on working class conditions alone. The middle class family should be raised "to a lofty plane of existence, pregnant with fruitfulness, learning, achievement, contentment and good will." The amount of their income, a rough idea of their expenditure and a correct grasp of the margin of taxable capacity are absolutely essential before measures for improvement of their social ills can be undertaken. Taking the example of the United Kingdom the brilliant contributions of Mr. Leonard Chizzio Money, Mr. A. L. Bowley, Mr. A. C. Pigou, Edgar Crammond, Sir Joshiah Stamp, and Mr. Seeborn Rowntree are too well known and their statistical study affords the necessary bricks for the statesmen to plan their schemes of constructive reform.

The Government of India should realise that "unless our country is rich in men, in its middle class, in men of good stamina and physique, there is an essential ingredient of the country's wealth which was missing." As one economist says,

"the wealth of the Nation lies in the land and the people." None dispute the variety, the extent and quantity of our raw materials and natural resources but the chief drawback lies in the other entity of the nation, namely, its people. The people should will for a better state of things and with united mass consciousness strive to attain it thus repudiating the oft-quoted remark "India is the dying East."

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

INDIAN PHILOSOPHY ¹

It is a year since Prof. Radhakrishnan's first volume of *Indian Philosophy* saw the light of day. We have been inordinately late in reviewing this great book; in the first place, because, the book was so full of information that it needed time to go through the whole of it; and in the second place, because, the present reviewer's point of view was so much like that of Prof. Radhakrishnan himself, that he could not know exactly how to review it. Prof. Radhakrishnan's book is a very illuminating survey of the progress of Indian Philosophy from the times of the Vedas to the formation of the four schools in the Buddhistic fold. We eagerly expect Prof. Radhakrishnan's Vol. II, on Indian Philosophy and we hope that it will be as illuminating as the Volume under review. Prof. Radhakrishnan's style is simple and lucid; but it is at the same time so concise and penetrating that one must needs read the whole of the book thoroughly before one can form a correct estimate of the value of the work. There are no short-cuts to the knowledge of Indian Thought, and one must study a book like Radhakrishnan's to possess a full philosophical knowledge of the whole period. Indeed Prof. Radhakrishnan comes to the study of Indian Thought from his knowledge of the Contemporary Philosophies of the West, and it is almost impossible to find another man who would be able to give a correct philosophical estimate of the progress of Indian Thought in terms of European Philosophy. That is the special feature of Prof. Radhakrishnan's book, and in reading him one does not feel one is reading any arid accounts of philosophical problems, couched in their dry and unsequential contexts, that have scarcely any value for one who

¹ "Indian Philosophy" by Professor Radhakrishnan, Calcutta University, George Allen and Unwin, 21s. net.

wants to estimate the significance of philosophical theories for life, thought, and action.

In the opening chapters of his work, Prof. Radhakrishnan discusses the significance of Vedic and Upanishadic Thought. As regards the Vedic deities, Prof. Radhakrishnan understands them correctly as personifications of forces of Nature, and he does not take that view of the Vedic deities, for example, which has been taken by "the great scholar-mystic, Mr. Aurobindo Ghose." In a series of articles contributed to the "Arya," Mr. Aurobindo Ghose suggested that the Vedic Religion must be understood as a mystery religion corresponding to the Orphic or Eleusinian religions of Greece. Beneath the concrete and material presentation of the Vedic Deities, according to Aurobindo Ghose, there lies a spiritual and psychological significance which is concealed from the profane, but is revealed only to the initiated. This is a view which Prof. Radhakrishnan commends as a bold and suggestive view no doubt, but which could, at the same time, not be understood as a correct view, inasmuch as the Vedic hymns manifestly contain a number of petitions to the deities, supplications for material comforts, entreaties for protection and victory, which are the characteristics of any early anthropology. When we come to the Upanishads, it is a different matter altogether. Prof. Radhakrishnan discusses very cleverly all the ethical, psychological and metaphysical bearings of Upanishadic Philosophy. His sections on the "Ethics of the Upanishads" and on the "Religious Consciousness" are particularly very illuminating. We are told how the highest ideal of Upanishadic Ethics consists in moral activity being taken over into the perfect life. "Morality has a meaning only in the imperfect world, where man is struggling to realise his highest nature.....Moral activity is not an end in itself. It is to be taken over into the perfect life.....In this state the Individual Being is absorbed in the Supreme. This alone has transcendental worth, but the moral struggle as preparing the

way for it is not useless" (p. 230). We think that nobody has stated the case of Upanishadic Philosophy better than Professor Radhakrishnan has done. In his chapter on the Religious Consciousness, we are told how "in Religion the will of man is set over against the will of God. If the two are one, then there is no morality. If the two are different, then God becomes limited and finite" (p. 233). This is how, according to Prof. Radhakrishnan, the Upanishads teach that we have to transcend the limitations of ordinary religion and rise to "that highest religion which insists on meditation and morality and worship of God in spirit and in truth" (p. 233).

The second part of Prof. Radhakrishnan's work is devoted to a discussion of the three great systems of Thought—the Pluralistic Realism of the Jainas, the Ethical Idealism of Buddhism, and the Theism of the Bhagavadgita. Prof. Radhakrishnan points out cleverly in his estimate of the value of Jain logic that the great defect in their doctrine consists in a belief in Ultimate Relativity, in entire obliviscence of the fact that "the theory of relativity cannot be sustained without the hypothesis of an absolute" (p. 305). "A careful consideration of (of the theory of) Kevalajñāna, or the knowledge possessed by the free," says Prof. Radhakrishnan, "will tell us that the Jaina theory, by implication, accepts the method of intuition and the philosophy of absolutism" (p. 307). Then again Prof. Radhakrishnan finds a significant defect in Jainism, in its denial of God, and in, at the same time, its belief in devotion to the Tirthankaras. "Personal love is to be burnt up in the glow of asceticism. But weak man is obliged to develop a sort of devotion towards the great Tirthankaras, however much strict logic may prohibit it" (p. 331). Finally, Prof. Radhakrishnan suggests how the Jaina view of Reality is almost the same as the Leibnitzian. As Jainism looks upon the universe as full of Jivas, Leibnitz thought that the world was full of Monads: "In the smallest particles of matter there is a world of living creatures, entelechies or souls. Each portion of

matter may be conceived as like a garden full of plants, or like a pond full of fishes." But Prof. Radhakrishnan also points out that an Ultimate Pluralism cannot be sustained. "Even Kumārila agrees that the soul has a natural capacity for grasping all things, and there are ways and means by which we can develop this capacity. If we emphasise this aspect of Jaina philosophy and remember that there is intuitional knowledge of the Kevalin,.....we are led to a monism absolute and unlimited,.....and it is only by stopping short at a half-way house that Jainism is able to set forth a pluralistic realism" (p. 340).

Another system of thought, which arose at the same time as Jainism, but which is of far greater consequence for thought than Jainism itself, was the Philosophy of Buddhism. Prof. Radhakrishnan points out how, just as the ethical age of the Stoics and Epicureans followed the age of Aristotle in Greek Philosophy, so the age of Jainism and Buddhism followed that of the Upanishads in the development of Indian Thought (p. 357). The most characteristic feature of Buddhism is the Philosophy of Change. Prof. Radhakrishnan likens it cleverly to the Philosophy of Bergson. "A wonderful philosophy of Dynamism was formulated by Buddha twenty-five hundred years ago, a philosophy which is being recreated for us by the discoveries of modern science and the adventures of modern thought" (p. 367). "Life," said Buddha, "is only a series of manifestations. There is no Being that changes: there is only a self changing, *Pratityasamutpāda*, the origin of one thing in dependence on another" (p. 371). This is the most characteristic feature of Buddhism. It also leads to the corollary that the Atman as an entity does not exist. Prof. Radhakrishnan points out how Nāgārjuna in his commentary on the *Prajñāpāramita Sūtra* tells us that the Tathāgata taught both the doctrines, the doctrine of Soul as well as the doctrine of Not-Soul. "When he preached that the Atman exists

and is to be the receiver of misery or happiness in the successive lives as the reward of its Karma, his object was to save men from falling into the heresy of nihilism. When he taught that there is no Atman in the sense of a creator or a perceiver or a free agent, apart from the conventional name given to the aggregate of the five Skandhas, his object was to save men from falling into the opposite heresy of eternalism" (p. 389). It is this denial of an eternal verity behind all things which is the chiefest defect of Buddhism. A true Nemesis of this denial of Atman in Buddhism came upon them in their final worship of man. "We cannot worship Buddha, because he is no more ; and so we worship his relics and doctrines" (p. 448). This is indeed the fate of all the religions which try to deny God. The founders of such religions ultimately usurp the place of God with what justification a mystical philosophy alone cannot judge.

Prof. Radhakrishnan's account of the Bhagavadgita is very full, accurate and profound. The Gita was indeed an application of the Upanishadic ideal to the new situation which had arisen at the time of the Mahābhārata (p. 530). Having discussed the date of the Bhagavadgita, and having pointed out that it might be taken to be the fifth century B.C., Radhakrishnan goes on to give us the varied teachings of the Bhagavadgita. He points out that the Ethics of Bhagavadgita must be taken to be definitely based upon its Metaphysics. Having discussed the nature of Reality Prof. Radhakrishnan proceeds to discuss the conception of the World of Change in the Bhagavadgita, and ends by giving a very succinct and illuminating account of the three Mārgas of the Bhagavadgita, the Jñānamārga, the Bhaktimārga and the Karmamārga. We heartily recommend Prof. Radhakrishnan's treatment of the Bhagavadgita to all those who care for a modern presentation of the thought of their great ancient poem.

In the concluding chapter of his book, Prof. Radhakrishnan discusses the later phases of the development of Buddhism. If the doctrines belonging to the age before Asoka may be said to represent early Buddhism, those in the time of Asoka may be said to constitute the Hīnayāna doctrine, and those after Asoka the Mahāyāna Doctrine (p. 589). The Hīnayāna doctrine wronged the spiritual side of man, and its negative philosophy was not competent to constitute a popular religion (p. 590). Hence the origin of Mahāyānism. Prof. Radhakrishnan discusses fully the doctrines of the four schools of Mahāyāna Buddhism. He brilliantly describes their philosophical and epistemological importance when he tells us on p. 667 that "the Vaibhāṣikas started with a dualistic metaphysics, and looked upon knowledge as a direct awareness of objects. The Sautrāntikas made ideas the media through which reality is apprehended, and thus raised a screen between mind and things. The Yogācāras quite consistently abolished the things behind the images, and reduced all experience to a series of ideas in their mind. The Mādhyamikas, in a more daring and logical manner, dissolved mind also into a mere idea, and left us with loose units of ideas and perceptions about which we can say nothing definite." On the ethical side, Buddhism illustrates the difficulty of a moral philosophy without a spiritual basis (p. 608). "Buddhism failed to bring to India a real spiritual deliverance in spite of the fact that it laid powerful emphasis on a severely simple life of pure goodnessThe real secret of the failure of Buddhism is its neglect of the mystical side of man's nature." To say that it was violently exterminated out of India is, as Prof. Radhakrishnan points out, a pure myth. Its downfall was due to the fact that it became ultimately indistinguishable from the other flourishing forms of Hinduism, namely Vaishnavism, Saivism and Tantrism. In spite, however, of its failure, we must remember that the spirit which breathes in the twelfth

Edict of Asoka is a permanent monument to its greatness :
"There should be no praising of one's sect and decrying of
other sects, but on the contrary, a rendering of honour to
other sects for whatever cause honour may be due to them."
If this spirit pervades our everyday activities, if it becomes
the foundation-stone of our philosophies and religions, if our
politics come to be based upon such a principle, the world
will soon be habitable, for God will come to live in it.

R. D. RANADE

THE FLOWER OF RAJASTHAN

ACT V; SCENE 3.

[*Scene*.—A room in the palace of Oodipur. Krishna Kumari discovered alone.]

(*Enter Rampyari. She embraces her daughter passionately.*)

Rampyari—

My babe, my little flower of loveliness,
Whom cruel, ruthless hands would pluck from me,
Each time I set my sleepless eyes on thee
Thence flows a stream of joy that thou'rt alive
And I can hold thee to my breast again
Once more at least, then may be nevermore.
And when I see thee not, an awful fear
Spreads its dark wings and hovers over me,
Ready to swoop and strike, nor strike again.

Krishna—

Why fearest thou, my mother, when thy child
Fears nothing but prolonging of her days?
What is to die but make an end of sorrow?
What is to live but be the cause of pain
Or ever we are born until we die?
Pain to the womb that bare us, pain to all
Whose love is set upon us. I have been
A cause of anguish to the world beside,
The cause of mourning to a thousand homes
Whose sons beloved were sacrificed for me.
But now that I am marked for sacrifice,
Myself the victim, to preserve the lives
Of other thousands shall I shrink from it,
I, a king's daughter? Nay, but I will die

Worthy a Rajput maiden. Those who now
Heap curses on me soon shall bless my name
As one who gladly gave her life to bring
Peace from its exile home again to Ind.

Rampyari—

What to a mother do these things avail
When set beside her child ? Let all the world
Return to chaos, so I keep thee here,
E'en but a little longer.

Krishna--

After that

Thine anguish would return as keen as ever ;
Wherefore no more the earlier parting fear
Since to be parted is the destiny
Of all who love each other.

Rampyari—

Nay, my child,

Such is the talk of *Rishis*, and it finds
No answering echo in a mother's heart.
Ah, who is that ? Methought I saw a form
There in the shadow pass with stealthy tread.
Ah, God ! that child of mine should ever be
At mercy of assassins.

Krishna—

Mother mine,

Comfort my father. He hath need of thee.

Rampyari—

Thy father ! Name him never more to me.
He hath betrayed me in surrendering thee,
The child I bare him, mine not his alone,
Not his to steal from me, not his to slay.

Krishna—

His always while the breath of life shall last.
The Rana does no wrong, and in his grief
Thy place, my mother, is beside thy lord.
Go, comfort him, I pray thee.

Rampyari—

Then I go,
Not to deny thee, daughter. Bide thou here—
Go not without this chamber. I would be
With thee until the end—and yet I go.
Thou wilt await me? I shall come anon.
Farewell awhile, my darling. Fare thee well.
[*Exit Rampyari.*]

(*Krishna plays on the Zithar and sings the following hymn to
Hari.*)

The Song of Krishna Kumari

Hari, whose glance on darkness is the radiance of the day,
Whose blossoms are as moon-beams in thy cloud-dark looks astray,
While lightly from thy blue-robed waist a saffron mantle flows,
As a water-lily her golden dust on azure petal strows.

Lift to the lotus of thy lips the plaintive-voic'd reed
That my poor earth-fettered song may soar on wings of music freed,
And the passions of my soul be stirred till they join the mystic Nine
Circling thee round with rhythmic dance in harmony divine.

O Hari, now thou findest me like Radha, fount of yore,
Her face as a lotus dim with dew on dark Yamuna's shore,
Still as the evening crescent when it clears the dark hill line,
And sad as is only a human heart when it breaks for love like mine.

And thy soul was stirred within thee as are the ocean tides
By the moon who rules their ebb and flow, and every turning guides;
And her girdle bells were music as she sprang to thy embrace
And the shame that darkened erst her eyes, fled now to hide its face.

Gather this spark of vital fire now earth's sad course is run,
Restore it to its parent flame in the mansion of the sun ;
Swift be thy blue celestial car to waft it to the skies
Where comes to life and loveliness each lowliest flower that dies.

(During the singing of the last verse Ajit has entered accompanied by Rascaphoor veiled. The princess having finished her song sees them and starts to her feet.)

Krishna—

What do ye here, intruding ?

Ajit (saluaming)—

We await

Your Highness' pleasure.

Krishna—

Nay, ye are no friends.

What would you have of me ?

Ajit—

Your Highness' pardon

For what we bring thee.

Krishna—

If it be the sword,

Krishna forgives thee, Ajit. Who is she,
This veiled lady carrying a cup ?

(Rascaphoor throws back her veil)

Nay, madam, thou art strange to me.

Rascaphoor—

Belike.

Krishna—

What is thy name ?

Rascaphoor—

My name is Rascaphoor.

Krishna—

Nay, I have never heard it.

Rascaphoor—

Little wonder.

Men do not often in a sweetheart's ear
Tell of another mistress ; else thou hadst
Learn'd much of Rascaphoor from Jagat Singh
Who called me 'Queen of Amber.'

Krishna—

Called thee Queen ?

Then am I honoured now by Majesty ?

Rascaphoor—

Nay, 't was an empty title, as 't was proved.
I am no queen. He was as false to one
As to the other. Both of us were fooled.

Krishna—

Woman, presume not to associate
Thy name with Mewar's daughter.

Rascaphoor—

We have had
Both the one lover.

Krishna—

'Tis a lie, a lie !

Rascaphoor—

A lie, thou sayest ? Then, perchance, thine eyes
To thy slow wits will let conviction in.

Here is his ring. Thou recognisest it ?
Thou shouldst, at least, it was thy gift to him.
A while he wore it—till he gave it me.

Krishna—

O mercy, mercy ! This is worse than death.

Rascaphoor—

Ay, death is better far than much we bear.
None knows it better than doth Rascaphoor,
Caress'd one moment and cast out the next.
All but a queen one morning ; on the morrow
A malefactress in a common gaol—
Because he wearied of me. The last day
Mine eyes beheld him, he had bidden all
His proudest chiefs to do me reverence.
That evening (at his order, so I heard
I never saw him) I was borne away
Straight to the sunless prison of Nahrgarh
Whence none, men say, emerges. And they said
"T was for thy sake he sent me.

Krishna—

Nay, I swear

I heard no word of it.

Rascaphoor—

I heard of thee.

A wedding was to be in Oodipur
He was to be the bridegroom—thou the bride.
I pitied thee, poor fool—thou know'st him not,
Yet hated thee because thy witching face
Threw mine into the shadow, and thou hadst come
"Twixt me and Amber's cushion.

Krishna—

Peace—enough !

O wherefore comest thou to torture me
In my last moments with thine evil tale ?
How didst thou break thy prison at Nahrgarh ?

Rasaphoor—

The gods at last vouchsafed to grant my prayer,
My prayer that I might live to contemplate
Thine anguish for the anguish I had borne.
Full richly did they grant it. Came a day
When bolt in socket creaked and hinges groaned
And at the opening portals Liberty
Beckoned me forth in service of her cause.
The price of freedom asked of me was slight,
And gladly now I pay it, standing here
To bid thee drink the cup that rids the world
Of the accursèd cause of half its woes.

Ajit—

Peace, woman ! 'T is no part of thy commission
To voice thy private spite in royal ears.
Suffer me speech, Your Highness. None is found
Of noble blood in Mewar who will raise
His hand against your person—Ram forbid !
Wherefore your Highness is excused the steel,
And in its stead the cup hath been prepared.
We are but instruments of higher wills
And crave your pardon for presenting it.

Krishna—

Let us not tarry. What is in the cup ?
If its effect be swift, I am content.

Ajit—

'T is the *Koosoomba* draught, and it will send
Your Highness to a swift and painless sleep,
From which no troubled dawn shall waken thee.

Krishna—

We thank thee, Sire, for this thy courtesy.
Give me the cup.

(Rascaphoor presents it to her.)

See, my hand trembles not.
Krishna Kumari is prepared to die.
I drink this soothing death to thee, my father,
The wisdom of thy will disputing not,
My love unaltered ; and I drink to thee,
Mewar, dear country mine, and Oodipur
The city of my childhood, dear as life.
For these, high Rama, take the sacrifice
Of one poor maiden's life, and may the plant
Of Mewar's greatness from her ashes spread,
And Peace look kindly on her happier days !

(She drinks—then falls swooning backwards on to a couch.)

Ajit—

Is the cup drained ?

Rascaphoor—

Ay, to the very dregs,
And Rascaphoor hath nought to live for now.
Vengeance when wrought how poor a thing thou art !

Ajit—

Let us get hence. 'T is danger here to stay.

(Enter Seonath.)

Seonath—

Slayers of women hide their craven heads
At thought of danger. Dust be on thy head
And on thy line for ever for a deed
At which the world will shudder, and a shame
On Mewar's honour till the end of time.
The glory of the Rajput name is gone,
The sons are proved unworthy of their Sires,
Who sword in hand had perished to a man
In proud defiance of the gross Pathan
And thrice as many legions. Get you gone
From this exalted presence. Here there lies
The last illustrious scion of her race,
And Mewar's glory is for aye eclipsed
By this dark deed of horror. I will stay
To bear my witness in my master's cause,
And wrathful Hindustan shall know the truth,
'T was not of Maun to work this woeful hap.

(Krishna dies)

Sleep on, O royal maiden, take thy rest,
Won by thy glorious act of Sacrifice.
Thy name is honoured to the end of time,
Thy fame is writ eternal as the stars,
The Virgin Krishna, Flower of Rajasthan!

(Curtain)

The End.

FRANCIS A. JUDD

THE JUVENILE COURT IN CALCUTTA

A Juvenile Court can justify its existence only to the extent its special purpose is recognized and its distinction from ordinary Criminal Courts is grasped. The general impression seems to be that its only object is to secure, in simpler surroundings, a separate hearing for criminal cases when the accused are not above sixteen years of age. The end to be gained by hearing under such conditions is generally overlooked. The main object aimed at by the ordinary Criminal Court is punitive while the special function of the Juvenile Court is corrective and ameliorative. Disregard of its special function is destructive of the only reason for its existence. An ordinary Criminal Court demands of a Magistrate only a knowledge of the law of crimes and the procedure to be followed in trials. The Juvenile Court is more exacting. It demands of the Magistrate an additional qualification. He must possess sympathetic insight into juvenile character. And unless the officers of his Court possess a measure of such insight the result will not be quite satisfactory.

It will be unprofitable to compare the Calcutta Juvenile Court with that of Denver or the Ohio Bureau of Juvenile Research. For us they shine merely as the star of hope. The Juvenile Court idea originated in America. It took hold of the British mind through the strenuous activity of Miss Olga Nethersole, the distinguished English actress, and has found its way here only within recent years. But there are certain obvious directions in which improvement is exigently demanded and can be easily effected.

It is assumed that only such Magistrates sit in the Juvenile Court who are spontaneously moved in that direction by a feeling for the amelioration of juvenile offenders and that the selection of Court officers is guided by a similar principle.

In this view it is not easy to appreciate the reason for such frequent changes in the personnel of the officers of the Court. Within the year 1922 three officers successively filled the office of Court Inspector and the Bench Clerk's post has not been held by one person during this period. It must be assumed that the adoption of a course, so obviously undesirable, is compelled by exigencies of service which outsiders are not able to understand and much less to criticise.

Most of the petty cases that come before the Court fall into two classes, namely—street mendicancy and obstruction of thoroughfares by sales of small articles. It is generally known and easily ascertainable on inquiry that juveniles are regularly employed by adults who profit by the proceeds of their mendicancy. These adults are as a rule beyond the reach of the law either by cunning or by inactivity of the authorities. As to juvenile street obstructors it is equally well known that shop-keepers use juveniles in that capacity to avoid extending their shop-spaces at additional rent or for other profitable purposes. Such shop-keepers are very rarely, if ever, brought under the law, although in both these cases they are clearly liable to prosecution under section 82 of the Indian Penal Code as abettors. In these circumstances the usual punishment by the imposition of a small fine or by detention of the juvenile offender till 5 P.M. of the day of trial cannot be expected to have and in fact has not any deterrent effect. In view of the negligible character of the punishment it seems by no means safe to convict on the bare admission of the juvenile accused. Wherever practicable corroborative evidence should be produced in Court in the shape of the articles offered for sale by street obstructors. As a result of the nature of the punishment usually inflicted most of juvenile offenders, especially of the latter class, are constant occupants of the dock. Some of these are familiar with the Court and its practice to such an extent that they constantly attempt to play the rôle of advocates for their less experienced

companions in guilt. A striking instance of adult abetment of juvenile offence is afforded by a recent case. A boy was prosecuted at the instance of his master for theft of clothing, which the Police recovered from the boy's adult friends. The boy confessed his guilt. The master gave him an excellent character and took him back into service. If the receiver of stolen property was prosecuted to conviction in the ordinary Court the boy was deprived of the moral benefit of such conviction. Had it taken place in his presence the deterrent effect of the punishment would have been obviously of value to the boy as destructive of adult domination of his will, apart from all questions of convenience and economy of public time. It may be worth while to consider whether the existing law providing separate Courts of hearing in such cases is either beneficial or even harmless. The existing law is responsible for another undesirable result. A boy was convicted of a petty theft. His relatives refused to be responsible for his future conduct. Owing to a term of imprisonment on a previous conviction on a similar charge in a Suburban Court nothing could be done for the boy's reform and he had to be sentenced to a longer term of imprisonment, in the Juvenile Jail. Longer stay in the House of Detention by adjournment of cases for order may be more effective if the imparting of moral instruction to a juvenile under detention by the agency of voluntary visitors could be secured. The small effort put forth for the securing of such volunteers has, so far, proved barren of result. Dr. Henry H. Goddard in his "Juvenile Delinquency" (Kegan Paul, Trench & Co.), p. 44, remarks: "We have found that these moral talks are of considerable value to these young people." This confirms local experience, such as it is.

In connection with adult abettors reference may also be made to cases of removal of coal from the Kidderpore Docks without license. The wretched boys freely confess that the coal removed is not consumed in their houses but sold to local

dealers who cannot possibly be ignorant of the crime of the juvenile vendors. At present the trial of the juvenile offenders can be fittingly described as elaborately doing nothing. The most useful and easily effected improvement will be to arrange for the separation of old offenders from novices by their detention in separate cells. This practice has been introduced since the above was written.

Attention must also be directed to the lack of parental control exhibited in the great majority of cases in the Juvenile Court. The first thing to strike the observer is the extreme rarity of juvenile offenders among Bengali-speaking Hindus. It seems likely that the class of Calcutta's residents, largely furnishing juvenile criminals, are not grouped into families nor possessed of any circle of relatives or friends worth notice. They are recent immigrants, socially isolated. Bengali-speaking Mussalman youths, though larger in proportion to Hindus, are very small compared with Uriyas and up-country people. There seems to be some slight evidence that criminality among Bengali Moslem youths is not without relation to mothers who remarry and polygamous fathers. In the absence of proper inquiry this conclusion can only be put forward with considerable hesitation. The most pitiable case of parental neglect was that of a Bengali Christian boy. He comes of a fairly good family. His father is away in Mesopotamia, his mother is in Government Educational Service in the United Provinces. His only relative in Calcutta is a paternal grand-mother, stricken with years and infirmity, wholly incapable, even physically, of looking after the boy. He had escaped from the boarding school where he was placed. Whether any steps were taken by the school authorities to trace the boy did not transpire in evidence. He admitted having attempted to steal a piece of cloth hanging from a verandah and tied to the railing. He gave it as his reason for the act that as he had to sleep on the bare ledge of a house he wanted the cloth for a pillow. The grand-mother begged that

the boy should be sent to the Reformatory School. In the actual circumstances this was the only course to follow. One neglecting to take order with a dog is amenable to law but is practically beyond law's reach in the case of a human child.

To sum up the suggested improvements :

(1) Steps should be taken to obtain a wider recognition of the special functions of a Juvenile Court particularly by Magistrates and officers of the Juvenile Court.

(2) Adult abettors of juvenile offenders should be brought to justice and whenever practicable tried in the presence of the latter.

(3) Old offenders should be detained in special cells.

(4) Arrangements should be made for giving moral talks to juveniles under detention.

(5) No juvenile offender should be sent to the common jail nor remitted to the care of a relative suffering from leprosy or other similar disease.

The foregoing remarks were put together in January, 1923. It would perhaps be an advantage to set apart observations, arising out of subsequent experience.

In February last a Bengali Christian lady, Mrs. Kerr, who possesses some medical qualification commenced, as a work of love, to give moral talks to the boys in the House of Detention. An instructive incident of her work seems worthy of record. On one occasion she talked to a juvenile thief, now in the Reformatory School at Hazaribagh. On being convinced that his crime had really grieved her, the boy's eyes filled with tears and he gasped out the declaration that had he known his conduct would hurt anybody but the person whose property was stolen he would never have done what he had done.

There is no regular medical visitor for the House of Detention. One of its inmates was a boy who had broken into

a house and stolen property of the estimated value of Rs. 500. He looked so suspiciously puny and undergrown that a medical examination seemed necessary. A kindly qualified doctor of the neighbourhood, Dr. K. Ghosh, examined the boy. In medical language he was described as suffering from inhibition of internal secretion. On further inquiry the boy admitted taking as much as Rs. 20 worth of cocaine in one day. This drug habit was sufficient, in medical opinion, to account for his physical condition and obviously for his criminality.

Another instance of a similar nature seems deserving of attention. An Orissan boy was in detention, charged with theft. He was a most rampageous youth. He thrust a little boy through the window pane, breaking it and cutting about the little one badly. Captain Knight, late of I. M. S. was kind enough to examine the boy. He pointed out the defective cranial formation of the juvenile offender who exhibited a marked physical peculiarity. He could not stand with his feet side by side. When he stood up his heels came together, his feet forming an acute angle. Dr. Knight was of opinion that it was a case of degeneracy and syphilitic parentage. In both cases certain forms of medical treatment were prescribed.

It is most encouraging to find the Lord Bishop of Calcutta and some of the officers of the Y. M. C. A. interested in the reformation and general welfare of juvenile offenders. May not this be indicative of fresh recruiting ground for special Honorary Magistrates to work in the Juvenile Court?

In conclusion let the appeal go forth to all whom these words can reach to use their influence and secure more Mrs. Kerrs and more Drs. Ghosh and Knight for these orphans of society.

The very few cases of Bengali Hindus, coming before the Juvenile Court, throw a lurid light on the home life of the classes to which such juvenile offenders belong. The details would be of painful interest to the classes in question as

exhibiting some of the consequences of the present conflict between competitive individualism of the West and co-operative collectivism of Hindu India. This conflict is a prolific source of misery to Hindu India generally. How and when this conflict will end and peace descend among the afflicted people must for the present be but a subject of earnest and prayerful thought and action.

MOHINIMOHAN CHATTERJI

THE LATE SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

The world has sustained a great loss by the sudden demise of one of the ablest sons of India, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. Sir Asutosh was beyond dispute the greatest of Indian educationalists of modern times. His death is a great blow to Bengal, the Calcutta University, and the cause of real progress in India through education.

It has not been my privilege to know Sir Asutosh personally, because I left India some twenty years ago. But my interest for the educational progress of India has made me take notice of the great and systematic work done by this national leader. The Indian people know more in detail of his work, but what made me admire him was his vision and his spirit of independence shown on all occasions when demanded.

If I understand rightly the ideals of Sir Asutosh, I may say that he strove hard so that material prosperity and human welfare in the broadest sense would increase side by side in India. He wished that laws should be so constructed and the country be so governed as to lead to progress and at the same time preserve to the fullest all human betterment. Whenever I think of Sir Asutosh and his plans for the regeneration of the nation, it reminds me of the sayings of one of the greatest educators of America, the late Dr. John Bascom, the President of the University of Wisconsin from 1874-1887. Dr. Bascom once said :

The state of highest production not only may be, but must be, the state of highest intelligence and virtue; and the highest intelligence and virtue cannot fail to be productive of the greatest wealth.

Sir Asutosh above all things devoted his life for the real well-being of the nation through raising its intellectual standard and creating a group of leaders who would devote

their life to be productive of the greatest wealth of the nation. He did so many good things to promote national welfare and it is impossible for any man to tabulate them, but we find that he at least started three movements in the national educational life of India which will remain as Mile-Stones. (1) It is safe to assert that Sir Asutosh gave a new vigour and life to the Research Movement. (2) He was also responsible for starting the movement of Travelling Scholars from the Calcutta University. (3) He laid the foundation for the movement in Bengal for Education, especially higher education, through the vernacular.

Sir Asutosh gave a distinctive stamp to the goal of scholarship of the Calcutta University. It was the idea that the Calcutta University should not only be the premier educational institution in India where the best scholars from all parts of the country should have the opportunity to carry on their work in their own field, but the Calcutta University must be raised to the position of second to none in the world. Yes, it is an ideal worth while fighting for; and he fought for it under great disadvantages in every possible way and tried to secure all support from all quarters. The Calcutta University should not only be the centre of intellectual giants of the world, but it must be the centre of intellectual freedom. This idea of preserving intellectual freedom which has the closest relation with national freedom made him fight the Government of Bengal, particularly Lord Lytton and defied all who dared to encroach upon the independence of the Calcutta University.

The result of the research work done in the Calcutta University in recent years speaks well for the efforts made by him and his able supporters. It was the idea of Sir Asutosh that the vision of Indian scholars should be broadened; they should be given opportunity to study in foreign lands and demonstrate their ability before the world, and at the same time acquire the best that it might be introduced in the

Indian educational world. To promote this Travelling Fellowships were established through the generous support of the late Dr. Rashbehary Ghose, and the late Taraknath Palit and others. He did not stop here but, tried to have the best brains of foreign lands brought to India to teach in the Calcutta University and thus to free India from intellectual isolation. It was he who understood the importance of bringing India closer to America and other countries and thus secured such distinguished scholars as Professor Garner, Head of the Department of Political Science of the University of Illinois and Professor Willoughby of the Graduate School of the Johns Hopkins University. It is through the efforts of Sir Asutosh, that a French Professor is now lecturing in the Calcutta University on International Law. In the field of research he did not limit its scope merely to scientific subjects, but made it as wide as possible and as the circumstances would permit in India. Not only did Sir Asutosh start the work of freeing India from intellectual isolation by bringing foreign scholars, but the very fact that Professor Kali Das Nag was sent to China for a year to study is the indication that he wished to have first rate Indian scholars in all parts of the world particularly in the important educational centres.

The work of imparting education through the medium of vernacular was the hardest of all, because of the opposition of the Government, long established custom and lack of literature in vernacular on various subjects. But he started the work both from the top and the bottom having M.A. classes on Bengalee literature in the Calcutta University and also the movement for free Primary education and imparting instruction in High Schools through the medium of Bengalee received all support from him.

It will be of interest to those who wish to know that some of the American scholars who came in contact with Sir Asutosh regarded him as one the most remarkable men

they ever met. 'One of them was surprised to know how vast was his knowledge of International Law; others were astounded to find out the accurate and up-to-date information he had on what is going on in the field of education in various parts of the world.

Of course all India and particularly Bengal will pay fitting tribute to the departed soul. I have an humble suggestion to make, and this is primarily directed to all who are and have been connected in any way with the Calcutta University and the Bengal educational life, to perpetuate the memory of Sir Asutosh. To carry on his work will be to honour him. Let us do all we can to promote research work in the Calcutta University. Let us make arrangements to have our best scholars sent abroad, and first class educators from foreign lands be secured to lecture in the Calcutta University. Let us also work to make Primary education, free, compulsory, and state-supported, and higher education to be imparted through the medium of the vernacular.

Regarding the research work, Sir Asutosh was fighting with the Bengal Government so that he would be able to furnish the Applied Chemistry Department of the Calcutta University with an up-to-date laboratory. Let us hope that through the efforts of all men and women who respect the memory of Sir Asutosh this work will soon be completed. Let there be a Chair (such as Asutosh Mookerjee Professorship) established in the Calcutta University to teach World Politics and International Law. Let there be a movement inaugurated that a number of Asutosh Mookerjee Fellowships be established to enable the best scholars to go abroad to study and lecture. Let us start a movement that in every village in Bengal there shall be a village school and these institutions will be maintained through the efforts of the people at large and educational volunteers will give their time to further the cause. Let us establish a fund which will be devoted to

translating important books from foreign* languages into Bengales.

It will be contended that this will cost money to carry out these ideas in memory of Sir Asutosh. But, if we love him and wish that our memory of him be a living thing, then we must do all we can to further and continue the work he started.

TARAKNATH DAS

OUR MORTAL BREATH

(From Persian)

Be not deceived, O man, by life ;

We are still by the hand of Death

Lull'd to sleep ; our cradle he rocks—

The gentle in-out of breath.

POST-GRADUATE

THE CHARLOTTENBURG TECHNICAL HIGH SCHOOL . . .

On the first and second of July last the Technical High-School at Charlottenburg near Berlin celebrated the one hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary of its existence. At present it consists of 76 separate institutes, including laboratories, and museums, accommodated in a number of imposing buildings. When first founded it consisted only of an institute for the training of builders and architects, but about a hundred years ago a technical school was attached. That was at a time when railways were not yet in existence ; applied electricity was unknown, and the steam engine was only in the first stage of its development. In 1831 the institute had only thirteen students in its classes. The conditions of admission were that the candidate for admission was not less than fifteen years old, that he showed proficiency in the three R's, that he spelt correctly, wrote a good hand and knew the elements of French and Latin. As a matter of course, the conditions for admission are very much higher now and have been much higher for many years past.

The High-School is divided into four Faculties—

1. The General Faculty (Fakultät der Allgemeinen Wissenschaften), including Philosophy, Literature, Foreign Languages, Economics, Mathematics, Physics, and a department for higher teaching in mathematics and natural sciences.

2. The Faculty of Civil Engineering (Bauwesen).

3. The Faculty of Mechanical, Electrical and Nautical Engineering, and

4. The Faculty of Applied Chemistry, Mining and Metallurgy.

The present number of students is approximately 5,000 ; the teaching staff consists of 600 members, including

assistants; of the academical members 71 are full professors (Ordentliche Professor), and nearly 200 are lecturers. In front of the main building stand the statues of Werner Siemens and Alfred Krupp.

It must be remembered that Germany possesses a number of other Technical High-Schools of University rank. Saxony, for instance, can boast not only of one of the largest Universities, but also of the Technical High School of Dresden, the Freiberg Mining Academy and the Tharand Forest Academy; of other Technical High Schools we may only mention those at Stuttgart in Würtemberg, at Karlsruhe in Baden, at Aachen in the Rhine Province, at Hanover. At the Universities also considerable attention is paid to Applied Sciences. This is all in addition to the numerous modern, technical and commercial institutions of lower than University rank scattered all over the country. (The whole of this superstructure is built on a foundation of compulsory primary education, compulsory both for boys and girls.

P. B.

SATYENDRANATH TAGORE—HIS LETTERS

[Satyendranath was the second of the brilliant Tagore brothers and possessed not a little of that literary talent for which the Tagores are deservedly famous. His reputation as a Bengali writer is really great, although the exceptional brilliance of the youngest brother, Rabindra, has kept the others somewhat in the shade. The second son of Maharshi Debendranath, the second great Brahmo leader, Satyendranath naturally possessed a good deal of the missionary zeal so characteristic of the early Brahmo preachers, and ample evidence of this will be found in the first two letters. He was the first Indian to pass the competitive I.C.S. examination in 1863, and all the letters published below were written before that date. One of them gives a graphic and interesting account of his voyage to England. We find in it a vivid description of the hardships that one had to encounter in a journey to Europe in the pre-Suez Canal days. The letter also shows what a genuine Bengali the writer was. He feels the taunts and ungracious jibes of his white fellow voyagers. An ancestor-worshipper by tradition and instinct, he not only makes a pilgrimage to his grandfather's tomb but pays a dutiful visit to Worthing, where Prince Dwarkanath Tagore spent the closing days of his life. And what Bengali heart will not be touched by Satyendranath's reference to the Mangoe season? He joined the Indian Civil Service in 1864, and served in the Bombay Presidency for 32 years. It is nigh upon two years since he passed away. We are indebted to his daughter Mrs. P. Chaudhuri for the following letters.—*Ed. C. R.*]

(1)

KRISHNAGAR,
26th May, 1861.

MY DEAR COUSIN,

We are spending our days in the "Garden of Bengal." We have to suffer now and then from the excess of heat, but Calcutta, I hear, is intolerable now. We are trying our best to promote the cause of Brahmoism. ব্রহ্মসমাজ's stirring lectures have set Krishnagar all in a flame. We had to fight hard with the missionaries here. People say that they have been defeated with great loss, and one of the orthodox

puudits of Nuddea complimented us on our having disconsolated our common foe! We generally take our morning and evening walks. We have a *Laldigee* here, which is a favourite place with us; also the college compound, which is very extensive and delightful,—and the college enclosure, one of the best of its kind. Krishnagar is celebrated for its স্নাতক, and for its beautiful earthenware workmanship. We hope to take some specimens of both with us to Calcutta.

The people of Krishnagar have some peculiarities about them. Brojo Babu and Ramtonoo Babu are very popular here. We are growing familiar with them day by day. Orthodoxy is (on ?) its decline. The Rajah is strictly a Young Bengal, and he generally keeps company with the Europeans. We are all getting on well here. Hoping you are in health of body and peace of mind.

(2)

KRISHNAGAR,
29th May, 1861.

MY DEAR COUSIN,

I have received your affectionate letter of the 27th. I heartily rejoice at it. We are in the habit of neglecting to write to our muffussil friends, I now see how unjust we are to them. We are here so intensely anxious for letters from our Calcutta friends, that the day which passes without a single letter is a heavy day to us. I am glad, very glad, to find a regular and an affectionate correspondent in you. We made an excursion to ঐরন on the back of an elephant. ঐরন is a pleasure-ground of the Rajahs. No one can enter it without being struck with its wild beauty. There is a শিবু tree here, which is very wonderful, 3 or 4 walls of more than 7 feet in height have projected from its body; you can make a very comfortable hut with these. Last night we dined at the Maharajah's. He has no Rajah-like manners, but is very frank and polite and unassuming. I don't know whether he is addicted to the drinking vice of the Young Bengal, but he may, for aught I know, take in all the vices, leaving out the excellences of Anglicism, from his constant association with the Europeans. The Rajah has requested Keshub Babu to deliver a lecture at his place. He has certainly no antipathy against Brahmoism, and there is a chance of his being reclaimed.

We very much wish that my father and all of you (would ?) come here in a boat some time after, and then we will return altogether.

(3)

KRISHNAGAR,
31st May, 1861.

MY DEAR COUSIN,

The day of our return is coming near. We wish very much that my father and you all (would?) come here once and see what has been done. I have requested my father to the purpose, and you will come to know everything if you speak to him on the subject. We are fully alive to the fact that a sensation has been created in many quarters in favour of the ryots. The despatch of Sir C. Wood is indeed very encouraging. The last resource of the planters is thus shut out. The ryots have determined, come what may! not to sow indigo any more. We also hear that matters have turned into the other scale, and that some of the ryots are taking active part to inflict loss and injury on the planters.

However, we hope that the poor ryots will be saved from the cruel grasp of the planters. The Rajah has invited us to spend the whole (of?) Sunday next with him in the delightful forest of *জীবন*. Let us see whether he can be brought to our side, or not. The college vacation is over this day, and the next week is very important to us. We have plenty of rain now. Hoping you are enjoying the same.

(4)

MADRAS,
ON BOARD THE "COLOMBO."
27th March, 1862.

MY DEAR BROTHER,*

We are four days away from home. We have now come to Madras. You expect from me splendid descriptions of the beauties of the Indian Ocean, but alas! we are insensible to everything around us. That monster sea-sickness has devoured us. We are here cribbed in our cabin. The great Ocean expands everywhere around us. The beautiful breeze is blowing all the time. The golden sun rises and sinks again into the watery horizon, but all these have no charms for us—nothing can get us out of our dungeon.

Roth † of us have fallen. Imagine the helplessness of our situation!

* Probably his elder brother Dwijendranath.

† Himself and his companion Manomohan Ghose.

But I am not taken unawares, I expected as much from the very beginning.

Brahmanand * will tell you what it is that people call sea-sickness. However we hope to get over this to-day, and then you will hear from me again when we reach Galle.

I am now leading here a two-fold life—a waking and a dreaming life. My dreaming hours are all occupied in thoughts relating to home. Then I am again placed in the family circle. All those happy conversations and homely delights gather around me, until all charms are dissipated when I am awakened to the miseries of my present situation. But be careful not to infer anything from this letter. You know that everything appears red to a jaundiced eye. This sea-sickness has cast a gloom over everything around us. The Ocean has no charms for us now. We have scarcely tasted anything these two days. We now feel on what an adventurous life we have embarked. It is too much for the home-keeping Bengalee. Let us trust to Providence and see what mission he has reserved for us to fulfil.

You have now transported us beyond the seas. We won't hear from you till we reach London, a long time indeed.

You, Mezdada, † Hemendra, ‡ Brahmanand and everyone else must send letters to us by the next mail, to the care of Mr. Hudson Pratt, care of Edward Wright Esq., 27, Coleman Street, London. Do not forget, your letters are the spiritual food on which we shall principally subsist.

*

*

*

I have not written to Father, as he might be out of home.

(5)

LONDON,

10th June, 1862.

MY DEAR MEZDADA,

What a long distance separates us now! We are thousands and thousands of miles away from you all. How many seas, mountains and rivers divide the 'city of palaces' from the city of London. While I

* Title given to Keshub Oh. Sen by the Maharajah, whom they had both previously accompanied to Ceylon.

† Ganendranath, elder uncle of Gaganendra. All the other letters are addressed to him.

‡ His third brother.

write the sun has passed its meridian, but you are all wrapped up in darkness. I can guess what you are now doing. You are probably taking lessons from Bishnoo, whom I figure very well, sitting beside his Tambura, with its everlasting twang ringing in all your ears—a sound which never resounds in these shores. The time of our work is the hour of your dreams. We have now arrived (two *দুই পাঁচ* souls as Bardada funnily calls us) in a land of jackets and trousers, where you can see nothing but white faces, they stare at us and we stare at them. Our voyage was rather a tedious one, but not wholly unprofitable. We have seen countries, rivers and things which we never dreamt to see, except in pages of books. The most tedious part of our journey was from Galle to Aden, which it took us 10 days to reach, and 5 days more from there to Suez. On our landing at Suez, we entered a Hotel where we took some refreshments. A grand building it is, and the inside was ornamented somewhat in the Oriental fashion. Suez presented to us nothing except a few miserable buildings of sandy rock and some good oranges, which we were very much delighted to taste. After waiting a few hours, we were very glad to leave the place for Cairo *via* railway train. Our path lay through a barren and dreary desert, which is certainly an eye-sore to a Bengalee. You who are in green and sunny Bengal, can scarcely imagine a thing like the desert. It is by no means a monotonous sea of sands, for the sands sometimes assume the shape of a range of hills. The things that were wanted to make us feel ourselves in the desert were the burning sun, which was hid in clouds, and that wonderful animal, the camel, whose back is ever welcome to the traveller in this part of the world. Well, we went on in a tortoise pace and came up to Cairo in the evening. It was the land of Egypt that received us with overspreading arms. We spent the night in a hotel called the Shepperd's Hotel. All the rooms were nearly occupied, only one remained for us to get in. But then we did not get possession of the room with a feeling of perfect security, for one of our fellow-passengers engaged it previously, and it was only owing to his absence, and on my friend's assuring the keeper that he knows Mr. M. personally, and that he has seen him taking a different direction, that we were allowed to usurp his place. But we had not been three minutes in that room, occupying it as if it were our own castle, when to our great disappointment the fellow came in, and we were dispossessed of it. We were accordingly thrust into a dark little corner, and had to bear our lot with content. Some spectre-like men with strange faces and fantastic dress were sitting at our doors, and we considered ourselves entirely at

their mercy. After all, the night glided away, and we found everything safe and sound in the morning. We came to know that we would have to start off for Alexandria in a short time. We were packing up our clothes and making necessary preparations for our journey, when a short stout man came in and asked us whether we want a barber. I didn't much like to accept his services, but Mon seemed anxious to try him. So the man entered our room and began business without any ceremony. First of all he went on cutting my friend's hair, which was rather uncomfortably long, which he did in a very ugly manner. Then he brought out an egg, broke it and put its contents into the hair and began to rub it smartly for some time. After washing the head and drying it with a piece of linen, the man took out a bottle from his pocket, it was a bottle of lavender, and what do you think the fellow did with it? He began to apply its contents to my friend's body and exhausted nearly the whole of the perfumery in that way. Poor Mon was all the time in a most harrowing and uncomfortable state of mind, not knowing what to say. He was actually bathed with that nasty sticky substance, which was quite disagreeable to him. After finishing the whole affair—"5 shillings please" said the barber. Struck with his audacity, we dismissed him with what we considered to be a reasonable sum. We took our breakfast soon after, and went out to meet the train which was to proceed to Alexandria. We had no ordinary difficulty in getting our seats, for almost all the seats were occupied. After all, we had a carriage pointed out to us by the guard on our applying to him, just 5 or 10 minutes before the time. There were only two Turkish gentlemen sitting quietly in it. Just at the time, to make room for some other passengers, an old shahab was dispossessed of his seat, and he had to enter the same carriage with us. He was soon disgusted with the smoke of the choorats that the Turkish gentlemen were taking, and went out immediately, quite out of temper, muttering to himself that it was very improper for him to be driven out of his place 5 minutes before the time, and that certainly no railway passenger could get on in England in that way. Well, we went on and our wearied eyes rested with great pleasure on the rich and cultivated fields and men and houses, and we were glad to forget the barren aspect of the country. On our way we bided over two branches of the river Nile, which to us remained in tradition so long. At a station called Daminhoor (?) we could see a funeral procession of the Egyptians, a large number of whom followed a corpse confined in a coffin, which they were going to bury, chanting some hymns which were Hebrew

to us. One of our fellow-passengers, an Egyptian gentleman, remarked that these people are called Copts, who are descended from the first Egyptians that became Christians. You are aware that the sword of Mahomet penetrated into this country; for you no doubt remember the fate of the Alexandrian Library, which was destroyed by order of Omar, who replied, when some one interceded with that sovereign for its preservation, "If they contain what is agreeable with the Book of God, then the Book of God is sufficient without them, and if they contain what is contrary to the Book of God, there is no need of them, so give orders for their destruction." On our alighting at the station in Alexandria, we were at a loss where to go. We followed the horde and we saw some of our passengers stepping into carriages, and driving away to some hotel. In a moment all the carriages were cleared away, and we poor fellows were left behind. Now the donkeymen came up and pressed us hard to ride on their donkeys. To tell you the truth, I had a great desire to try one of these animals. Mon was very reluctant, but he was in a manner forced to betake himself to a donkey. No sooner did we get up on their backs, than they began to run without stopping. We could hardly prevent ourselves from falling. One's 'jubba' rolling to one side, one's cap falling off in the streets, and what not. Mon's donkey was quite unmanageable, and he was like John Gilpin utterly confounded. Imagine us, my dear Mezdada, to be on the back of two unmanageable donkeys, our clothes all disordered, confusion sitting on our face, and surrounded by the gaze of wondering spectators! On our coming up to a hotel Mon was quite tired and disgusted, and promised never again to try an experiment like this. After an hour's rest, we were summoned by the bell to dinner, and a curious dinner service it was! The various dishes that were prepared were not suffered to be placed on the table at once, so our curiosity was checked a little. The dishes came out one by one, and one dish had to be exhausted before a fresh one was given out. In this way we went on for a couple of hours, until our patience was quite tired. This was considered to be the French way of serving dinner. The servants belonging to the hotel were many of them raw Frenchmen, and they did not understand a word of English. So we were put to some difficulty in making ourselves intelligible. We got up early next morning, and took a drive in the city. Among the curiosities that were pointed out to us, we were particularly struck with an edifice called Pompey's pillar, a single block shaft of red granite, nearly 70 feet high. The capital a single block, and the base pedestal, etc., also a single block of granite, each 10 feet in length. Erected

it is said at the time of Sesostris, but by some is supposed to have been built by Publius (?) Prefect of Egypt, in honour of the Emperor Dioclesian. Time has made no irruptions on it, and it is as firm as ever. The City of Alexandria I must say is a fine one. The European part of the city is particularly handsome. The streets are wide, with a grand open square, in which the hotels are situated. The houses are large, and built of limestone. It was very interesting to observe the motley groups that were passing and repassing by us. The Dragoman (as the guide is called) ever and anon imploring us to accept his services, in a tone peculiar to himself. Do you want a dragoman Sir? The Arab boys continually bothering us to take a ride on his infernal donkey, tradesmen bringing out their choicest articles and displaying caps and *burnouses* (a kind of overcoat) golden shoes and so on. The Egyptian lady covering her face with a veil, and having only an opening for her eyes to peep through, beggars shouting their everlasting bucksish,—all of which presented a most curious sight. At half past 2 o'clock in the afternoon, we took leave of the city, and went with a glad heart to meet our steamer "Pera," which was waiting for us. In a few minutes we were placed in a small steamer which carried us to our ship. A fine and noble ship it is! Oh, how shall I describe the feelings that arose within me, when the "Pera" greeted us with its manly warlike music, calculated to infuse strength even into the languid frame of the Bengalee. When the Mediterranean, the scene of so many battles that have decided the fate of nations and empires was lying stretched before me, I thought that I have now passed the limits of Asia and breathe the manly atmosphere of Europe. The weather was intensely cold to us, and the ship was rolling heavily. We were the only two blackies that appeared amidst white faces that crowded the ship. Oh, how proud the blackie feels when for the first time he sees European stewards serving at his table! The 'Pera' is a longer and finer ship than the 'Colombo,' which brought us to Suez. All its arrangements for the general cleanliness of the vessel and convenience of passengers cannot be too highly admired. The dishes that were served out to us every day, including curry and भत , which we could never expect to have come out so well from European hands, piles of meat, heaps of sweetmeats, puddings and tarts, fruits and roots of various descriptions, gallons of wine of all sorts of delicacy, all these and more which would not disgrace the table of a rich lord of England, were an everyday thing to us. I just enclose a bill-of-fare, which will give you a faint idea of the P. & O. Company's dinner service. Add to that 3 scores of passengers busily engaged with

their knife and fork and drinking and talking to their fill; the hardworking, robust stewards passing and repassing the table with noiseless activity; mountains of solid meat including beef, mutton, pork and ham, geese, ducks, and then the sweetmeats of various kinds that would water the mouth of even the most orthodox Brahmin, and lastly oranges, apples, figs, grapes, raisins, nuts, almonds, and walnuts and other English fruits,—and you have the dinner that was given to us every day. Bathing, which was an everyday luxury to the Bengalee, was not an easy matter to us here. We had always to fight with other passengers for access to the bath. Sometimes when we went before a Saheb, and were waiting for a bath half an hour, the men would come and enter it as soon as it was empty, regardless of our claims. But if we were to be in the bath for 10 minutes, one would remark that we have no business to keep people waiting for an hour, another would say, "Don't fall asleep in your bath," and a third would tauntingly ask 'শুভ করত' ? Of course these men are Sahebs, and we are poor Bengalees. Our only amusement on board the ship was to observe the various games by which our fellow-passengers beguiled this tedious hour. Of course we were called sometimes to take part in them, and in some of the harder ones a Bengalee would much rather like to be a spectator than an actor. There was a game called 'Monkey in the sling.' The monkey was tied to a long rope, not so as to obstruct the movements of the body. His feet touched the ground and he could also run a little this side or that side. Now, people began beating him from all sides, and he received such hard blows as to stun any of us. If by a lucky chance the monkey could hit on any of his tormentors, he was released. Sometimes the poor monkey, when not an expert one, would have to bear all the blows without being able to give one, long enough to harass him quite; while another would scarcely allow himself to be beaten, and come out triumphant in a minute. I wish Hemendra had come to join in these active exercises.

I should like to give you some account of Malta and Gibraltar, where we stopped for a few hours during our voyage in the Mediterranean, but I am afraid the letter has become too heavy to bear any more. Malta was the first European ground where we set our foot. It may strike a raw Indian to see a city entirely filled by white-faced people. I have heard of an Anglo-Indian boy, who on landing at Malta could not suppress his feelings at the fact, and cried out "কালোনেগ সব কাঁহা গিন্না" ! The view of the town, fortifications and the harbour as it is approached, is very grand. The rocks and buildings around the little town of Valetta, are of a yellowish

east. St. John's Church is one of the most remarkable buildings of the place. It is a very heavy edifice, most richly decorated in the interior, containing superb monuments of the Knights of Malta. Gibraltar is a strongly, I may say formidably, fortified place, which seems to defy the combined efforts of the whole world to take it. The rocks almost perpendicular on the north, south and east sides, are very steep and rugged, but on the west slope down to a fine bay, on which stands the city. The city is unlike those with which we are familiar. The streets are narrow and well-paved. The houses are very strongly built, and stick to each other in a way never to be separated. “কতু না ছাড়িব বনে আঁকড়িয়া বর”। I will now tell you a love-adventure of Mon, on board the ship. From Malta several passengers joined us, and among those were Mr. and Mrs. Lamb and a maid-servant. Now, it so happened that this maid-servant took a fancy to Mon. Every morning she was punctual in making a good-morning to him, and a smile was on her lips at seeing him. But she came to have some strange misgivings in her mind. One day she asked Mon, and I was sitting by his side—“I believe you have left your wife behind? If I were your wife”—Of course we could not then hit at the hidden meaning of her assertion. But we were certainly surprised to learn how is it that she came to know of our marriage at all. We thought she must have learnt it from some source or other, or it might be a shrewd guess of hers. In the meantime her conversation with Mon became more frequent and familiar. She would sometimes admire his cap (saying what a pretty cap), sometimes she would come to present him flowers and so on, but alas! unfortunate creature! the thought of Mon being already wedded to a wife sank deep into her heart, and she had too much of conscience in her to make him guilty of bigamy, and so at last she revealed herself to Mon one day saying—“you are then a married man? I thought I had a chance.” Now everything appeared clear, all mists were dispersed. She was in love. It is a pity that Mon gave himself out as a married man. It would be nice fun to see how far affairs might proceed, if the contrary were known to the love-sick lady.

From Gibraltar we entered the Bay of Biscay in three days. The Bay is generally very rough, but it was in one of its quiet moods when we saw it. There was indeed a heavy swell, which set our ship rolling, but it was nothing, as we were told, compared with its usual upheavings.

As we approached the land of our destination, we were agreeably surprised to find it green with vegetation. Oh, it presented a beautiful aspect! England put on her best apparel to welcome us, and now we are

in the land of Albion ! One chapter of our enterprise is finished. This is the land of our holy pilgrimage, our স্বর্গভূমি !

We have visited the tomb of my grandfather, which as you will learn from the letter of Mon, is in a wretched state. We will gladly undertake to erect a new monument worthy of the man, if you make haste to supply us with the necessary means. The most treacherous thing that we have to encounter here is the weather. It is so uncertain and unsettled. The first question which an Englishman asks on meeting his friend is about the state of the weather. We hope, however, soon to get ourselves acclimatized. It is the month of May, and all Calcutta is in fires. This is the mango season and you are all enjoying it very much. Oh, when shall I taste the delicious fruit again ! I am starving for want of letters, drown me with them.

(To be Continued.)

PASTORALE

I think that I'd like to be a shepherd,
And roam the hills with my little bands
Of trusting sheep ; to lie 'neath some old tree
And pipe a vagrant tune on a reed flute,
And dream my orrant wand'ring dreams
Amid the flowers and the birds ;
Alone with Nature and the kindly beasts.
To feel the clean winds blowing from the south ;
To smell the scent of grass and loam ;
To let my whimsies weave, at will,
Untrammelled in an open space ;
Fenced only by the hills and sea and sky.
And when the twilight came with silver feet,
And the first star gleamed in the darkling void,
I'd take my staff and gather in my flock,
And home-ward go ; I and my sheep content.

LILY S. ANDERSON

IS A RESIDENTIAL UNIVERSITY SUITABLE FOR PATNA ?¹

We meet here to-day to protest against the scheme launched by Sir Md. Fakhiruddin and supported by Mr. Sultan Ahmad—the scheme of the Phulwari University. We have a great respect for our Education Minister and for our Vice-Chancellor who unites in himself the literary and scholarly traditions of the East and West. Our Vice-Chancellor is a man of insight, of resource, of far-reaching vision, and, therefore, whatever is born of that ripe wisdom is entitled to our consideration. But the modern age is an age of scepticism, of doubt, of criticism. It has no use for infallibility—as the Middle Ages had. It claims and I must say it is a claim which is not much relished by the authorities—it claims to be heard, to be taken into confidence, and horror of horrors, it claims a determining voice in matters affecting its own interests. Yet, however great the authority, benevolent the intention, and generous the instinct of the two educational experts, the people of this Province seem to resent the slight which—doubtless unwittingly—has been cast upon them, by refusing or rather neglecting, to call for their opinion or to seek their advice. In this democratic age such an omission, to our thinking, is ill-advised. The first objection, therefore, to this scheme is that it has no support from, much less the assent of, the people of the Province. But that in itself—though unwise and unsound—is no fatal objection to any scheme emanating from men such as the joint-parents of the Phulwari Scheme. The question is—and it is an all-important question—is it a sane scheme? Is it a scheme calculated to further the interests of the people

¹ Presidential Address at the Educational Conference held at Patna 17th August, 1924.

or to further the cause of education—so dear, I doubt not, to our revered Minister and scholarly Vice-Chancellor. ‘Residential University’—we have heard these words *ad nauseam*. Perhaps these words have a glamour for our Vice-Chancellor, who is—if I am not mistaken—a distinguished ornament of one of the English Universities. If that he really so, it is hardly a matter of surprise that he should be eager to transplant to Patna the system in vogue in England. But, much as I admire the system at Oxford and Cambridge, I do not think it is quite suitable for Patna. Patna is not Oxford. The history and environment of the two places are as widely apart as the Poles. At Oxford you have one people bound by one tie, animated by one interest, governed practically by one religion. There the feeling of oneness is strengthened, emphasised, cemented on the play-ground, in Hall, in the lecture room. The residential system is a charming feature of university life at Oxford. But how different are things here ! Instead of effecting union it will accentuate differences ; instead of fostering a feeling of brotherhood, it will bring into prominence divergences and contrasts which it is our earnest endeavour to wipe out, to forget, to obliterate once for all. Hindus and Mohamedans even, under a residential system must live essentially apart, and it is hardly desirable that at their *Alma Mater* they should feel that the gulf between them is too wide to be bridged or the differences too deep to be adjusted or harmonised. A University is the last place where anything suggestive of racial division or provocative of religious differences, should be entertained. Therefore to me the residential system is objectionable even on broad and general principles. But there are other objections equally powerful which tell against it. It may be good enough for those who can afford to pay for a luxurious education ; but what about those who have to contend against actual poverty or slender means ? Are they to be shut out from the light of culture ? Are they to go only some little distance

on the path of education, and then sit resigned to fate and poverty, because they have not the golden key wherewith to unlock the door of the newly constituted university? What we want is cheap education, education within the reach of all. Its door should be open to all. It should have of no walls of division, marking off one class from another. It should diffuse its beneficent results with a far-scattering arm. It should reduce to a vanishing point disabilities due to poverty.

The present scheme would merely be a duplication of work already done elsewhere and therefore a waste of money and effort. I may be permitted here to mention the story of *John Hopkins University*. John Hopkins died leaving the larger part of his fortune to found a College or University in Baltimore. Dr. Gilman was invited to discuss with the trustees his availability for the headship of the new institution. He proposed that this large endowment should be used, *not for the erection of expensive architecture*, but primarily for seeking out in all parts of the world the best professional brains in certain approved branches of learning. In the same spirit he suggested that a similarly selective process be adopted in the choice of students. The bringing together of these two sets of brains for graduate study, said he, would constitute the new University. And *John Hopkins University* became a real University in which unbiased truth was to be the only aim. "Gentlemen, you must light your own torch," was the admonition of President Gilman, in his welcoming address to his twenty fellows; intellectual independence, freedom from the trammels of tradition, were thus to be the directing ideas. (Hendrick's *Life and Letters of Page*, Vol. I, pp. 23, 24, 25.)

If the Behar Government has money to spare, let it utilise it for some such purpose as is suggested by President Gilman. But why these schemes? "It is strange irony," says Sir P. C. Ray, "that while no money can be spared for

primary education, the most costly and ambitious schemes are being launched in the name of High or University education—a striking instance of which is afforded by the proposal to spend 50 lakhs of Rupees on the new University buildings at Phulwari."

Inscrutable are the ways of Government! Who can presume to fathom their wisdom? Whom will this wondrous University benefit? It will certainly be a monument to the genius of Sir Fakhruddin and Mr. Ahmad. But if a monument—let the monument be erected out of their own inexhaustible purses. Yes! to whom will it bring benefit? to a handful, perchance, of the middle and rich classes. It will confer no benefit upon Tirhut, Chota Nagpur, Orissa. Are they to be ruled out of consideration?

Could not this money, or even a part of it, be utilised for colleges and schools and scientific and technical institutions already in existence at Patna? Are they to be shelved?

Oxford and Cambridge are not maintained by Government but by private donations and endowments. The future of Indian education—as of all genuine education—depends not on Government or on Government bounties, but on private munificence. Listen to what Syed Ahmad Khan has said: "Our Government has done a great deal for our education but I assure you we *can secure neither national education nor national self-respect* unless and until we take our education into our own hands. It is wholly beyond the scope of Government to meet all our needs; to fulfil all our demands. In matters of national interest it is nothing short of folly; nay it is a positive shame, to throw ourselves entirely at the feet of Government." (Syed Ahmad Khan's address on Islamic Education in India, p. 137.) Golden words, worthy of being inscribed in golden letters.

And what does Sir Walter Raleigh say: "Freedom to think, to criticise, to doubt, are essential to a university. It cannot be free if it is the appanage of any external power."

We do not want a university to be a department of Government. Sir Asutosh—that great man whose death we had recently to mourn—fought a life-long battle for freedom of the mind. His university—the Calcutta University—was—as all universities should be—the home and hearth of original research and bold, fearless thinking.

We are already face to face with a crisis in Calcutta. What will its future be? Will the university continue its victorious, onward march to the goal of disinterested learning and fearless freedom, or will it lapse into a seminary of servitude? Let us hope for the best, but are our misgivings unfounded, our anxiety without ground? We tremble at what may be, we can only hope that we shall have wisdom to continue as before, and courage to resist encroachment and to defeat retrograde policy.

But we are concerned here with the Phulwari University. Imagine a university—cut off from the main currents of public life—divorced from political activities—shut in in an out-of-the-way place—dominated by a spirit of officialdom! Such a university you will have if the genius of the Minister—reinforced by the talents of the Vice-Chancellor—succeeds in persuading your council to accept his resolution.

We meet in no spirit of captious criticism. We meet to protest against a flagrant disregard of public opinion in the matter of the Phulwari University. We meet to condemn the scheme as wanton and fruitless and wasteful. We meet to give expression to our deliberate and determined opinion that the age of benevolent despotism has ended, and that of enlightened self-government has begun, and that the voice of the people can no longer be scorned or scoffed at, but should be listened to with respect, and even, if need be, obeyed.

THE KAUTILIYA ARTHASASTRA

(A Reply)

The publication of Prof. Winternitz's lecture on the Kauṭīliya Arthasāstra in the April number of the *Calcutta Review* has given us an opportunity of reviewing the arguments upon which he bases his conclusion that the Kauṭīliya is a composition of the 3rd century A.D., and that its author is not Kauṭīliya, the minister of Chandragupta Maurya. I would commence with the arguments advanced by him at p. 16 and proceed with them one after another according to the convenience of tackling them.

There are several statements in the *Arthasāstra* to the effect that the work was written by Kauṭīliya. They have, according to Prof. Winternitz, no more value than those in the Mahābhārata and Manu-Smṛiti attributing those works to Vyāsa and Manu. As he has assigned no ground for holding such an opinion, the remark is but the result of personal belief against which others may hold entirely different beliefs. As to the verse in which it is stated that the kingdom was wrested by Kauṭīliya from the Nandas, he states that as the remark giving the whole credit to Kauṭīliya could not

The statements in the Arthasāstra as to its authorship disbelieved.

Two grounds for disbelieving one of the statements: (i) Unpleasant to Chandragupta.

but be unpleasant to Chandragupta or his successor, it must have been written by some one else. This statement involves necessarily the implication that either the whole work was written by an author other than the minister of Chandragupta, the verse being inserted in the work later on to give it weight and pass it off as the composition of the famous politician, or that the whole work including the verse was written by an author or authors other than Kauṭīliya the minister. This is, I should mention, looking at but one aspect of the question, and basing an inference on that partial view. There is the other aspect, namely, the gratitude of Chandragupta towards his political guru, to whom he owed so much in the matter of acquisition of power and position. That Chandragupta was so ungrateful that he would resent the mere mention of a fact, which was so widely known, by one whom he must have revered much as his minister and as a person from whom he had derived so much help in his rise to the throne, remains yet to be proved. Prof. Jacobi sees in this verse the self-consciousness

of a great statesman, of the Indian Bismarck as he calls Kauṭilya,' but, according to Prof. Winternitz, the contents of the (ii) A Paṇḍit could not be a statesman. *Arthasāstra* do not justify the inference that it is the composition of a statesman as, in his view, it is like the composition of a Paṇḍit. The reason assigned by him for this conclusion is that the *Arthasāstra* shows exactly the same predilection for endless and pedantic classifications and definitions as in other scientific works composed by Paṇḍits. In support of this assertion, he cites some examples. Before reviewing the examples themselves, I should state that such combinations of the Paṇḍits' learning and the knowledge of at least the theoretic side of an art or profession were not uncommon in ancient India; for it was the Brāhmaṇas who were repositories of all branches of learning or art, and it was not impossible for individual Brāhmaṇas of special capacity to be masters of several fields of learning and art at a time, specially as these special fields were not so wide in ancient India as they are at present. Even in modern times, scholars with a deep and specialized knowledge of a particular science or art together with a general knowledge of a few other sciences or arts are not rare. For this reason, I do not understand why the existence of such combination should have been impossible in ancient India. I may also point out that because this was the actual state of things, it was not regarded as an anomaly by the Hindus that eminent paṇḍits should at the same time be prime ministers of kings as mentioned in the following verses [see Parāśara Samhitā (Bom. S. S.), p. 3] :—

Indrasyāṅgirasō Nalasya Sumatiḥ Śaibyasya Medhātithir
 Dhaumyo Dharmasutasya Vaiṣṇaṇṇpateḥ Svauja Nimer Gaṇtamiḥ,
 Pratyagdr̥ṣṭīra-rundhatīśahacaro Rāmasya Puṇyātmano
 Yadvattasya bibhorabhūt kulagururmantri tathā Mādhavaḥ.

[Just as the religious guide Mādhava was the mantrin (of king Bukkana), so was Bṛhaspati to Indra, Sumati to Nala, Medhātithi to Śaibya, Dhaumya to Yudhiṣṭhira, Svaujas to Prthu, Vasiṣṭha to Rāma.]

Moreover, we find provision in the Sanskrit literature that the Brāhmaṇas should usually be the mantrins. It cannot be said that those who were selected for the high position used to be educated in a way different from the traditional one of keeping them in the house of their *gurus* up to a certain age-limit. The influences imbibed during this period developed in them a mode of thinking and a style of writing which may be distasteful to the politicians of the present day but may not have been so in

ancient India. There is nothing to show that in ancient India the said mode of thinking and writing could not co-exist with the qualifications necessary for a politician, though in modern times, a politician may develop a more lucid style by virtue of the training he receives and the surroundings in which he moves.

Again, the attribution of the authorship of works on polity to Brāhmaṇa authors, such as Vaiśampāyana, or the existence of Brāhmaṇa names among those quoted by Kauṭilya as authors of such treatises, shows that it was not regarded as unusual or uncouth that the Brāhmaṇas, whose ordinary profession was *adhyāyana* and *adhyāpana* of the sciences, should write on politics or warfare, on which the Kṣātriyas, whose means of livelihood were *śāstra* and *bhūlarakṣaṇam*, should alone have written.

Now I turn to the examples cited by Prof. Winternitz (pp. 16, 17) to show Kauṭilya's predilection for endless and pedantic classifications and definitions as found in the scientific works composed by paṇḍits. The long list of good qualities of each of the seven constituents of a state has been cited as the first instance of the class. But we should bear in mind that if the insertion of this list of excellences can be shown to be a *sine quā non* in the treatment of the

Errors in the examples cited to prove that Kauṭilya was a Paṇḍit and not a statesman.

I. Re list of excellences of the seven constituents of a state.

subject of *maṇḍala* in its entirety, the enumeration of the excellences cannot be said to be the outcome of a Paṇḍit's love of pedantry. The main object of the scheme of *maṇḍala* is to gauge the strength of a state in comparison with that of the other neighbouring states in particular circumstances. It is the seven constituents that compose a state, and the strength of a particular state can be measured by scrutinizing the qualities of each constituent with reference to the standards mentioned in the aforesaid list minus the deficiencies of each owing to the *vyasanas*, which may affect any of them; and hence, we find in the *Arthaśāstra* the delineation of the standard excellences of each constituent, and the treatment of the peculiar *vyasanas* of the different constituents with suggestions as to their remedies in the Eighth Book. The calculation of the relative strength of a particular state together with the calculation of strength of its allies as against similar measurement of strength of the inimical state and its allies enables a sovereign or a politician to adopt one or more of the six courses of action or their combinations dealt with in the Seventh Book. There is a thread of logical connection running through the chapters of the Sixth

and Seventh Books, and the list of the qualities is but a necessary link in the chain. Therefore, it is not proper to state that the aforesaid list of qualities is but an expression of the love of pedantry of the author.

The scheme of the maṇḍala (statal circle) of twelve states was in currency in those days. There were other rival schemes, but this was the most popular, because it was found by the politicians of those days as

II. Maṇḍala as a kind of geometry of the situations of the states—criticized.

sufficient for the needs of reference to or delineation of the situations arising among the states in their mutual intercourse, the components of the statal circle with their defined correlation and set nomenclature furnishing the basal concepts and terminology for the performance of the task with ease and precision.¹ The twelve states composing a maṇḍala are but types of those situated in the several zones surrounding the aspiring or central state, and hence the adaptation of the scheme of the maṇḍala to particular situations is easily made. It is not also necessary that all the twelve types of states should be involved in every political situation. Only those that correspond to the states actually involved in particular political circumstances, may be taken into account. The scheme is meant to be of general application, and it does not matter whether the set of neighbouring states be situated in India, Europe, or elsewhere, and whether they be twelve or less, big or small, just as a geometrical proposition regarding a triangle or a circle is applicable to it, irrespective of its dimension or existence in India or Europe.² In view of this, Prof. Winternitz's remarks that "what has been called the inter-state relations is a kind of geometry of the situation of the state," does not detract from the value of Kauṭilya's treatment of the maṇḍala, unless 'geometry' be taken as a synonym of pedantry.

Prof. Winternitz says that in the statal circle, the immediate neighbour is always the enemy, and the neighbour of the enemy always the ally. He has ignored that Kauṭilya regards adjacent states as 'natural enemies' because adjacency was, as it is now, a fruitful source of jealousy and enmity, and as the same reason applies to the relation of this state to its neighbour in the next zone, the third state is naturally friendly to the first. This principle of special

(iii) 'The immediate neighbour always the enemy, and the neighbour of the enemy always the ally'—criticized.

¹ *Vide my Inter-state Relations in Ancient India*, pp. 1-13.

² V. Smith has fallen into the same error at p. 138 of his *Early India*, and has taken the scheme as an evidence of the state of things as existing before the consolidated empire of the Mauryas came into being.

adjacency has been taken as the determiner of friendliness or enmity towards the central state and towards one another. Nowhere has Kauṭilya dogmatized that this relation of natural friendliness or enmity cannot be altered. He has left that inference to be drawn by the reader from the context and by a study of the other portions of the treatise. In Book 7, Ch. 14 (*Hīnaśaktipūraṇam*), Kauṭilya suggests the methods by which a weak vijigīṣu makes offer of money, etc., to his enemy's allies who are making a combined attack upon the vijigīṣu. Kauṭilya advises the weak sovereign to make use of *sāma*, *dāna*, *bheda*, *daṇḍa*, whenever needed, to make a breach in the hostile combination. This shows that the enemy's friends can become vijigīṣu's friends at any time. Similarly, the enemy might have recruited his allies not merely by calling the sovereigns from the friendly zones but also by turning into friends those sovereigns who are in the inimical zones by use of *sāma*, *dāna*, *bheda*, *daṇḍa* according to the exigency of the moment.

Prof. Winternitz remarks (p. 17) not without a bit of fling at Kauṭilya that vijigīṣu must 'always be a model of virtue, possessed of the best prakṛtis and the embodiment of statesmanship.

(ir) Is vijigīṣu always a model of virtue, strength, and statesmanship?

Nothing can be further from Kauṭilya's purposes than a statement of this sort. The passage at p. 260 of the *Arthasāstra* (viz., *rājā ātmadravyaprakṛti-m-*

panno nayasādhisthānam vijigīṣu) states that the sovereign with his own resource-elements forming the basis of the (inter-state) policy is vijigīṣu. It cannot be denied that the sovereign of any state forming the centre of political deliberations for the time being can be called vijigīṣu, and every sovereign who requires his inter-state policy to be settled by deliberations has, for the sake of convenience, to look upon himself as the centre of his maṇḍala, i. e., as vijigīṣu. Hence, if Prof. Winternitz's remark be true, we are forced to commit ourselves to the absurd assumption that every sovereign in a country was a model of virtue, strength, and statesmanship. Moreover, it is found from Book VII, Ch. 14, that the weak vijigīṣu is being attacked by a number of allied sovereigns. How can a vijigīṣu be conceived to be weak, if he be always a model of strength? Again, two whole *adhikaraṇas*, viz., *Vyasanādhikaraṇam* (Book VIII) and *Ābalīyasam* (Book XII) treating, as they do, of weak and distressed sovereigns, cannot have any concern with the vijigīṣu, if Prof. Winternitz's contention be true, and because, as already stated, every sovereign can be a vijigīṣu within his own maṇḍala, the two *adhikaraṇas* are meant for none. The fact, however, is that a vijigīṣu

is a sovereign like any other sovereign in his maṇḍala, and is as much subject to the ups and downs of regal life as the rest.

Prof. Winternitz sees nothing but quibbling (p. 17) in the discussions in the 8th Book of the *Arthaśāstra* regarding the relative gravity of the several *vyasanas* affecting the seven constituents of the state. This portion of the work devoted to the *vyasanas* has been written for two objects, *viz.*, to suggest the remedies for the several *vyasanas*, and to enable a sovereign or a politician to measure as approximately as possible the relative strength of those states in the maṇḍala that are involved in a particular inter-state affair. To fulfil the second object, it is necessary to ascertain which of the two states, or two groups of states with conflicting interests, has greater strength. Of the several courses of action named in the 7th Book, one or more are adopted in the light of the relative strength possessed by one side as against another. To strike this balance between the strength of a particular state or a group of states and that of another state or group of states, it is necessary to have the detailed treatment of the *vyasanas*, which Prof. Winternitz condemns as mere quibbling. I take a concrete example to make my point clear. Suppose there are two hostile states A and B. A as also B is composed of seven constituents, *viz.*, king, ministers, territory with the subjects, fort, treasure, army, and allies. Now, each of these constituents has its own peculiar defects or distresses, the existence of which takes away from its full value possessed by it in its normal state. Now in order to ascertain the strength of A as against B, it has to be determined how many of the constituents of A are superior to those of B and *vice versa*. Suppose that A has its king addicted to gambling, and B has its king addicted to drinking. According to the author of the *Arthaśāstra*, the former king is weaker than the latter (*Arthaśāstra*, p. 330). Again if A has *amātya* affected with *vyasana*, and B has *janapada* affected with *vyasana*, the other constituents remaining normal, the affected constituents being different present a difficulty in ascertaining which *vyasana* is graver. According to the author of the *Arthaśāstra*, the distress of the *amātya* is graver; hence, the state A is weaker than B. If both A and B have their allies, the strength of the allies on each side will have to be subjected to a similar examination in order to reach a conclusion as to which side is stronger. This furnishes the reason why Kauṭilya is at so much pains in comparing the relative weakness of the constituents of the same or different denominations,

Are discussions on the *vyasanas* more quibbling?

and gives his own view supported by arguments as to which of the affected constituents under comparison should be regarded as inferior to the other.

This process of calculation of the relative strength of a state requires the aforesaid treatment of the *vyasanas*, and hence it is but missing the real purpose of the method to say that such treatment is nothing but quibbling.

It may be that the presentation of the subject-matter might have been more lucid, but allowance must be made for the distance of time that makes the style of writing far removed from what we may expect. It cannot however be said that the manner of treatment of the *vyasanas* shows that the author was a paṇḍit and not a statesman; for even a statesman of the age in which the work was written could not have been altogether exempt from the influences of his literary surroundings, and could not have avoided, in his treatment of the *vyasanas*, the detailed comparisons between the constituents, essential, as they were, to the process of calculation of the relative strength of the states of the maṇḍala before any 'course of action' could be adopted. After what I have just now said as to the style of writing, I do not think I need say anything regarding Prof. Winternitz's complaint against the lengthy discussions on the choice of ministers in the *Arthaśāstra*. The combination of the learning of a paṇḍit and the practical ability of a politician is not an impossibility, and the portrayal of Cāṇakya accompanied by his disciple in the *Mudrā-rākṣasa* (Act I) shows that in regard to him, the idea of his being a paṇḍit did not jar against that of his being a statesman, because very probably, it reflected the tradition of the actuality.

If Prof. Winternitz's view of the present-day politics be as he has

put down, viz., 'the conqueror or the victorious

party in war is always the righteous, and just as

How far Kauṭilya supports the application of unscrupulous methods in politics.

Kauṭilya occasionally pays his respects to morality,

you will find in all proclamations of the great political

leaders of our days that the most abominable things are always done in the name of justice, humanity and civilization' (p. 27), then it certainly abates the poignancy of his condemnation of Kauṭilya. About the minister, he writes that 'there is a strange discrepancy between his strict Brāhmanical religiosity, and the unscrupulousness with which he recommends all kinds of cunning tricks, in which religious rites and religiosity of the people are abused for political purposes.' There is however a boundary line, beyond which this remark may be applicable,

but within which, it does not apply. In justice to Kauṭilya, this limiting line should not be ignored. In internal politics, the unscrupulous means are recommended against only those persons or subjects who are found to be seditious or inimical to the sovereign, and in inter-state politics, they are recommended against the unjust and the hostile, and not against the friendly states. In spite of these limitations, there existed a wide field for the operation of the moral and the humane principles both in internal and external politics. In this connection, I should point out that Prof. Winternitz's remark (p. 9) that 'in the second chapter of the fifth *adhikaraṇa*, the king is taught how to fill his empty treasury by all kinds of fair and foul means,' of which he cites examples, has done injustice to Kauṭilya; for he expressly mentions towards the end of the chapter that the means should be used against the seditious and the wicked and never against others (*evam duṣṣeṣādhūrmikeṣu ca variete, netareṣu*) which Prof. Winternitz ignores. Space does not allow me to deal at length with the humane principles with which the sovereign is advised by Kauṭilya to treat his subjects. I wish to quote only one passage by way of example :

Prajāsukhe sukham rūjñāḥ
 Prajānām ca hite hitam,
 Nātmapriyam hitam rūjñāḥ,
 Prajānām tu priyam hitam. (I, 16).

In inter-state relations, the evidences of the *Arthaśāstra* show that a king's deviations from the practices sanctioned by tradition incurred the displeasure of the sovereigns within the maṇḍala and of his own subjects. The references to the displeasure of these sovereigns would have been to no purpose, if it had not been a cause for apprehension to the recalcitrant monarch. Humane treatment, for instance, of the *daṇḍopanata* (self-submitter) was required by the opinion of not merely the sovereigns of the time but also of the people. A warning in the *Kauṭilya* cautions the *daṇḍopauḍgīn* (dominator) against transgression of his obligations to the submitter, breach of which agitated the whole statal circle to actions for the destruction of the dominator, and provoked even his own ministers to attempt his life or deprive him of his kingdom (*Arthaśāstra*, VIII, 16). Again, Kauṭilya, while giving advice to the allies of a king engaged in a fight with another king with his allies, points out that one, who attacks the rear of a sovereign has an advantage over one who attacks the rear of a sovereign fighting with an unrighteous king, because fight with a

righteous king incurs the displeasure of his own people (*Arthasāstra*, VIII, 13). It was apprehension of this sort that acted as a check upon the conduct of the monarchs of those days in inter-state affairs.

Prof. Winternitz is wrong in holding, on the strength of the passage '*abhyucciya māno vigrahaṇīyāt*' (*Arthasāstra*, VII, 1) that "he who is stronger shall wage war." Kaṭilya is explaining, in the first portion of the chapter, the various courses of action, and signifies by the passage that superiority of strength should be a pre-condition of embarking on *vigraha*. It does not mean that whenever a sovereign has accumulated sufficient strength, he must attack a weak sovereign. That this supposition is baseless is further proved by Kaṭilya's statement that the relative gains from *sandhi* and *vigraha* being equal, *sandhi* should be made; because *vigraha* leads to loss of men, money, sojourn, and sin (*Arthasāstra*, VII, 2). Moreover, a war could not take place without one or more causes for declaring it. The reasons for this inference are:—

- (1) There are references in the *Arthasāstra* to weak states being protected instead of being attacked by powerful kings (e.g., *Artha*, VIII, 1). The existence also of the course of action called *Samśraya*, i.e., taking the help of a powerful king supports this contention.
- (2) It is expressly laid down by Kaṭilya that writs (implying negotiation) are the root of *sandhi* and *vigraha* between states (*Arthasāstra*, II, 10). Kaṭilya informs us that he wrote the chapter (II, 10) on royal writs not merely in accordance with all the *śāstras* on polity but also the prevailing practices (*prayoga*) of the day.

I do not appreciate Prof. Winternitz's rendering of *āsana* by the word 'neutrality' (p. 10) and that of *Samśraya* by the word 'alliance.' The nature of the course of action *āsana* will be clear from Bk. VII, Chs. I and IV of the *Arthasāstra*, and this is also corroborated by the Kāṇadākiya which says that *āsana* is a form of *vigraha* (*vide* XI, 35—*yānāsane vigrahasya rūpam*). The courses of action called *sandhyāśana* (taking to *āsana* in regard to the enemy after making alliance with a state) and *vigrahyāsana* (taking to *āsana* after declaration of war) adopted during the continuance of hostilities would not have been possible if *āsana* had meant neutrality. *Samśraya* is adopted by a weak sovereign for protection against the attack of a powerful enemy, and consists in resigning himself to the protection of another powerful sovereign ready to help him. This is not an alliance,

for had it been so, it would have come under *sandhi*, which in the Kautīliya comprehends both the treaties of peace and the various kinds of alliance.

Prof. Winternitz has grave doubt whether the minister of an emperor could have the name 'Kautīliya' meaning 'crookedness.' We should, however, consider that the minister had no alternative in the matter. It is a gotra name, *i.e.*, the name of one of his ancestors, and over it the minister, or his parents and guardians had no control. On this point, Saṅkarācharya's commentary on the *Kāmaulakīya* (I, 6) runs thus: "Viṣṇugupta was the name given him at the naming ceremony, while Cāṇakya

Is Kautīliya (crook-
edness) too had a
name for a minister?

and Kautīliya were derived from the birth-place and the gotra respectively." Thus the name Viṣṇugupta which was conferred on the minister at the naming ceremony by his parents or guardians is not at all repulsive. Hence, the minister is not to blame for the name. But even if 'Kautīliya' had been his personal name, I do not think he would have been the worse for it; because the very fact that such a name could at all be chosen by the parents or guardians for a child is sufficient proof that it was not repugnant to the ears of the people of the time. In early Sanskrit literature we sometimes meet with such names. To mention only a few: Śunaḥśeṣa (dog-tailed) in the *Aitr. Br.*, Piśuna (slandorous), Kauṇṭapadanta (having teeth like a goblin) in the *Arthaśāstra*. Do we not in England see men with names like 'Savage' and 'Lamb' rising to positions of fame and power, and would it be a bar to their becoming premiers of England if their capabilities raise them to that high office?

Mahāmahopādhyāya Gaṇapati Śāstri in the Introduction to his edition of the *Arthaśāstra* (1924) points out that the correct form of 'Kautīliya' is 'Kauṭalya,' *i.e.*, 'born in Kuṭāla gotra,' and that neither the term 'Kautīliya' nor its root 'Kuṭīla' is explained in the Nighaṇṭu as Gotrarṣi. On the other hand, Kuṭāla is mentioned by Keśavasvāmin in his *Nānārthāṇavāsankṣepa* as meaning both Gotrarṣi and an ornament. The right form of the name, *i.e.*, 'Kauṭalya' is found in all the manuscripts of the text of the *Arthaśāstra* and its commentaries used by the editor and described by him in the Introduction.

NARENDRA NATH LAH

(To be Continued.)

RĀSTAKHIZ

OR

THE RESURRECTION OF THE SOVEREIGNS OF IRĀN AMONG
THE RUINS OF MADĀYĪN.*(Translated from Persian)**[Introductory note by the Translator:]*

On the occasion of the last Naurūz festival (21st March of this year) the Parsi community, both in Bombay and in Calcutta, got introduced to this fine operetta. In Bombay it was Mr. D. J. Irani, solicitor, himself of Persian parentage, who first drew the attention of his co-religionists to this work. Indeed, he has been contemplating the issue of this work in the original Persian with an English translation. He had already had in print a few copies for private circulation among his friends.¹ I also contrived to get hold of a copy and through it tried to put the Zoroastrian community of Calcutta into touch with the feelings and the aspirations of modern Irān. Mr. Irani's excellent English version only lacks metre and rhythm, which want I have, with his kind permission, supplied in this translation.

A word more may be added regarding the poet Saiyyad Mirzādeh Ishqī, an apostle of young Irān, whose aspirations he voices here. Just as I was translating the very last lines I read the news of the poet's murder on the 30th of July. He has finished his dream and is gone back in prime of life to the Eternal Realities. As sure as day follows night, so sure shall the Resurrection of Irān (and of all East) come. The dawn is already visible and sunrise is not very far distant. Irān has felt its invigorating breath, and is waking up in response. One of the great signs of this new life has been the re-awakening of interest all over Irān in her ancient glory, in her ancient Kings, in her ancient Religion and in her great Prophet, Zarathushtra. The Irāni to-day has begun to understand that all her national greatness must be rooted in her past, and so there has come over her people a spirit of toleration and of brotherhood for men of all religions. No doubt the work of the Babis has smoothed the way to this. Irān to-day is calling the Parsis of India back to the land of their fathers, at the

¹ Since this was written the book has been published in Bombay.

very least she wants their co-operation and good will in the coming struggle to reach the haven of Peace. For just like this land she too is awakening into new life and is feeling fresh blood tingling in her veins. Her struggle is our struggle, her victory is our victory. Irān, twin-sister of Hind, proud of her Aryan heritage, has, through long ages of suffering and darkness, come to a true realisation of her past. Now she wants to build up afresh, in a new synthesis, her national life. The sympathies of India and especially of the Parsis, are with her.]

Prefatory note by the Author :

During his travels, in the year of Hejira 1334, from Baghdad to Mosul the Author of this little dramatic poem was impressed in more than ordinary measure by the ruins of the ancient city of Madāyin.¹ Eventually several years after this journey these impressions bore fruit and this little effort was a result.

Dramatis Personæ.

Ishqi, the Traveller.	Noshirawan.
Khusrav-Dokht.	Khusrav.
Cyrus.	Shirin.
Darius.	Shade of Zaratusht.

(The curtain rises and discloses the magnificent ruins of the Great Hall of one of the Royal Palaces of the Sassanian Emperors at Madāyin. Several Royal tombs in a ruined state and with half-broken pillars meet the sight of a Traveller. He is just arrived and he is gazing around him and sighing.)

The Traveller (sings to the air of the Masnaci of Afshār)—

These wondrous portals, glorious palaces !
 These countless columns, e'en in ruin great !
 What do these signify, Almighty Lord ?
 If from this place I ever safe return,
 I swear I never would go forth again
 In search of glories past. This trackless waste,
 These dark deserted ruins, stretching forth
 To Heav'n their gaunt bare shafts ; this solitude,
 Terrible and complete, makes me feel faint.

¹ The ancient city of Uteslphou.

Yet none the less when on this Royal Court
 Mine eyes have feasted, all my toil forgot,
 I feel inspired,—glorious recompense
 For all my troubles on this pilgrimage.
 From here the great Sassanian race did spring,
 This was the land in which was sown the seed
 Of Irān's mighty race. Those were the days,
 When she was great and active, wise and free.
 But fallen now in sloth and slavery
 And ignorance, her greatness is all past.
 Madāyīn, great 'Twin-city,'¹ every stone,
 Amid thy ruined palaces should cause
 All true Iranian hearts to bleed for shame,
 With eyes downcast to hear thy long-neglected name.

*(He places his hand on his forehead. After a time he sings
 this ghazal in the Caucasian air, his heart heavy with
 grief and anguish)*

Hold back thy hands ; stricken with this sight,
 My blood to water turns, and drop by drop
 My heart flows out in anguish through my eyes.
 Gave I my grief a tongue, as here I see
 The royal tombs of Achaemenes' race,
 Out of these empty urns would gush forth blood.
 The name and fame and honour of Irān
 Are to our leaders now of little worth.
 No Farhād shows us freedom's path, none leads :—
 Each selfish leader thinks but of himself,
 And works his own undoing. Branded clear
 Upon our foreheads fear, dishonour, shame

¹ The name *Madāyīn* is the dual *Medina*, city. The city was situated on both banks of the river Tigris. It was originally the city of Seleukin founded by Selenkos, the founder of the famous dynasty after the death of Alexander the Great. Later the city of Ctenophon was founded by the Parthians on the opposite bank of the river.

The world may see. On tombs of heroes great
 People of other climes show'r roses sweet,
 But wanting hearts and sense, we, Persians, throw,
 Dust from the Takht-i-Jamshīd at the head
 Of Jam himself. Great Rulers of Irān
 Are 'mong these ruins gathered to lament
 Her greatness past. Sadness profound comes down,
 Like a dark veil upon Madāyīn's face :—
 Ishqī was privileged to lift the veil,
 To scan the past, unfolding Irān's doleful tale.

(Sleep overcomes the brooding Traveller. Resting his arms on his knees and his head upon his hands he falls into a waking dream, and speaks aloud.)

Now there unfolds before my wond'ring eyes
 The story of my country's glorious past.
 What is this that I see?—A woman clad
 In white—her cerements—raised up from dead ;
 Forth from her grave she comes. She gazes round
 Upon this city desolate : a cry,
 A wail that rends the heart, escapes her breast,
 Sudden—I know not how—it bursts out unrepressed.

(Just then, from a tomb near the Traveller, a woman, clad in grave-clothes, steps out. It appears that she is a Princess, from her costly robes. She is, indeed, the daughter of Khusrav. She looks around and heaves a deep sigh.)

Khusrav-Dokht—

This mouldering graveyard,—can this be Irān ?
 This desert's not Irān : O where is my Irān ?

Ye men, ye living corpses of Irān !
 I am your Kasra's ¹ daughter : royal blood
 Coursed through my veins : I've seen the glories past.

¹ Latin *Casas*, Emperor.

The daughter beloved
Of the King was I ;
Loved of Shirin,
The light of her eye.

Now from my grave, thou poor afflicted Race !
Thy griefs have dragged me forth. But what is this ?—
This mouldering graveyard—can this be Irān ?
This desert's not Irān : O where is my Irān ?

That time the glorious beauty of our Land
Put Heav'n to shame. Then, People of Irān,
This Land was not the waste I see, nor slaves
Her sons :—God witness 'tis the truth I speak.

Gone are all our Heroes,
At rest their sword and lance ;
O Royal Sire, Khusrav,
On Irān cast thy glance.

This mouldering graveyard,—can this be Irān ?
This desert's not Irān : O where is my Irān ?

Father, great Khusrav, Lover of Shirin !
Rise from thy resting place, regard the plight
Of thine belov'd Irān. Sad is her fate :
Here only graves and ruins from the past
Are seen ; her sons as good as underground.

They live ? Nay only breathe,
They're dead—come out of graves,—
They live, and have no life,—
For what's the life of slaves ?

This mouldering graveyard,—can this be Irān ?
This desert's not Irān : O where is my Irān ?

The great Kayānis, glorious Kings of Kings,
The valiant Sons of Sassan, Irān's pride,
My forbears these ; *they* made our Irān great.

But now?—they bend their heads in grief and shame
To see their free Irān a land of slaves.

They all are broken-hearted,

Cyrus is full of woe,

Darius and Noshir'wan

With shame and grief bend low.

This mouldering graveyard,—can this be Irān?

This desert's not Irān? O where is my Irān?

Shirin with one hand wipes away the tears,
That from her sad eyes brim; her other hand
She lifts in scorn her stinging curse to hurl:

“Unworthy sons of mighty sires,

Ye have forgotten e'en their name;

No answering thrill within you wakens,

At mention of their deeds of fame;

Yet let the sight of us, your mothers,

Bring forth at least a blush of shame.

This mouldering graveyard,—can this be Irān?

This desert's not Iran: O where is my Irān?

*(Cyrus appears clad in wonderful robes. His face is utterly
sorrowful. He has his fist clenched against his brow.)*

Cyrus—

Alas! my head bends low with grief and shame:

I see the shades of Kings before me stand,

Those very Kings, who once in fetters marched,

Captives behind my car of victory.

Alas! they tear my vitals with their taunts:

“King! once Irān triumph'd o'er us,

We were led by thee in chains;

Others now have claimed her captive,

Of her glory naught remains!”

This mouldering graveyard,—can this be Irān?

This desert's not Irān: O where is my Irān?

(Darius appears, an imperial figure, unutterably sad.)

Darius—

From China to Byzantium I held sway,
 And half the peopled globe did I bequeath
 To my successors : they completely lost
 All their great heritage and are enslaved.
 All in ruins, all a desert
 Lies Irān, her glory spent :
 Of my far-flung World-Empire
 Is hardly seen *one* monument
 This mouldering graveyard,—can this be Irān ?
 This desert's not Irān : O where is my Irān ?

(Solemn and grave and with a grief-stricken face Noshirawan steps out from behind a wall. His voice is full of grief.)

Noshirawan—

This land once bred most valiant men and true,
 This land was famed for Chivalry and Truth.
 Alas ! a howling wilderness I see,
 Where mighty Kings in days of yore held court.
 The glorious Flag of Old Irān,
 From China up to Roman seas,
 Through valour of her mightysons,
 Stood proudly waving in the breeze.
 This mouldering graveyard,—can this be Irān ?
 This desert's not Irān : O where is my Irān ?

(Khusrac in imperial robes and jewels steps out from behind the wall as Noshirawan had done. In thrilling tones he sings this 'ghuzal'.)

Khusrac—

I scarcely know ye, living from the dead ;
 I scarcely know ye, master from the slave ;

Call ye your being "life" ?—'Twere better far
 Death and his silence than your frozen hearts.
 Why are ye thus alive ? Your mighty Sires
 Lament your fallen state,—exciting smiles
 And patronage from upstart states and kings.
 Great was Irān in might, great in her Truth :
 O what has come to pass, that now she takes
 Place lower than her sisters, younger all ?
 Blame ye yourselves ; ye bound her hand and foot
 With your self-sceking fetters ; ye forgot
 That Truth and Love of Land were life and blood
 To your great Fathers and to *their* Irān.
 By ye neglected near to death she bled,
 No son to stanch her wounds, her greatness all but dead.

*(Dressed in a mourning robe of black, but wearing all her
 queenly jewels, Shirin, with an unutterably sad expression
 upon her face, appears by the side of Khusrav.)*

Shirin—

O sacred land by Holy Prophets trod
 Irān, thou bridal-chamber of Shirin !
 Where is thy throne, thy crown, thy jewels rare,
 That once adorned the palace of my spouse ?
 Irān !O my Irān !Thy Truth and Honour fled,
 The dust of all the world I pour upon my head.

Are all thy great and valiant heroes stilled ?
 Is there now none whose hand may wield the sword ?
 Where have thy many million soldiers gone ?
 Irān, that cradled me ! Irān, my pride !
 Irān !O my Irān !Thy Truth and Honour fled,
 The dust of all the world I pour upon my head.

Where are thy Khusravs gone, World-conquerors ?
 Where are thy Wazirs, wise Buzarjemihrs ?

Kings captive thy triumphal pageants graced ;
 Irān my bridal-bower, my bed of rest !
 Irān !.....O my Irān !.....Thy Truth and Honour fled,
 The dust of all the world I pour upon my head.

Behold Madāyīn, home of Sassan Lords,
 Behold the halls of great Noshirawān,
 Irān in darkness mourns her greatness past,
 Her robes as sombre as the robes I wear.
 Irān !.....O my Irān !.....Thy Truth and Honour fled,
 The dust of all the world I pour upon my head.

Thy warrior Lords, whose arms invincible
 Had made thee first of nations, gather here,
 Their heads like mine with lowly dust are crowned,
 They ask, " Where is Irān that ruled the world ? "
 Irān !.....O my Irān !.....Thy Truth and Honour fled,
 The dust of all the world I pour upon my head.

Men of Irān, that dwell in ruined graves,
 Revive your memory of ancient days,
 When all the world submitted at her feet :—
 Look at that picture first,—then look around,
 Look at yourselves...Ah ! Woe is me ! Khusrav !
 My royal spouse ! This breaks my heart to see !
 Irān !.....O my Irān !.....Thy Truth and Honour fled,
 The dust of all the world I pour upon my head.

Shirin am I, I am the Royal bride,
 I am of Irān's mighty Lord the mate,
 I am the mother of his glorious sons,
 Where is my Heav'n ? Where are those treasures mine ?
 Irān !.....O my Irān !.....Thy Truth and Honour fled,
 The dust of all the world I throw upon my head.

Irān ! the resting place of Sassan's line !
 Irān ! the shrine of Just Noshirawān !

Irān ! within whose bosom sleep our great
 And glorious Dead, as also Mothers, Queens !
 Irān !.....O my Irān.....Thy Truth and Honour fled,
 The dust of all the world I pour upon my head.

(Pointing to the people)

With what face do ye dare to be alive?
 Are ye not shamed to look upon your Queen ?
 When enemies of Irān ye allowed,
 To tread upon the dust of holy bones,
 Of poets, prophets, warriors, queens and kings !
 Irān !.....O my Irān !.....Thy Truth and Honour fled,
 The dust of all the world I pour upon my head.
 I am the bride of this Imperial Land,
 I am the bride of that great Son of Kings,
 I am the love and pride of Kings of Kings.
 Lift we, ye Lords Imperial gathered here,
 Our voices, hands and hearts in humble prayer
 To that great ancient Guardian of Irān,
 Our Holy Zarathushtra Spitama.
 Pray we to Him to turn to us His face,
 And in His mercy save our lov'd Irān, —
 To Zarathushtra, Messenger of God,
 To Zarathushtra, our Light and Guide.
 Irān !.....O my Irān !.....Thy Truth and Honour fled,
 The dust of all the world I pour upon my head.

(When Shirin finishes her lament, the Royal personages one by one arise and stand in an attitude of prayer and supplication as used by the ancient Iranians. With great humility they invoke Zoroaster.)

INVOCATION TO THE SOUL OF HOLY ZARATUSHT.

Zarathushtra, Irān lies in ruins,
 In terrifying eddies is she whirled,

Sorrow is our share on land and water,
Hearken to us, Saviour of the World !

Irān formed the centre of Earth's glory :
We nourished her with our blood ; the shields
That guarded safe her honour were our breasts.
No desert spot within her fertile fields
Could keenest eye detect. But desolate,
A barren wilderness she long has been :
Alas ! we scarcely recognise to-day
The glorious Paradise our eyes had seen.

Holy Zarathushtra ! Irān's Saviour !
Our ancient Beacon Light, our Friend, our Guide
Irān is Thine own child, Thy special care ;
She may forget, but Thou art at her side.
Thine, in the ancient days, rang out the Message
Of Purity and Service of Mankind :
We, Thy devoted servants, strove to follow,
And striving left a glorious land behind.

Our hands we lift in prayer, Zarathushtra !
Thy saving grace for Irān we entreat ;
Thee we invoke, Prophet of th' Almighty !
Our heads in homage bent upon Thy feet.
Lead Irān back to what she has forgot,
Show her the Paths of Service and of Right,
That she may once again attain her place,
As Leader of the World to Realms of Light.

Zarathushtra ! Irān lies in ruins,
In terrifying eddies is she whirled,
Sorrow is our share on land and water,
Hearken to us, Saviour of the World !

(When the invocation to Holy Zoroaster is ended, the wall and porch (whereon a Farohar is depicted) disappear and the Soul of Holy Zoroaster, glorious like a Prophet, resplendent like an angel, clad in white, and wearing long silver-grey locks and beard appears. Moving slowly the Holy Spirit speaks.)

THE SOUL OF HOLY ZOROASTER—

I am the Soul of Zar'tusht ye invoked,
I lead the Heav'nly hosts of Holy Men,
I gave my Message, ordered by the Lord :—
Good thoughts, good words, good deeds and Purity.
This did Irān forget, hence all her ills.

(Pointing at the Royal Personages)—

Ye valiant Lords, taking your well-earned rest,
Your bodies now are dust, yet live your names,
Shining like beacons, guiding young Irān :
Your hearts are bleeding ; ye have fit excuse,—
For these your sons their sires have forsworn,
And have surrendered all, nor ever once
Asserted Irān's right to liberty.

(Pointing to the people)—

Ye, Nations of the holy, hoary East !
Hind and Irān, and Turkoman and Chin !
When Light of Culture blazed upon the East,
In noonday splendour (let not West forget)
That time in West dwelt woodland savages,
Children of Nature, living as she bid.
Then set the Sun of Culture in the East,
And rose in West,—and East fell fast asleep,
That circle nears completion now ; new dawn
Reddens again the sky in Eastern lands.
O East, arise, and teach anew to West,

What mean Humanity and Righteousness.
 Let's hope and pray, when East is wide awake,
 And strong again, her new-found strength she'll use
 To bring our sore-tried Earth the gift of Peace,
 Of Goodwill and of Brotherhood of Man.
 Henceforth no people should in bondage be ;
 All Nations are from God :—His Workers must be free !

(A beautifully bedecked cradle, with the National Flag of Irān flying from it, blazing with lights of various hues, slowly descends in front of the Prophet. He pointing at it solemnly concludes his prophetic speech.)

In this ancient soil lie hidden
 seeds, from which a future race
 Springing shall replace the living
 corpses that Irān disgrace :
 These shall help Irān to raise
 her head to heights ne'er reached before,
 Then upon this land of Cyrus
 Fate shall put her curse no more.
 No disgrace shall then disfigure
 Irān's ancient honoured name,
 She shall once again be mighty,
 and the Reign of Right proclaim.
 I shall overcome Ahriman ;
 on Irān his sway shall cease,
 On her head rest God's own Blessings,
 that shall lead her to the Peace.

(The Soul of Zoroaster disappears and the wall and the porch appear again as before. The Royal personages also, their faces full of amazement, disappear one by one among the ruins, and fade away from sight. The traveller wakes up slowly from his dream. He looks around in a dazed fashion and then sings these verses.)

The Traveller—

What glorious vision in this desert place,
 Mine eyes have seen, O Lord ! Was it a dream ?
 Or was it real ?—I have seen the Lords
 Imperial, that the destinies did sway
 Of Irān and of half the human race,
 I've seen them hold their heads bowed down in grief,
 As gazing on this ruined spot, they thought
 Of their unworthy sons, of Irān's fall ;—
 Bless us, grant us thy aid, O Lord ! on Thee we call.

Lord of the Nations of Earth ! Grant us Thy blessings and aid !
 Grant that the hopes of our Prophet we help to fulfil !
 Glorious the vision He saw, true is the promise He made ;
 Ishqī has dreamed but a dream ;—let the Lord
interpret as He Will.

I. J. S. TARAPOREWALA

PASTORAL BENGAL

When you consider that seventy-two per cent. of the total population of India is devoted entirely to the business of Agriculture, you will realise that the Ryot, or tiller of the soil, is a figure of no little importance in the industrial history of this great country. Two hundred and twenty-five millions of people is no inconsiderable number to be reckoned with in the future development of a nation: and, according to statistics, at least that number of men, who might be classed under the head of peasantry, live solely on the profits of their labour in this country.

There is much to be said in favour of pastoral life in Bengal and of its people. Never having known the complexities and annoyances encountered in the over-emphasis of the nonessential, they are happily free from the cares imposed by modern civilization.

The farmer finds contentment in simple, natural things; partaking of his pleasures with frank and childlike abandonment, entering into the diversions and recreations that lend colour and variety to his monotonous life of toil. He works hard to obtain the necessities of daily life; to earn the food to sustain his sometimes large family, and he has never tasted the luxuries that weaken the fibres and breed idleness and discontent in the "higher classes."

India is seen at her best, not in the overcrowded marts of large cities, nor in "mongrel ports" and the beaten track of the casual visitor; her best types are not always found in the "Europeanized" Indian who apes the manners of newer countries, in the mistaken idea that it adds to his own racial personality. The introduction of the motor car has taken away much of the old romance and picturesque atmospheres of India's traffic, as once was seen in the days of the palanquin, the tonga, the *howdah* and the *ekka*. Unfortunately, modernity brings its vices

as well as its virtues, and in the cities the leisurely, comfortable and spacious life of yesterday in India has changed.

Here in the metropolis we see a picture that is kaleidoscopic, swift-moving and fermented; becoming more and more involved in the absorption of business that is characteristic of the West; but we do not see a picture of representative, traditional India.

If you would know and love India as she is, you must leave the cities behind you and go into the interior, into the country villages, where life moves on, untouched by Time; and where the simple peasant lives his busy life as a tiller of the soil, whose chief interests are in agriculture.

There in some sunny, peaceful, palm-sheltered hamlet of mud-and-thatch huts, dwell millions of India's people, pursuing the even tenor of their ways—cheerful and honest; devout adherents to ingrained principles of ancient religious beliefs. There the social laws are equally unchanged, and the bonds of the family unit are forged in the traditions of a thousand years. There is courtesy and hospitality to the stranger, if one approaches the people in the right spirit of sympathy and understanding.

Up with the sun in the morning, the man of the house goes to his work in field or paddy, where he labours with his hands, and the primitive but effective implements of husbandry that have served his kind for centuries. When his day's work is done at sunset, he returns to his humble homestead; partakes of his simple, wholesome evening meal, and then perchance, gives himself up to the joys of domesticity, playing with his sturdy brown babies, enjoying his "hookah": beating a drum or piping a Bengali folk-song on a reed flute. His digestion has not been impaired by the rich gastronomic atrocities designed to tickle the jaded palate of the city business man: he is satisfied with curry, rice, *dahl*, and the plain produce of his garden. He is weary with a good weariness, that of the body which has earned its night repose in honest healthy labour in the open all day long. Sleep in his string-bed puts a period to his day's routine, which

is repeated endlessly, and in what to some of us would seem intolerable monotony ; but he is not conscious of the boredom of such repetition, and there is no monotony where there is no consciousness of it.

The chief subjects of conversation centres around the crops, the cattle, market prices, "pice," the village gossip and such homely subjects ; perhaps not interesting to the outside world, but absorbing to the homely world that holds these simple folk.

The little household is well ordered ; usually dominated by a shrewd mother or the head of the family, who takes precedence over the wife, and whose authority is unquestioned in domestic matters.

The women of the family spin thread and cloth on primitive looms and with old-time methods, but the fruit of their industry is far superior to the sleazy and shoddy materials that masquerade in the markets of the larger towns. Home-made articles, fashioned by careful and busy hands, are more highly prized and more durable, than machine-made wares proclaiming a false cheapness.

The duties of the women extend into the culinary department, where they prepare the food, polish the brass *lotas* and pots, and also keep a supply of cow-manure fuel on hand which they make into large cakes and plaster on the walls of their houses to dry in the sun. Wood is not plentiful in the cultivated areas, and the "oop-la" fuel is sufficient unto their needs. The acrid smoke that rises from the cooking fires is said to keep away mosquitoes and other annoying insects.

The "Lares and Penates" of an Indian household are of Spartan simplicity, and consist generally of a few drinking and cooking vessels of brass ; a string bed or two ; a few garments suspended on pegs ; bedding stowed in the rafters during the day ; and the family treasure chest, which usually contains the family horoscopes and jewels of silver or brass worn on state occasions. Household gods, of gaily painted mud, occupy some niche of honour, or stand beneath a fig or *pipul* tree in the yard without.

The floors and walls of the cottage are kept scrupulously clean with applications of a mixture of cow-manure and water which acts as a sort of natural shellac, and, it is said, contains the virtues of a disinfectant.

The numerous progeny of a peasant household are initiated into the exigencies of a tropical climate early in life; rubbed with mustard oil, their eyes painted with kohl, they are placed in a state of nudity in the sun, to become inured to the heat. But Nature has given a pigment of protective colouring to the tropical baby, and with it the power of resistance to the extreme heat which would cause speedy sunstroke to the less acclimated child of the West. The Indian child remains unclothed for the first five or six years of its life, except for the little amulets of good luck that hang around its waist or neck. Later on but little is added to its wardrobe in the way of sartorial encumbrances. A scant *dhoti* in summer; a shawl in winter is considered sufficient. The women, innocent of corsets, shoes, or other strictures of the flesh imposed by civilization, wear *saris* which act as a covering for both the body and the head. They are worn with much grace and add to the lines of free beauty and lightness of the natural figure. The rhythmic walk of the Indian woman is something that the daughters of the western world may well envy. There is much of dignity in the untrammelled stride of limbs unhampered by the ugly garments of modern fashion.

An Indian country homestead usually consists of a two- or three-roomed cottage of mud-and-bamboo, roofed with palm thatch or paddy, with a veranda in front which in good weather serves as an *al fresco* dining room. The quarters of the men and women are separate and the cooking quarters are set apart for the rites of food preparations. The men eat alone, served by the women. There is an absence of cutlery, napery and plate; fingers were made before forks, and serve very well in the process of eating. Food is taken from the common pot, or sometimes placed in a fresh leaf platter.

The out-buildings comprise a cow-shed and a granary where is stored the food of the family from harvest to harvest. In the garden grow mango, papaya, custard-apples, bananas, and other fruits in tropical profusion, and there is a cultivated patch of garden truck as well.

The cultivation of paddy is the chief industry, and next in importance comes pulse, and other grains, sugar-cane, cotton and tobacco.

The paddy is usually gathered in two crops: the winter paddy, cut in December and the summer paddy, reaped in August. Rice is the main staple food of Bengal: its cultivation is not difficult and Nature assists in giving it a speedy growth. First the earth is furrowed and ploughed, and the ground is carefully planted by hand. The tropical fecund soil promotes rapid germination and the fields are systematically irrigated in the dry season and flourish naturally in the rainy season. When the rice is ripe, it is cut and threshed in the simple method of beating the sheaves against boards. It is then husked, and the finished product, *Chawl*, is ready for consumption.

The Bengal peasant practically lives on rice which is par-boiled or eaten dried and parched; both "*bhat*" "*atapa*," when washed down with large draughts of water causes distended stomach or "rice-belly" so evident in the anatomy of Bengali children. If necessity called for it, the people could exist on *rice* and fruit, but there is generally plenty of fish, fowl (*morgi*) or mutton to vary the curries in which Indians excel.

The Bengal peasant scrupulously obeys the religious laws of cleanliness, and before he eats, he bathes with ceremony and prayers, just as a Christian is supposed to say grace before meat. He also dons clean clothes and sits to his food only after he has followed the Hindu customs of ablution.

The plain fare of the farmer is embellished with a variety of sweetmeats, which are concocted of curds and honey or sugar and rolled into little balls called "*sandesh*." It is considered

nutritive and appetising, as are the other varieties of sweets made of sugar and nuts and sometimes covered with silver-foil. *Pān* is, of course, the inevitable and eternal complement of the diet, and its use is universal in India.

The day of a villager is not idle; there are many things to be done even in a small homestead. There are cows and goats to milk; fodder to mix, fields to work; and for the women the duties of house-cleaning; sweeping the yard, cooking, sewing, spinning and the like.

The sacred Cow is the most invaluable member of an Indian household. She pulls the plough, gives milk which is made into curds and *ghee* (clarified butter): and furnishes the family fuel.

The calm peace of the village is enlivened with weddings, feasts, festivals, and fairs. There are special celebrations at harvest time, on which occasions there is much merry-making, music, dancing and singing. Frequent bands of "Nats," or snake charmers, conjurors, and nautch-girls, come through the villages to furnish enjoyment, and the children delight in the antics of trained monkeys, bears and goats. There is colour and animation in these simple out-door entertainments that lend variety to the drab life of the village people.

The Cultivator is the typical figure of Bengal and in his life you see the real India. While compared to western standards the people are very poor in actual coin, for their earnings are infinitesimally small in proportion to their labour; food is cheap and the average farmer raises all he needs and is easily satisfied. His plot of land is frequently rent-free, or if he is a tenant, he pays low house rent. His few acres produce a margin of profit if he is careful. His greatest expenses are in financing the inevitable marriages and funerals which call for an output of cash according to his station in life. The frugal cultivator, who spends but little on his own meagre belongings, will eagerly go into debt for six months or a year in order to put up a good showing at the marriage of his daughter.

The father of the bride will take on the burden of all the marriage expenses, as his pride demands that he spares no pains in making such an occasion one of lavish expenditure and show.

The advent of a baby girl casts a shadow for years beforehand over the family, who know that one day they will be called upon to provide a suitable wedding which will tax their limited resources.

Both marriages and funerals are caste-festivals and it is compulsory to the orthodox Hindu to meet the demands which his religious laws put upon him. On these occasions, most of the money is laid out in a feast for the visitors. For a wedding, not gifts to the bride, but much food, music and fire-works. For funerals about the same expenses must be incurred in feasts which correspond to an Irish wake.

So are the family fortunes depleted and so are the men frequently landed in debt for months to come. But the peasant is invariably true to the traditions of his forbears and he bears, uncomplainingly, the heavy burdens which a faithful observance of his caste-laws places upon him.

Unfortunately he is too often the victim of the cunning usurer who weaves a tangled web over the helpless peasant with extortionate rates of interest, compound and multiplied compound.

The debt increases in ratio to the time it runs, until the original sum is beyond recognition. Since the complacent usurer grows fat on the profits of an illegitimate business that passes muster under the head of the all-embracing "Custom," there is not much hope of improvement along the lines of cleaning out the country of these villainous opportunists.

There are bright spots in the tedium of the peasant's work ; he sings as he labours in the fields ; old songs handed down literally by word of mouth, from the traditions of the Past, and adapted to all the phases of his life. Music is a part of his daily life and helps him to bear his burdens cheerfully and patiently.

Some of the old social laws regarding the women of the Indian family are still followed in the remote villages of Bengal.

Although the barbarous practice of *Sati* has been abolished, except in occasional instances, the unfortunate widow cannot re-marry; but she must cut off her hair, put aside all personal adornment, and become the family drudge. It is said that in India there are four millions of widows still in their twenties, thousands still at the tender age of six or seven, doomed to long years of colourless sacrifice.

While the more enlightened Hindus are endeavouring to change these stringent laws, the condition of widows in India has not been sufficiently improved in the outlying districts. But in spite of it all, the population grows apace.

The light of the house is a son, and on him the husband and father depends for his future happiness. He is the desired one, the darling of the heart, and in him are centred the hopes and prayers of the family.

The life-history of a countryman may seem narrow and monotonous to us, but there are compensations here as in other walks of life. Besides the marriages and funerals, feasts and religious festivals, there is the county Fair: an occasion anticipated for months ahead. A Fair is much the same in any language -- one sees the same good-natured gathering of the people, absorbed in sports, games, plays, and the displaying and bartering of wares in wayside booths. There is noise, laughter, music and animation which furnishes the villager with much interest and pleasure, as well as a topic of conversation before and after the Fair.

The life of a peasant is near to Nature and to the beasts of the field with whom he keeps in such close contact. His animals share his daily burdens in much the same spirit of inarticulate patience. There is a bond of sympathy and understanding between the dumb brutes and their masters who spend many hours daily in toil together, and it is but natural that they should exhibit some of the same qualities.

The average Indian is forced, again by custom, to shoulder

the responsibility of supporting a large number of dependents, relations and idlers who do little to earn their salt. They subsist on the bounty of a generous and good-natured master of the house, who is so tolerant that he allows himself to be imposed upon by a lot of human parasites from whom the most he can expect is that they will swell the line of mourners to follow him at last to the funeral pyre.

Underneath the calm peaceful aspect of the Bengali's pastoral life, lies the shadow of mysterious Nature, to whose forces he attributes the presence of evil spirits, *bhuts*, ghosts and demons to be feared and propitiated. The spirit of Animism, that oldest of religions, still pervades India, especially among the lower classes, who in spite of their polytheistic beliefs, or because of them, cannot rid themselves of the ancient fetishes of their early forbears.

The quality of superstition, however, is not confined to the more unlettered members of the *genus-homo*, which, ignored or denied, is deeply ingrained in the mind of man, primitive or otherwise.

We cannot deny the existence of such present-day superstitions as fear of the thirteenth, of Fridays, of spilling salt, of seeing the new moon through a tree, of a dog howling, of dreams and signs. The fetishes of the more primitive races are but a step backwards into yesterday, and are drawn from a common source.

In India there are many superstitions, and taboos, especially in the interior. In remote villages there are "jungle medicine men" who are employed to exorcise evil spirits. Astrology and the making of horoscopes play an important part in the lives of the people. Lucky and unlucky days are noted and no serious undertakings are attempted unless the influences are propitious. Spirits are supposed to pervade inanimate objects in Nature; dryads inhabit trees; spirits dwell in the mountains and rivers; and even disease itself is presided over by a God or Goddess.

Reverence for the sacred Ganges is one of the strongest influences in the mind of the orthodox Hindu. At Hardwar and Benares countless pilgrimages are performed yearly by devout worshippers. A drop of Ganges water carries virtue wherever it goes. The influence of "The River of Peace" is far-reaching and profound.

Charms and amulets are worn to keep off the evil eye and other malign influences. Fetishes and taboos of all sorts hold powerful sway over the credulity of the peasant class and others. But have we become so enlightened and superior that we disdain to carry a lucky piece in our pocket books? The sailor and the gambler of the West is fully as superstitious as the average Indian, although he may not admit it.

The taboo, as in Africa and other old countries, is important, and the list is too long to enumerate. Caste inter-marriage is a taboo, which perhaps, when traced to its fountain head, contains a rational element. Food taboos are more inexplicable and inconsistent.

Animal worship has existed for centuries in many countries; the totem is as significant here as in Egypt, Greece, or among North American Indians. In India the monkey is respected; in some districts peacocks are taboo; snakes are the emblem of many ancient fetishes, particularly the cobra, or "Nag." The Cow takes the lead in importance. "Mother Bhagavati" is worshipped and cow-killing is the most heinous of crimes. The cow and the products of the cow are of vital value in the peasant life of India. She stands, too, for a type of uncomplaining patience and gentleness, virtue and usefulness.

There is a cult of the worship of the spirits of the departed, and annual festivals to ancestors are held by the pious Hindu.

Hero worship springs from the old epics of the Ramayana, the Mahabharata, and other sacred books of the East. Manifestations of divinity are sought within the known world; the many gods and godlings, some of grotesque shape, portray the attributes of the super-human, imagined in the mind of the

man who dwells in the land of plague, cholera, fever and sudden death. These are some of the shadows that hang over old India.

Nature can be cruel as well as kind, and the dark side of the picture may not be ignored in a true presentation of the Arcadian life of the peasant of Bengal. To placate the evil forces prevalent in the great centres, a multitude of Cults have been born and are fostered by the superstitious and credulous ; but in spite of all this there are many sunny sides to life in India; silver and gold threads that run through the warp and woof of the sometimes gloomy tapestry of the chapters of her history, her trials, her perplexities and problems.

Man is a resilient creature, and recuperates quickly from the ills that beset him ; he responds readily to the cheerful influences about him and forgets the dark in enjoyment of the light of the moment.

The white spires of innumerable temples still point upward to the light ; the crystalline note of countless temple bells still call the worshipper to prayer and praise ; the composite heart of the people still beats in a harmony of hope, of faith, and belief in ultimate good. The seasons come and go and bring their joys in harvest and festivals ; the cycle moves onward and upward in a broadening spiral. While the pessimism of Indian thought, in a too sensitive response to introspection and meditation, creates the ascetic who spends his life in useless self-sacrifice and martyrdom ; there is a large balance in favour of the normal, natural, simple and sincere man who lives, as he was intended to live, as does the cultivator whom we have taken for our type. His philosophy is good, and though he may not be conscious of it in so many words, he lives it—which is better. The dawn finds him, girding his loins, ready for the day's works, in all honour and good cheer and industry, in harmony with his surroundings where he is at one with Nature and the Great Spirit which pervades all life.

LILY STRICKLAND-ANDERSON

SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

Though Sir Asutosh Mookerjee is not now in his mortal flesh his thought has not died. It cannot die. Few equals may arise in the future as there were few equals in the past before him, but one thing is certain, his spirit will live to lead towards the goal which was his.

As at certain epochs in the history of nations, whenever peoples are to be saved from some terrible gulf and placed on a higher plane, a chosen one is born among them who, endowed by God with higher gifts of the Spirit, wisdom and strength, manifests the Divinity anew to them, so it may be said about Sir Asutosh that he at a time when among the people of Bengal manhood and learning were not raising their heads *pari passu*, as in other countries, he came to elevate the character and advance the higher learning of our countrymen.

Though we greatly lament the irreparable loss by his death, when the country was least prepared to lose him, yet as it is certain that all things happen for good in the universe, the life that he lived will not go for naught. Nature does not do anything aimlessly. Birth or death, success or failure, pleasure or pain,—no single event goes for nothing, but has a lofty objective in eternity. Nothing is lost in Nature. All events take place to fill up together the complement which constitutes the whole—and the whole is glorious.

If I am to compare Sir Asutosh with anyone or anything, I am irresistibly reminded of the *First Purusha*, or the stupendous being, of the *Bhagabat Gita*—*minores et majores*—in which is contained the great philosopher, the great mathematician, the great scientist, the great scholar of ancient learning, the great educationist, the great patriot, the great philanthropist, the great undaunted and indomitable man, the most gentle spirit, the most faithful friend, the most devoted server of the country, etc.

In a single personality Sir Asutosh commanded the unique admiration of the Hindu, the Buddhist, the Christian and the Moslem alike. Endowed with a towering genius and supported

by an innate masterly authority, the diverse religions, seemed by a synthetic process, reconciled in him. All paid honour to him as he paid homage to Christ of the West, the Brahma of the East and all *nabis* of the world, recognising in them the identical Divinity and wisdom under different symbols.

The spirit of Sir Asutosh will not perish, but will still live and be engaged in the generation he has left behind him, in a manner beyond our ken, for spirit does not become destitute of its attributes at death. The law of *Karma* is not a material thing that perishes at any time, even if it does not immediately take another material form. As it persists to live after the dissolution of the body, his thought will not die which strove hard to put the culture of the West and the wisdom of the East in the melting pot for the production of the truth which is not passing but eternal.

For this mission of his life, for which he sacrificed his best, he was attacked, but to him *laborare est orare* was the guiding principle of life. God is a God of harmony and his life was a continuous labour for establishing harmony between the peoples of different climes and attainments. God's goodness will triumph and it will never cease to bear fruit in time as the forces against it are human ignorance and depravity, oppression of great intellect and the tyranny of the prevailing power of the time, etc. But all these are ephemeral agents of evil which has no existence in the principles of God. The love of Science and Art, the exponents of God's power and goodness, to advance which his thought laboured so faithfully, will live in the spirit of the generation he has left behind him and will stimulate it to follow his example of zealous service.

Peace be to the thought which was wounded in the execution of its noble mission. Blessings be to the *Karma-body* which still retains its statical virtues.

G. C. GHOSH

Reviews

"Ancient Wings" (1923) and **"Grey Clouds and White Showers"** (1924) by Harindranath Chattopadhyay (Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras).

This young aspirant for poetic fame has already established his claim to a place of honour among Indian writers of English verse of a really superior quality hailing as he does from a gifted family with which no less a name than that of Sarojini Naidu is connected and these two small books of poems are not his first efforts.

To a thorough command of a foreign language which he handles with a master's ease he adds skill in managing a large variety of metrical forms made rich by rhythmic movements caught by one who possesses a sensitive ear for true poetic music.

The earlier volume arrests attention by its stronger and more pervasive mystic note and many of the pieces in it are full of the Shelleyan wistful yearning for something afar from the sphere of our sorrow which thrills the unsatisfied spirit unhappily forced to cling to the fleeting things of this earth.

"The Earthen Goblet," for instance, chafes under the plastic pressure of the Potter's warm hand for being confined to its limited form. But in "Illumination" the visionary mood, intense in its longing for union with the Beauty "whose shadow ever haunts our human way" so reminiscent of Shelley's Intellectual Beauty, changes into kinship with the wearied spirit of Matthew Arnold eager for the vast serene of the unbroken "tranquil richness of belief" that seeks and finds repose in God and in the "Cloud" this vague indefinite yearning abruptly takes a decidedly Oriental turn (or a mediæval one) by being defined as one for "home-returning" from "this narrow prison-cell." "Inspiration" and "Transmutation" are also full of the spiritual hankering of a soul athirst for the Infinite. The soul of ancient Ind breathes in and through the pantheistic "Nirvana" and the Vedantic "Ultimate."

But other chords are also struck as in "Evolution" with its Tennysonian optimism thus expressed—

"Nay, do not grieve.....There is no flaw
In aught we see from sky to sod,
Far-bidden, the eternal law
Of rhythm moves the world of God"

and in the Wordsworthian "Fashioning" as also in "Optimism" flavoured with a refined sensuous appreciation of beauty reminiscent of Keats.

Variety is lent by beautiful little epigrammatic pieces like "Motherhood" and "Orator," by the cameo-like vignette called "Contrast" and lastly by "Conquest" which unlike "Moonlight" justifies its title by transmuting a conceit into poetry. Even didacticism is not under a ban and we have in the first volume "The Cause," "The Philosopher," "Interdependence" corresponding to "Venom," "The Lonely City," "The Price" and "Suffering Bird" of the later one where, however, the poet's craftsmanship shows even in such experiments a growing skill in the use of poetic imagery.

The keynote to the second book is furnished by the line—"My soul grows hungry for the dim Beyond" but here the poet who soars on the yet unwearied *ancient* wings of "Bharatvarsha" strengthens his kinship with the ancient singers of India till this latter-day singer's heart "thrills with memories of some lost world"—revived memories recalling the unfolding of the Divine in various ways and shapes to the poet sages (*Rishis*) of his hoary Motherland. A number of poems, notable for their high intrinsic poetic quality like "Lamps," "Marriage," "Eras" and "In the Evening," sound the distinct Hindu note of the One appearing as the many and we have once more to refer to the Oriental touch of a deep mystic vision in the "Sleep," "Voice," and "The Secret." "The Cycle" (of desire) with its grand theme of cosmic evolution involving a double process is equally remarkable. "Lamps," "Marriage," "Eras" possess each its own merit but "Wayside Flower" breathing the sober perfume of noble and trustful resignation to the divine dispensation in a disenchanted world full of trials and woes, "The Poet" sure of the glorious destiny of that type of world's teachers and "Memory" for its pathetic note of quiet sadness deserve special notice.

A more poetic and sparing use of conceits is noticed in "Holiday" and "Thirst" in which conceit is tempered with a divine restfulness not found in "A Clouded Night" which is rather darkened with conceits.

"Garments" comes very near to some of Rabindranath's best utterances in verse and we cordially hail the "Message" with its higher realism conveying to us the useful hint of a modern spirit capable of properly appreciating the importance and sanctity of earthly existence as it is.

In point of variety of rhyme arrangement and stanza structure as also of deftness in producing metrical effects, say by such means as the internal

rhymes of "After-Sunset," this second volume of poems marks a decided advance upon the earlier one.

Our personal preferences (if that can bear mention) are "The Dance of Siva," which besides being a sublime poetic effort is so rich in associations to all lovers of Indian art, in the first volume and "Nocturne" and "In the Evening" in the second.

Lastly one ungentle word which seems to be needed.

We sincerely regret that young Harindranath should be tempted to follow Wordsworth in singing (?) scornfully of the critic in the poem of that name, for angry sermons do not come from him either justifiably or gracefully. Nothing daunted, we have to discharge what we still unrepentantly consider a sacred duty, while never for a moment forgetting that "the poet sings for the joy of singing"—provided, of course, that he too does not forget that there are "seranal pipes." Can he not also in his turn, though apparently claiming privilege, do worse than remember that even though the critic is "oft a lampless clod" the entire race do

Not "come with" their "little envious span
A hollow phrase and a measuring rod."

Verily there are critics and critics : so are there poets and poets.

Do poets again, simply or always *sing* and that for nothing but joy? Here is a veritable Frankenstein imprudently and needlessly raised. Milton, the mighty-mouthed organ voice of England or (if, indeed, our poet really loves the East) Kalidas, the poet of *Meghaduta*, can teach him something. Milton who was long choosing and beginning late is the fitter person to remind all young singers inclined to indulge far too much in the joy of singing that poets of the right stamp are MAKERS and they too alas! must learn the cunning of their art.

Besides, Wordsworth in his day had good reason to be cross with the critics and Shelley in *Adonais* was simply misled. Byron's wounded *amour propre* could plead little better than the hot-blood of youth too full of sensitive pride.

Why should a young poet having to his credit such a nice piece as "The Poet" and whose need of praise seems to be ample affect crabbed ill-temper in days when every schoolboy that versifies and shouts "open barley" at Apollo's shrine runs the risk of being spoilt by the doting caresses of grandmotherly critics too tender to the sensibilities of the irritable race?

Poets, indeed, occasionally "rhyme for the joy of rhyming" and we will not grudge them a pastime but is that reason why they should also print for the sake of printing? At any rate publishers should know better.

Are we to suspect that more is meant than meets the ear in "Venom"?

J. G. B.

"The Chilswell Book of English Poetry" compiled and annotated for the use of schools by the Poet Laureate Dr. Robert Bridges and dedicated to H. R. H. the Prince of Wales (Longmans, 1924, 6-6 net):— This is a handsomely bound, gilt-edged, presentable volume, neatly printed on thick glazed paper, which at once commends itself to people who have use for selections of poems either of established fame or with a quality rightly calculated to gain for them a similar recognition. One need not say how fortunately sponsored this new anthology is being ushered into the literary world. A noticeable feature is the presence of poems of living authors about which something may, no doubt, be said both pro and con. But surely this volume of 219 pieces thus gains in its representative character—the limits of its range being Spenser, Raleigh, Shakespeare and Jonson on the one end and Kipling, Newbolt, Walter de la Mare, Masfield and Yeats on the other, Alexander Pope being not excluded from this company. Marryat, Clare, Emily Brontë, Hawker, Dixon and Bourdillon as also Poe and Whitman have each his appropriate niche and even Byron's *jeu d'esprit* "Dear Doctor, I have read your play" has gained a passport.

But the "stronger claim of older writers" has been maintained—only longer pieces (unless the Nativity Ode, L'Allegro, Il Penseroso, Lycidas and the Ancient Mariner are excepted as such) have been excluded. Many poems find recognition in this anthology perhaps for the first time but it is hardly possible here to subject to a critical examination the claim of each individual piece and justify or question its right to inclusion, however strong may be one's temptation to take the task in the case of selected pieces the merit of which is not so undisputed as to have ensured their honoured place in good and popular anthologies of standing.

The usual conveniences are all there—of Notes, judiciously sparing, which aim at "explanation of allusions and obscurities" or give a really elucidating piece of information, in addition to Footnotes—"primarily a glossary of obsolete or dialectical words"—so useful for ready reference,

Index of Authors and of First Lines and lastly of an Explanation of References.

The general editorial plan seems to have been suggested by Palgrave's excellent and worthily famous "Golden Treasury" in 4 Books published by the Oxford University Press.

The arrangement of the poems is regulated by the order of simple poems being followed by more difficult ones except when poems are grouped together for subject matter (and this has been done irrespective of chronology to which little deference is paid).

The Text, we learn, has had the benefit of a careful collection.

The Preface (delightfully short but *nullum in parvo*) makes one pause by reason of its high quality though it is rather unusual for reviews to make it the immediate subject of a critical notice. The first part on Poetry (defined as the most intimate expression of man's spirit) and its function and on its special claim as a means of the highest type of education (when so many newfangled rival claims are to-day so clamorous) and subordinately on language and the musical diction of poetry is very thoughtful and highly suggestive and it indirectly and quietly rebuts the Wordsworthian dicta. There is a ring of high seriousness in this carefully worded short preface animated by a noble idealism for which there is a strong need in these days.

The second part bears on the present anthology which "is unfalteringly faithful to a sound principle hitherto insufficiently observed" (page ix)—the principle that to the young should be offered not what they can easily understand, whatever may its poetic quality be, but only the best models in both technique and æsthetic. We here in the East are at once reminded how this sound view is endorsed in his "Memoir" by Rabin-dranath Tagore and illustrated and justified by its result in his life-history.

We will not dwell on the somewhat elaborate defence within a very short compass of the principle thus adopted which, again, is used in the volume as a guide to selection and rejection, emphasis being laid on the anthology being particularly meant as a school-book as explained by its fuller title and supplemented by the Preface (page ix, Section II).

The editor's chastened classical tastes make him an anxious, if not a fastidious, guardian of the purity of his native speech (a fact abundantly known to the readers of his poetry), and in this sacred duty of guardianship

he expects his anthology to be materially helpful. Is this the reason why we find him in this role of the editor of an anthology? Then he may be said to have taken his cue from Palgrave with, of course, an individual difference.

We finally congratulate the publishers on their new venture hoping that its popularity in spite of there being many competitors in the field (one or two, indeed, formidable) is after all a question of time.

J. G. B.

The Sutta-nipāṭa—One of the Oldest Canonical Books of the Buddhists, for the first time edited in Devanāgarī characters, by P. V. Bapat, M.A., Professor of Pāli, Fergusson College, Poona, etc.—First Edition—Poona, 1924. 8vo, pp. 209.

Every one who is interested in the study of Pāli and Buddhism will hail with delight a new edition of the oldest anthology of the Buddhists and thank Prof. Bapat for the immense pains he has taken to make his work acceptable to scholars. The book consists of a very interesting historical Introduction, the Text of the Suttanipāṭa, a Commentarial Supplement and four useful Indexes. The Introduction leaves nothing to be desired: every appreciable aspect of the Suttanipāṭa has been noticed and dealt with at full length, *e.g.*, its relation to the Pāli literature and to Buddhism in general, its antiquity, the importance of its study, its authorship, its subject-matter, the classification of its suttas and their nomenclature, its language and style, versification, parallelisms and, lastly, a general survey of the whole work, which affords us a delightful glimpse into the Buddhist community in its primitive stage, the condition of Samaṇas and Brāhmaṇas, the life of the monk, the life and philosophy of the Muni, ancient poetry and poetics, ancient geography of India, Buddhism in its ethical aspect and Nibbāna. The emendation of the Text bears ample testimony to the unsparing labour and perseverance of the author. The copious parallels, quoted and referred to in the footnotes are exhaustively supplied not only from Pāli literature but also from such extraneous works as the Rīgveda, the Mahābhārata, the Bhagavad Gītā, the Avadānasataka, the Divyāvadāna,

the *Lalitavistara*, the *Mahāvastu*, the *Āyāraṅgasutta*, the *Uttarajjhayanāsutta* and the *Sūyagadaṅga*, not excepting the famous 'Manuscript Dutreuil de Rhins,' and the English Bible. Besides, quite a number of journals, papers and books bearing on the subject find mention in the laboured footnotes, which also include variants from different manuscripts. To facilitate the understanding of archaisms and teeming technicalities of the *Suttanipāṭa*, extracts from the Commentary have been very judiciously selected and appended to the work. The Indexes, though not intended to be exhaustive, have a value peculiarly their own, dealing as they do with : (I) Proper names—subdivided into (i) persons, sects and peoples, and (ii) places, rivers, countries, mountains ; (II) similes and metaphor ; (III) Subjects and important words ; and (IV) the *Diṭṭhis*.

The publication of a cheap, easily available and masterly edition in Devanāgarī of such a difficult work has not only eclipsed the reputation of the Pāli Text Society but has completely revolutionized Oriental research and scholarship. Prof. Bapat has laid students of Pāli under a deep debt of gratitude. His task has assuredly been not an easy one : for its glorious execution he has only to thank his own memory, erudition and devotion. There is not a page in the present edition which does not bespeak a careful and cautious handling. Prof. Bapat, let us assure him, need be in no uncertain mind as to his reward, for the rare scholarly qualities of the author, disclosed in this excellent edition of the *Suttanipāṭa*, have gained for him a respect such as could be claimed by a Rhys Davids only. The more we shall have of such publications, the richer we shall be.

SAILENDRANATH MITRA

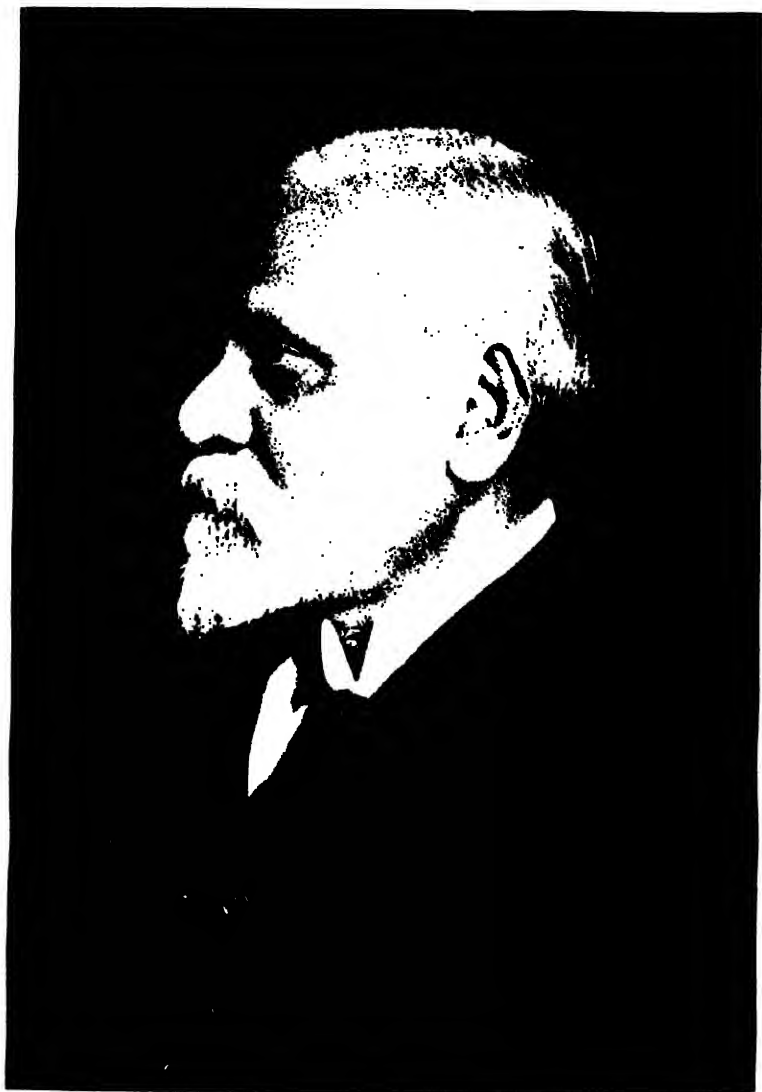
India in World Politics by Taraknath Das, Ph. D., Published by B. W. Huebsch, New York City, pp. 135. Price \$1.25.

By copious quotations from English public men of different political schools and parties Dr. Das has proved to the satisfaction of every critical reader that India's part in shaping Britain's aggressive foreign policy in Asia and Africa has not been inconsiderable. "India has been instrumental," says he, "in bringing sorrow and distress to Persia, Siam, China,

Arabia, Turkey and Mesopotamia. It is India's duty to help these nations in their struggle against imperialism as well as to strive to throw off her own bonds." He assures the countries of Asia, Africa and America that India free will be to them a source of greater peace, strength and security than India in bondage. While he urges the Indian patriots not to confine their activities to India alone but to build up a strong foreign relation and to make alliances with eastern countries like Egypt, Persia, Afghanistan and China.

The book is well-written and certainly thought-provoking.

S. N. S.



The Late Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu

Ourselfes

THE LATE MR. BHUPENDRANATH BASU.

While going to the press we were shocked to hear of the death of Mr. Bhupendranath Basu. He died full of years and full of honours. As a public man of great versatility of character, Mr. Basu occupied a prominent place in Bengal and his death in quick succession to Sir Asutosh Chowdhury and Sir Asutosh Mookerjee will cast the shadow of a deep gloom all over the country and our University in particular. Free from trammels of office we feign hoped Mr. Basu would be able to place his never failing tact, his strong commonsense and his unerring judgment at the disposal of his *alma mater* but our expectations, like all human hopes, have been falsified. We hardly find words of comfort for Mrs. Basu who has lost three daughters, a son, a grandson and an ideal husband within so short a time. May his soul rest in peace.

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DR. BHAGABAT KUMAR GOSWAMI.

Our congratulations to Dr. Bhagabat Kumar Goswami, Sastri, M.A., Professor, Hughly College, who has just been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy of this University. Dr. Sastri submitted two theses on "The Bhakti Cult of India" and "Bhaktir Prān." The Board of Examiners consisted of such eminent Orientalists as Professor Winternitz, Professor Sylvain Levi and Professor Julius Jolly.

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PRELIMINARY EXAMINATION IN LAW.

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 1,156 of whom 432 passed, 420 failed, 1 was expelled and 304 were absent. Of the successful candidates, 13 were placed in first class.

* * *

INTERMEDIATE EXAMINATION IN LAW.

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 613 of whom 334 passed, 140 failed and 139 were absent. Of the successful candidates, 22 were placed in first class.

* * *

FINAL EXAMINATION IN LAW.

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 743 of whom 291 passed, 134 failed, and 318 were absent. Of the successful candidates, 15 were placed in first class.

* * *

THE MYMENSINGH BALLADS.

The following appreciations of Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen's *Mymensingh Ballads* will, we trust, gladden the hearts of all those who are interested in the cause of learning in Bengal and in particular, the advancement of Post-graduate studies in Indian vernaculars :

"EASTERN BENGAL BALLADS: MYMENSING: Ramtanu Lahiri Research Fellowship Lectures for 1922-24 in two parts.

In these two volumes Dr. Dineshchandra Sen has for the first time made available, both for English and for Bengali readers, ten typical ballads (*gatha*) sung by professional minstrels in the district of Mymensingh. The words of the ballads have been taken down in writing from the lips of those

who sing them by one Chandrakumr De, who has travelled into many out-of-the-way places in East Bengal for this purpose. It was an extremely difficult task which he set himself; he often found the professional singers whom he approached unwilling to disclose to a stranger the text of these songs, which had been handed to them as a private family possession; to recover the whole of a ballad he often had to make special journeys to several different places and to consult a number of different singers; and throughout his work he was handicapped by ill-health. It is to be hoped that the collaboration between him and Dr. Sen will continue and result in the preservation of many more of these ballads, which are of immense value both to the student of folk-lore and to the philologist.

The ballads mostly date from the 16th and 17th centuries, and throw a flood of light on the social, religious and political condition of Eastern Bengal in those days. The first volume (Vol. I, Part I) contains a valuable introduction by Dr. Sen, and an English translation (or more strictly a paraphrase) of the ten ballads. There is also a separate introduction to each ballad. The second volume (Vol. I, Part II) contains a Bengali introduction, the full Bengali text of each ballad, and a number of footnotes explaining obsolete words and provincialisms. There are eleven illustrations, and a literary map of Eastern Mymensingh. Embodied in some of the ballads are several interesting specimens of 'baramasi' poems—poems describing the twelve months of the year in relation to the experiences of the hero and heroine of the poem. The language throughout is the common village speech of the Mymensingh district, and is in delightful contrast to the artificial style of such writers as Bharatchandra, with its far-fetched conceits and high-sounding Sanskrit expressions.

Great as Dr. Sen's other services to the cause of Bengali literature have been, it is doubtful whether any of his previous works is a more valuable contribution to our knowledge of Bengali life and thought than this collection of ballads, which, but for his enterprise and the praiseworthy efforts of his collaborator, would in all probability in the course of the next few years have been lost beyond recovery.—*The Oriental List*, Jan.—March, 1924.

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A writer needs more than merit in himself if his work is to attract wide notice; his subject-matter must have a quality of general appeal. Probably no scholar alive in India to-day has such a record as Dr. Dineschandra Sen, a record of patient, enthusiastic pioneer research, whose results have been valuable and full of interest. Fifty years ago, very little

was known, even by Bengalis of old Bengali literature, and if such ignorance no longer prevails to-day, it is largely because of one man who, in spite of poverty and obscure beginnings and ill-health, has toiled through many years to bring his own land's history and literature to light. His journeyings should become a legend, and the Bengali imagination, centuries hence, should see one figure eternally traversing the Gangetic plain, now beaten upon by the fierce sun as he makes his way across the red, deeply fissured fields of Vishnupur, now floating on the rain-swept rivers of East Bengal. He has coaxed a cautious peasantry into opening their store of traditions and memories, and he has persuaded them to part with hundreds of old manuscripts that were stuffed into palm-leaf roofs or between bamboo rafters. If he has not made a nation's ballads he has discovered a great many of them. If a small part of this service had been rendered to a better-known literature it would have made him famous. But Bengalis popularly supposed to have had no history; and it has certainly been without the dramatic or catastrophic events which strike the imagination in the story of many lands. Plassey, despite Nabin Sen's song of lament over it, was not a disaster to Bengali arms though fought in Bengal. Agra and Lahore, Delhi and Seringapatam, evoke more romantic associations than Dacca or Murshidabad. Aurangzeb and Akbar, Pratap Singh and Tippu Sultan, mean a good deal even to a European; but Lakshman Sen and Hambir Singh mean nothing at all.

Yet the records brought to light by Dr. Sen concern a population of fifty millions, who speak as expressive and beautiful a language as there is anywhere in India, and whose literature is a thing that Indians outside Bengal regard with pride, as an enrichment of their common heritage. That literature has been flowering with amazing exuberance for nearly a century now; and as the Bengali mind grows in consciousness of itself and its achievement, it must increasingly be interested in the beginnings of that achievement. In his latest book, Dr. Sen has reclaimed a whole province for scholarship and study, the ballads of the Mymensingh borderland. As we know, a debatable land, where races and interests meet and sometimes clash, has a vivid life which often takes on spontaneous and vigorous expression. And the Mymensingh swamps and spreading rivers, a refuge to fugitive kings and struggling independences, a region where Bengal and Assam, Aryan and Mongolian meet and merge, have sheltered through the centuries much more than moving and beautiful stories. A great deal of Bengal's forgotten and neglected history lies hidden in these ballads.

In his introduction Dr. Sen tells how his notice was first drawn to the ballads. Nearly a dozen years ago he was interested by articles in an obscure and local magazine, and on inquiry found that they were by one Chandra Kumar De, a young man of no English education, in frail health and wretchedly poor. He had been employed by a village grocer, on a salary of one rupee (sixteen pence) a month, "but was dismissed on the plea of incompetence and inattention." Probably the employer had reason for his action, for the boy was dreaming of his own country and her past. He got new work, this time munificently paid by two rupees a month, the work of a rent-collector; he had to travel widely, and during his travels heard the old ballads. Dr. Sen persuaded Calcutta University to employ him; and by an expenditure of fifty rupees a month for three years over 17,000 lines of Old Bengali poetry have been recovered. Dr. Sen exultantly remarks :

"I would not have been more pleased if these lines were all gold. The songs, perfectly artless, written mostly by Hindu and Muhammadan peasants, often show the real heart of poetry, and some of them at least, I believe, will rank next only to the most beautiful of the Vaisnava songs in our literature."

He has found European scholars who share his enthusiasm. If other friends, both in England and Bengal, renew the charge that his enthusiasm for what is old is often like the uncritical joy of a man madly in love, he is unmoved. The charge is familiar to him, and he puts it by with a smile. The mass of work that he has now brought forward is too large for hasty assessment, and even on a first view much of it is manifestly poorer than he thinks it. But among these ballads are some tales so simple and appealing that they need only a more cunning literary presentation to win recognition outside Bengal. And Dr. Sen, throughout his long and successful career as discoverer, has never done his land greater service than by saving these stories that would so soon have faded out from the world. —*The Times Literary Supplement*, 7th August, 1924.

Paris, 10th April, 1924.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I am sorry I could not answer earlier your lovely letter, dated 10th January, 1924. I am growing more and more busy day by day since my coming back home. Still I cherished the hope of reading all your Ballads before writing you, and I kept them faithfully on my desk all the time. But I had to content myself with the first one and with your learned

Introduction. To-day I am on the eve of Easter vacations, and I am confident I can now make time to enjoy a full reading of your delectable work. But I have read enough of it to anticipate the pleasure I can derive from it. Your enthusiasm at the discovery was fully justified. Your Eastern Bengal, you are so proud of, is positively an earthly replica of India's *Nandan*, a paradise of vegetation, sky, running water, a sporting place of Apsarases and Gandharvas, and you are another Narada coming to the world to repose above these celestial beauties, and in a way how attractive! This is the wonder of art that, owing to you, I could in the sad, dull, dim days of winter dream of a blue sky, of lovely rivers, of evergreen woods, of couples of lovers wandering amidst the wild beasts, indifferent to all dangers, raptured by their mutual love.

There is one dark side, the news you give me about your bad health. It may be that after such an unceasing strain of labour you had to suffer from a nervous depression. Even before I could meet you, I could guess that you are working in a constant strain of imagination and passion which overtakes your bodily strength. I know that no sacrifice is of account to you for the love of your country. But India has not such a plenty of worthy worshippers that the loss of one of them may be indifferent. The work that you can do no one else can do or will do. Think of it and keep yourself ready for more work. This is a friend's wish and prayer.

But do not miss to send me a word that you are feeling better, and stronger, that you are recovering after this tremendous shock.

Believe me, my dear friend,

Ever yours,

SYLVAIN LEVI

DEAR SIR,

Thank you very much for your kindness in sending me the first volume of your *Mymensingh Ballads*. My sister and myself (she is my interpreter in English) have read it with great interest. The subject it deals with touches all mankind; the differences with European stories are due to reasons which are much more social than racial. The good æsthetic taste that is felt in most of these ballads is also one of the characteristics of popular imagination in many of our Western countries: "Womeder Wehmuth" as a beautiful song of Goethe's, put into music by Beethoven, expresses it "The Pleasure of Tears."

It is true that with us French people, the people of Gaul, it reacts against this with our bold and boisterous joyful legends. Is there none of this kind of thing in Indian literature? I was specially delighted with the touching story of Madina which although only two centuries old, is an antique beauty and a purity of sentiment which art has rendered faithfully without changing it. Chandravati is a very noble story and Mahua, Kanka and Lila are charming (to mention only these ones).

The patient researches of Mr. Chandra Kumar De and your precious collaboration with him have brought to the historical science a valuable contribution to its efforts to solve the problems of popular literary creations. From where have these great primitive epics and ballads come? It seems very likely that they have always come from some poetic genius whose invention has struck the popular imagination. But the question is how much people deform his idea in putting it into the shape in which we find it? Which is the part of the collaboration of the multitude in this work of re-casting, which is continuous and spontaneous? Rarely has any one had the happy opportunity to seize an epic as one might say on the lips of the people who have given birth to it before writing had fixed it in some shape as you and Mr. Chandra Kumar have succeeded in doing in this case. I congratulate you sincerely for this beautiful work and I ask you, dear Sir, to believe in my high esteem and admiration.¹

4th March, 1924.

ROMAIN ROLLAND

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THE THIRD ORIENTAL CONFERENCE.

We have been requested to publish the following :

SRI VENKATESA VILAS,
NADU STREET, MYLAPORE,
MADRAS.

The third session of the All-India Oriental Conference will be held in Madras during the Christmas holidays. His Excellency the Governor of Madras will open the Conference. Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Ganganath Jha, M.A., D.Litt., Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad University, has accepted the Presidentship of the Conference.

¹ Translated by Captain Petavel, R.E.

The Conference will last for three days. Papers offered for presentation to the Conference must reach the Secretary by the 1st November next. A brief summary of the papers indicating the salient issues should be sent along with the papers. These summaries will be published, if the paper should be accepted, for presentation to the members of the Conference for facility of discussion. The time allowed for each paper would be only fifteen minutes. Scholars interested in the work of the Conference are invited to take part and submit their papers to the undersigned before the said date.

S. KRISHNASWAMI AYYANGAR,
Hon'y. Secretary.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY PUBLICATIONS

1. ANCIENT INDIA

1. CULTURE AND SOCIAL ORGANISATION

Rs. As.

Rig Vedic India by Abinaschandra Das, M.A.,
Ph.D. Demy 8vo. pp. 616 10 8

[The work is an attempt to find out the age of the culture as depicted in the Rig Veda, examined in the light of the results of modern geological, archaeological, and ethnological investigations and drawn from a comparative study of the early civilisations of the Deccan, Babylonia and Assyria, Phœnicia, Asia Minor, Egypt, and Pre-historic Europe.]

Culture and Kultur Race Origins or the Past Unveiled, by H. Bruce Hannah, Bar-at-Law. Demy 8vo. pp. 158 3 12

[Besides other cognate matters, the book generally deals with race-origins, race-developments, and race-movements, and differentiates, not only between Barbarous Races and Culture-Races, but also between Barbarous Races that were or are civilised and those that were or are uncivilised.]

Carmichael Lectures, 1918 (Ancient Indian History, B. C. 650 to 325), by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D., F.A.S.B. Demy 8vo. pp. 230 2 13

[The somewhat neglected, although a most important, period of Indian history, which immediately preceded the rise of the Mauryan power, has been dealt with in this volume. The work throws valuable light on various aspects of the political and cultural history of the period, including a lucid *résumé* of the story of the penetration of Aryan culture into the Deccan and into South India.]

Ancient Indian Numismatics (Carmichael Lectures, 1921), by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D., F.A.S.B. Demy 8vo. pp. 241

4 14

[A valuable contribution to the study of the question, with its bearings on Ancient Indian political and cultural History.]

The Evolution of Indian Polity, by R. Shama Sastri, B.A., Ph.D. Demy 8vo. pp. 192 ...

6 0

[Containing a connected history of the growth and development of political institutions in India, compiled mainly from the Hindu Śāstras. The author being the famous discoverer and translator of the *Kautilya Arthashastra*, it may be no exaggeration to call him one of the authorities on Indian Polity.]

Social Organization in North-East India, in Buddha's time, by Richard Fick (translated by Sisirkumar Maitra, M.A., Ph.D.) Demy 8vo. pp. 395 ...

7 8

[The German work of R. Fick is a masterly study of the social and cultural life of India of the Jātakas. Dr. Maitra's English translation does the fullest justice to the original, which is hereby made accessible to those who do not read German.]

Sources of Law and Society in Ancient India, by Nareschandra Sen, M.A., D.L. Demy 8vo. pp. 109 ...

1 8

[In this book the author traces the sources of Ancient Indian Law with reference to the environments in society and deals with matters regarding legal conceptions historically, initiating a somewhat new method, mainly following the one indicated by Ihering with reference to Roman Law, in the study of problems of Hindu Law.]

Political History of Ancient India (From the Accession of Parikshit to the extinction of the Gupta Dynasty) by Hemchandra Raychaudhuri, M.A., Ph.D. Royal 8vo. pp. 374 ...

4 0

[Dr. Raychaudhuri's work in the domain of Indology is characterised by a rare sobriety and by a constant reference to original sources, and this makes his contributions specially valuable. We have here probably the first attempt on scientific lines to outline the political history of India of the Pre-Buddhist period from

about the 10th Century B. C. and the work is one of great importance to Indian history.]

Ancient Romic Chronology, by H. Bruce Hannah, Bar-at-Law. Royal 8vo. pp. 60 ...

1 8

[The book deals with the method of embodying some original researches of Mr. H. B. Hannah in the domain of chronology and computation of time in Ancient Egypt, as well as other connected matters, the process being shewn through various internal evidences.]

Pre-Historic India, by Panchanan Mitra, M.A. Demy 8vo. pp. 325 ...

6 0

[One of the pioneer works on Indian pre-history by a young Indian scholar, who is well-posted in the latest work in this subject.]

International Law and Customs in Ancient India, by Pramathanath Banerjee, M.A., B.L. Royal 8vo. pp. 161 ...

4 0

[In this interesting book the author demonstrates the elaborate code of International Law and military usages which existed in Ancient India, and a cursory glance will show that the Ancient Indian usage in this matter was much more elaborate and much more humane than that followed by all nations of antiquity and even by nations of Modern Europe.]

Economic Condition of Ancient India, by J. N. Samaddar, B.A. Demy 8vo. pp. 165 ...

3 0

A brilliant study, which embodies a reconstruction of economic data and of economic theories in Ancient India from treatises and from scattered references in early Hindu and Buddhist literature.. This is the first systematic attempt to deal with this important subject. "The author in course of his six lectures lays bare to us the underlying spirit and principles of the great Hindu Civilisation. He has taught us to look not merely at the actions of the Ancient Indians and their glorious achievements in the domains of Economics and Politics but he has unfolded the environments in which they were wrought, the motives which impelled them and the ambition which inspired them." The book has been highly praised by Dr. Sylvain Levi, Dr. Jolly, Prof. Winternitz, Sir John Bucknill, Dr. A. Marshall, Prof. Hopkins, Prof. Telang, Dr. Keith and many other distinguished savants.

	Rs.	As.
Some Contribution of South India to Indian Culture by S. Krishnaswami Aiyengar, M.A., Ph.D. Demy 8vo. pp. 460	6	0

[The contribution of the Dravidian intellect under Aryan guidance, to general culture of Hindu India is the fascinating topic which our author, an acknowledged authority of South Indian history, brings before the ant.]

2. RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

System of Buddhistic Thought by Rev. S. Yamakami. Royal 8vo. pp. 371	15	0
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[The book presents in a comprehensive though short form a complete view of Buddhistic Philosophy, both of the Mahāyāna and Hinayāna Schools.]

Prolegomena to a History of Buddhistic Philosophy , by B. M. Barua, M.A., D.Lit. Royal 8vo. pp. 48	1	8
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[The book embodies the results of a scientific enquiry by the author, from the historical standpoint, into successive stages in the genesis and increasing organic complexity of a system of thought in India, supposed to have evolved out of a nucleus as afforded by the discourses of Gautama, the Buddha.]

The Original and Developed Doctrines of Indian Buddhism , by Ryukan Kimura. Sup. Royal 8vo. pp. 80	3	0
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[It is a comprehensive manual of charts, giving an explicit idea of the Buddhist doctrines, as promulgated in diverse ways by diverse Buddhist Philosophers.]

The History of Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy , by B. M. Barua, M.A., D.Lit. Royal 8vo. pp. 468	10	8
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[The book gives a clear exposition of the origin and growth of Indian Philosophy from the Vedas to the Buddha, and seeks to establish order out of chaos—to systematise the teachings of the various pre-Buddhistic sages and seers, scattered in Vedic literature (Vedas, Brāhmaṇas, Upanishads) and in the works of the Jains the Ajivikas and the Buddhists.]

- Prakrit Dhammapada**, by B. M. Barua, M.A.,
D.Lit., and S. N. Mitra, M.A. Demy 8vo.
pp. 320 5 0

[A new edition of the Dutreuil de Rhins Kharoṣṭhi MS. of the *Dhammapada*, of which an edition was published in the *Journal Asiatique* in 1897 by M. Sénart. The joint-editors have reconstructed whole passages from minute fragments not utilised by M. Sénart, and they have brought in the results of their vast and deep Pali studies in establishing the text. The importance of the *Dhammapada* as a world classic need not be emphasised too much. In the introductory essay, there is an able study of the question of the literary history of this work.]

- Studies in Vedantism** (*Premchand Roychand Studentship, 1901*), by Krishnachandra
Bhattacharyya, M.A. Demy 8vo. pp. 82 ... 3 12

[It is a treatise dealing on Vedantic lines intended to bring out the relations of the system to modern philosophical systems.]

- The Study of Patanjali** (*Griffith Memorial Prize, 1915*), by S. N. Dasgupta, M.A., Ph.D.
Demy 8vo. pp. 209 4 8

[Here we have an account of the Yoga system of thought, as contained in the *Yoga Sūtras* of Patañjali, according to the interpretations of Vyāsa, Vācaspati and Vijñāna Bhikṣu, with occasional references to the views of other systems by an acknowledged authority on Hindu Philosophy.]

- Jivatman in the Brahma Sutras**, by Abhaykumar
Guha, M.A., Ph.D. Crown 8vo. pp. 285 ... 3 12

[It is a comparative treatise on the *Jivātman* as described in the *Brahma Sūtras*, based on 15 original commentaries and on numerous other works, philosophical, religious, scientific, and literary, of the East and the West. In deducing his conclusions, the author has fully discussed the *sūtras* in the light of the commentaries of the different Schools and has treated of the Vedānta from a standpoint hitherto untouched by scholars.]

Early History of the Vaishnava Sect, by
Hemochandra Raychaudhuri, M.A., Ph.D.
Demy 8vo. pp. 156

2 13

[The book contains materials for a connected history of Vaishnavism from the Vedic times to the age of the early Tamil Acāryas who laid the foundation of the Śrī Vaishnava School. The author takes into consideration only works of proved antiquity and epigraphical records. His method of treatment is strictly scientific, and he comes to a number of interesting conclusions, among which is the establishment of the historic personality of Vāsudeva-Krishna and the determination of the doctrines of the old Bhāgavata sect.]

A Short History of the Mediæval School of Indian Logic (*Griffith Memorial Prize, 1907*),
by Mahamahopadhyaya Satishchandra Vidyabhushan, M.A., Ph.D. Royal 8vo. pp. 209 ...

7 8

[The two principal systems of the Mediæval School of Indian Logic, *viz.*, the Jaina Logic and the Buddhist Logic, have been thoroughly expounded here by bringing together a mass of information derived from several rare Jaina Manuscripts and Tibetan xylographs hitherto inaccessible to many. In the appendices a short and general history of the University of Nālanda and the Royal University of Vikramāśīla has also been given.]

A History of Indian Logic by Mahamahopadhyaya Satishchandra Vidyabhushan, M.A., Ph.D. Demy 8vo. pp. 690

15 0

[A monumental work. Dr. Vidyābhūṣana has given here a detailed account of the system of Nyāya, and has left no source of information, whether Brahmanical, or Buddhist (Indian and Tibetan), or Jaina, untapped. The history is brought down from the days of the Vedas to the 19th century, and is full of facts well disposed and lucidly set forth.

The author did not live to see the publication of a work which is sure to make his name immortal in the annals of Indology.]

Adwaitabad (Bengali), by Kokileswar Sastri
Vidyaratna, M.A. Royal 8vo. pp. 233 ...

3 0

[In the present work the author has given an admirable exposition of the Vedantic theory of

Adwaitavada in all its different aspects. The work consists of five chapters. In the first chapter, the nature of Nirgun Brahma and its relation to the world and the individual souls have been discussed and Sankara has been absolved from the charge of Pantheism. In Chapter II the nature of the individual Beings and Selves has been discussed. The fact that the Sankara school has not resolved the 'Individual' into qualities and states has been carefully examined. In Chapter III the author thoroughly discusses the doctrine of the 'Unreality of the Universe' and has attempted to prove that the Sankara school has not abolished the reality of the world. Chapter IV discusses the ethical theory, individual freedom, the Brahma-Sākhyātkāra, the 'contemplation of the Beautiful' and the final salvation in the transcendental goal. Here the relation between *Karma* and *Jnana* has been well brought out and bears the impress of originality. In Chapter V, an attempt has been made to trace the māyāvāda of Sankar's school to the Rig Veda as its original source.]

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